WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 139 — 7 January 1977

AP

Peking rally against "Gang of Four."

Blood Flows as Clique Warfare Rages

Pitched Battles Explode in China

For Workers Political Revolution Against All the Bureaucratic Gangs!

JANUARY 4—Last week Chinese radio broadcasts announced that civil war conditions had engulfed the vast southwestern province of Szechwan:

> "Because of sabotage by the gang of four, civil war and factionalism did not cease in our province. Many class brothers who had fought shoulder to shoulder became enemies and the previous lives were sacrificed in all-round civil war. Armed struggle was protracted and large in scale, and people's lives and property suffered serious loss."
>
> —*New York Times*, 1 January

The day before, Reuters reported that "informed sources" told the agency's correspondent of mass violence in the city of Paoting, south of Peking, which involved "raids on military arsenals, looting of grain shops, bank

continued on page 10

Jerrold Schecter/Time

Shanghai militiamen

What Steel "Rebel" Told Penthouse

Will the Real Ed Sadlowski Please Stand Up?!

It has become trendy for up-and-coming, with-it national candidates to be interviewed by the large circulation glossy sex magazines, presumably to demonstrate the newcomers' swinging, progressive outlooks in contrast to the stodgy attitudes of the incumbents. First there was Jimmy Carter's *Playboy* interview in October and now United Steelworkers oppositionist Ed Sadlowski tells-it-like-it-is in the January *Penthouse*.

Throughout his campaign Sadlowski has spoken out of both sides of his mouth, his message depending on the nature of his audience. The *Penthouse* interview is particularly useful because it rudely deflates the claims of his "left" apologists. Most astounding is his apparently seriously intended "solution" to the health and safety hazards, overwork, etc., faced daily by workers in steel mills and plants: *eliminate 75 percent of the existing jobs!!*

Most of the left has chosen to report only those statements by Sadlowski that would appear to justify jumping on his bandwagon. Particularly adept at the art of prettifying by omission has been the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *Militant*. Justifying the reformist policy of all-out support to this bureaucrat-on-the-make, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes' report to the 1976 SWP convention says of Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback:

> "While the ruling class is falsifying and campaigning against this movement, we tell the truth about it.... It can be a center of attention for every rebel grouping in American Labor, every group of workers anywhere who are groping toward union democracy and class-struggle politics."

The following excerpts compare the *Penthouse* interview to the *Militant*, proving what the Spartacist League has said all along: far from being some kind of socialist or even "anti-capitalist," in both formal program and intent, Sadlowski is equally as rotten as the candidate of the incumbent I. W. Abel regime, Lloyd McBride. If victorious, the double-talking "steel rebel" will tighten the faltering grip of the American labor bureaucracy in holding back the struggles of the working class.

JOBS

MILITANT

Sadlowski: "They're producing tons of steel at cheaper labor costs than ever before. Fifteen years ago you had

continued on page 10

New York Times

Iva Toguri d'Aquino in Japanese cell, 1945.

The story of the more than 100,000 jailed in World War II racist round-up:

The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps 6

How U.S. imperialism persecuted Iva Toguri:

In Defense of "Tokyo Rose" 7

WV Photo

Linda Jenness

WV Photo

SL spokesman Kay Blanchard

SL Challenges Male-Exclusionist SWP Meeting

Hoping that the time was right for a resurrection of the now largely dissipated women's movement, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held a conference on "Women's Liberation and Socialism" at Columbia University in New York on December 17-18. Unfortunately for the SWP, the 200 to 300 participants were mostly their own members, right-wing feminists from *Majority Report* and a few supporters of ostensibly socialist organizations.

The conference reeked with reformist gimmickry and feminist imbecility, including the exclusion of men from the workshops. The SWP hoped by such catering to backward consciousness to win the support of unreconstructed feminists (who were not noticeably interested). The largely petty-bourgeois radical women's movement of the late 1960's has long since splintered into various sects espousing Maoism, several varieties of life-stylism and standard Democratic Party politics, and is not about to be resurrected.

On Friday evening Evelyn Reed, lead-off speaker for the SWP, gave a schoolmarmish recitation of the "victories" of the women's movement in the past ten years, but was unable to explain why so many of the "victories" have undergone serious erosion recently or why the "movement" has not flocked to the SWP. Unable to respond politically to a comrade from the Spartacist League (SL), who counterposed the Leninist conception of women's emancipation through proletarian revolution and criticized the SWP's abandonment of Trotskyism in favor of minimal reformist demands for women (illustrated by the SWP's refusal to call in its front groups for free abortion on demand), Reed answered demagogically: "Out there women are in *action*! Are you with them or against them?"

The SWP's attempts to implement male exclusionism met with vociferous protests from the SL. But although everyone who spoke on the question supported the Spartacist position of non-exclusion, the SWP refused to count the extremely close vote, insisting that the majority had decided in favor of male exclusion. At this point, the male SL supporters walked out and were joined by several other participants who were disgusted by this exclusion of communists through the introduction of one of the worst practices of feminism.

A special report on "Women's Liberation in Spain" by Linda Jenness concluded the conference. Her thesis, that the women's movement is the same all over the world—i.e., nothing but a struggle for democratic rights—was exposed by Spartacist speakers for the blind reformism which it is. Jenness refused to answer the SL comrades' questions as to whether the SWP would call for "free speech to fascists" in Spain, as it does in the U.S. However, she privately admitted to the SL after her speech that "We support free speech for fascists in this country and in Spain."

This call for free speech for the reactionary terrorists who are dedicated to drowning the workers movement in blood—not only in the U.S., where fascists do not at present constitute a major threat, but in Spain, where there is a pre-revolutionary situation—reveals the SWP's total lack of revolutionary perspective or even the slightest class instinct. It is only logical that, having drawn a sex line where the class line should be, the SWP has no trouble with supporting free speech for fascist scum while denying it to male communists.

The victory of the proletariat, which alone can liberate women and all the oppressed, will be the result of a struggle for the full Transitional Program and militant class solidarity. Feminists and the cowardly opportunists who capitulate to them are roadblocks to that victory. ■

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Federal "Investigation" of FALN Bombings

Stop Grand Jury Witchhunt of Puerto Rican Militants!

CHICAGO—A grand jury was convened here recently to investigate the circumstances surrounding the discovery of an alleged "terrorist bomb factory" on the city's predominantly Puerto Rican Northwest Side. The grand jury and preceding FBI and Chicago police investigations have been the occasion for an escalating witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement.

On June 8 four bombs exploded within minutes of each other at Chicago police headquarters, the First National Bank, Bank Leumi Le-Israel and the John Hancock Center. All four of these symbols of imperialist oppression received only minor damage. Although no one has yet claimed credit for these bombings, the police and FBI have attributed them to the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN (Frente Armado de Liberación Nacional—Armed National Liberation Front). A manhunt, including a nationwide alert, was launched immediately after the explosions to track down William Pintoda, Carlos Fonesca Ortiz and his wife Adelina Rodríguez Ramirez, all alleged members of the FALN. The notorious "shoot-to-kill" mayor Daley threatened to undertake a racist stop-and-frisk dragnet in the Loop (downtown), "and maybe by chance we might be able to run into some of these people with the box [explosives]...."

As the grand jury witchhunt extended its tentacles, Carlos Alberto Torres, owner of the building where the "bomb factory" was found, was added to the list of hunted alleged FALN members. The 80-man police and FBI squad that raided the "factory" allegedly confiscated a "secret ledger" that "may lead to Puerto Rican terrorists here and abroad." The "bomb factory" was also linked to bombings in New York, Washington, D.C. and Puerto Rico.

In Chicago three Puerto Rican activists, Juan López, José López and Mirna Selgado López have been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury, although there is no mention on the subpoena as to what they are to testify about. None of the three has been accused of any crime, and the government even admits that it has no evidence to connect any of them to the "bomb factory" or the FALN. This case of grand jury harassment—in which a treacherous "immunity" from prosecution is backed up by threats of jailings for contempt of court and loss of employment—is a classic FBI fishing expedition. The only "crime" of the three intended victims is their refusal to talk to the "feds" or cooperate with the manhunt. Juan López was delivered his subpoena by FBI agents who stopped him at gunpoint and said, "You wouldn't talk to us, so now you'll talk to the grand jury."

Defense efforts on behalf of the three have been organized by the Chicago Committee to Stop the Grand Jury, led by supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Two well-attended demonstrations have been held outside the federal building, which houses the courtroom, under the slogans: "Stop the Grand Jury!" "No Collaboration with the FBI and other Repressive Forces!" "Stop the Harass-

continued on page 11

WV Photo

December 8 demonstration in front of the Chicago Federal Building protesting grand jury investigation of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Hoxha Purges Pro-Peking Ministers

Albania: Last Hope for Maoists Without a Country

Confused and disoriented by the power struggles taking place within the Chinese bureaucracy, Maoist groups in the West have been treating readers of their press to an extraordinary exhibition of feinting, dodging and fast footwork in an attempt to avoid taking a position which may tomorrow brand them as "capitalist roaders." In the U.S., the Revolutionary Communist Party has been strangely silent on the question of the "Gang of Four," while the October League (OL)—after its blunder of sending condolences to the "gang's" leader, Chiang Ching, shortly before she was purged—has ventured only to paraphrase statements from the Chinese press.

But if many Maoist groups have been uncharacteristically reticent about recent events in China, several have become more than usually ardent in praising their other "socialist paradise"—tiny Albania. Thus when the Albanian Party of Labor (PPS) held its seventh party congress last month, the OL used the occasion to publish two lengthy articles in the *Call* glorifying Albania as the "lighthouse of socialism" in Europe. Even more fulsome in their accolades were some of the European Maoists, with the Portuguese Communist Party/Reconstructed (PCP-R) and the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist (KPD-ML) now hailing Albanian leader Enver Hoxha as the "greatest living Marxist-Leninist."

Albanian sheepherders drive flock to market. Gun Kessle

Chou En-lai (left) embracing Enver Hoxha. Eastfoto

What is behind this adulation of primitive Albania as a Marxist-Leninist Shangri-la, and of Hoxha as the new "ML" pope? It is apparent that many Maoists feel the necessity to hedge their bets against the possible "loss" of China. With a subjectivist analysis of class relations which posits that "social imperialism" can at any moment assert itself by means of the bad will of the political leadership (as supposedly happened in the USSR)...who knows what evil lurks in the mind of Chairman Hua?

But what is a Stalinist without his deformed workers state to glorify? "Socialism in one country" has nothing in common with socialism as Marx conceived of it, yet it certainly does need its one country. "Where's *your* country?" Stalinist cretins of both the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese variety love to jeer at Trotskyists, hoping to relieve themselves of the necessity to answer Marxist criticism. Yet with the Soviet Union having somehow become "social-imperialist" and the future of China a lot less predictable than it seemed when Chairman Mao was around, there is not a great deal left to choose from in the way of a glorious socialist fatherland. It is under these trying circumstances that nervous Maoists have located the forefront of socialism in the sheep pastures of Albania.

Purge and "Self-Reliance"

For the OL, at least, Albania must have seemed a "safe bet," and its two-part article was filled with banalities like, "The Seventh Congress will undoubtedly deepen the party's revolutionary political line and set high goals for the future" (*Call*, 8 November). But once again it seems that Klonsky & Co. got their signals crossed, as the Albanian party congress rubber-stamped the purge of several top government leaders and took several large steps toward an open break with China.

Among the disgraced leaders were the agriculture minister, the education minister and the chief economic planner. In part, the dismissal of key economic officials derives from Albania's worsening economic situation: from 1970 to 1974 production of foodstuffs stagnated despite the expanding population. Additionally, the expelled ministers are charged with wanting a rapprochement between Albania, the Soviet Union and the West. However, several Western newspapers claim that the purge victims actually supported a pro-Peking line.

Coupled with these purges has been an increased emphasis on the need for "self-reliance," reminiscent of the rhetoric which preceded Albania's break with the Soviet Union in 1960. Although hailed by New Leftists as "participatory democracy" writ large, "self-reliance" is a code word for "socialism in one country" as suited to the predicament of small deformed workers states in danger of being swallowed up by their larger neighbors. It is not an accident that its major proponents are Albania's Enver Hoxha and North Korea's Kim Il Sung. It is also useful, at times, to large "socialist" powers (such as China) which are reluctant to share their resources with smaller "brother" countries (such as Vietnam). Whatever the particular rationale, however, "self-reliance" condemns backward and impoverished countries to remain backward and impoverished.

No longer secure in the belief that they are backed by 800 million Chinese (2 million Albanians can't be wrong?!), the admirers of the Ilyrian "socialist" paradise on the shores of the Adriatic have been particularly sensitive to any mention of Albanian economic backwardness. In Portugal, PCP-R leader Eduardo Pires, speaking to a mass rally after returning from the seventh congress of the PPS in Tirana, complained that "all the bourgeois speak in chorus of a socialism of misery" in Albania. Not so, he declared. "For years there has not been a single unemployed in Albania" (!), said Pires, adding "The Albanian people is the only one in the world which pays no taxes" (*Bandeira Vermelha*, 1 December)!!

But despite important economic advances since the Hoxha regime took power after World War II, Albania remains the most impoverished nation of Europe. Its economic structure rests primarily on agriculture and travellers report that Albania is one of the few countries where traditional peasant dress is actually worn by much of the population. Whatever advances the Albanian economy has enjoyed have come almost exclusively through foreign assistance, with imports from the USSR running at double the rate of Albanian exports until 1960. While China now occupies the dominant position in Albania's foreign trade, its actual assistance has been far more limited than Russia's before it.

Even according to the rare official economic statistics, wages in agricultural collectives were only 20 lek (approximately one dollar) a day in 1970. Streets and railroads are built by young people in what the PPS euphemistically refers to as "socialist education" but in reality amounts to unpaid forced labor. Under such backward conditions, "self-reliance" can only result in a worsening of the conditions of "socialist life" for the masses of Albanian workers and peasants.

Tito/Stalin/Mao's Little Brother

The purge at the seventh congress and unmistakable signs of an estrangement from China indicate that Enver Hoxha may be in the throes of a break-up with his "socialist" benefactor for the third time in three decades. The Albanian Party of Labor was formed in 1941 under the aegis of Tito's Yugoslav Communist Party, and Hoxha's "National Liberation Front" seized power in 1944 as an adjunct of the Yugoslav partisans' successful routing of Nazi occupation forces.

The PPS saw its first task as the establishment of a "people's democratic government in an Albania that has been liberated from fascism" (Jan Myrdal, *Albania Defiant* [1976]). This classic Stalinist popular-front policy could not, however, be realized in practice for lack of bourgeois forces willing to ally with it. As a minor act of the Yugoslav revolution and in the context of Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, the peasant-dominated PPS created a deformed workers state. Its ties to Tito were strengthened by the existence of a million-strong Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia.

After driving out the Nazis, Tito set up a customs union with his Albanian satellite and coordinated economic planning for the two countries. However, when Stalin broke with Tito in 1948, Hoxha, smarting under Yugoslavia's "great power pretensions" and fearing that his own little bailiwick would soon become just one more Yugoslav republic, abrogated all treaties with the "superpower" next door. Pro-Yugoslav elements of the PPS were purged and for the most part physically liquidated. Among them were Koci Xoxe, ex-major general and former vice president and interior minister. As could be expected in Albania, infamous

continued on page 9

U.S., Pinochet Propaganda Bonanza

Behind the Corvalán-Bukovsky Deal

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile

The Chilean military junta has freed Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party (PCCh). After his arrest on 20 September 1973, Corvalán became the best-known figure among the popular-front leaders held in the dictatorship's concentration camps.

Corvalán, a 44-year veteran of the PCCh, had seen prison and exile before, when another popular front brought to power Gabriel González Videla, a representative of the Radical Party. This coalition of reformist workers parties and bourgeois parties, called the Democratic Alliance, was made up of the PCCh, the Socialist Party (PS) and the Radicals. The policy of capitulation to the bourgeoisie brought the PCCh no great rewards: it was outlawed in 1948 primarily as a result of an important Communist-led strike by the Lota coal miners. González Videla had no qualms about forcibly suppressing his former collaborators, yet a faction in the PCCh led by Reinoso, who favored an armed uprising against the government, was expelled for ultraleftism.

Ten years later Corvalán was elected general secretary and faithfully followed in his predecessors' footsteps, delivering the proletariat bound hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. Thus in 1970 the CP was one of the staunchest proponents of Salvador Allende's popular front, thanks to which the Chilean proletariat today stands defeated, savagely crushed physically as well as politically. After the 29 June 1973 dress-rehearsal coup, *compañero* Corvalán stated: "We will continue to support the absolutely professional character of our armed forces. Their enemies are not in the ranks of the people but among the reactionaries" (meeting of 8 July 1973).

Corvalán, imprisoned on Dawson

Punto Final

Juan Cárdenas

Island, has been the central figure of most of the campaigns launched for the freedom of political prisoners in Chile. As a prominent figure of the popular front who can obviously count on a lot of publicity, the Communist Party general secretary has been used by the military junta as an important element of pressure and blackmail. Yesterday he was used to show how "humanely" prisoners were treated—they even allowed Soviet surgeons to attend his gallbladder operation. The same cannot be said of other prisoners, such as Batista Van Schouwen [of the "far left" MIR] for example. Today Pinochet brandishes Corvalán as proof of his "justice" and "humanism," when in fact Corvalán was traded for Bukovsky as part of an anti-communist propaganda ploy and in exchange for economic treaties which the Soviet bureaucracy reached with Chile with Rumania as intermediary.

Already on 6 September 1974, one year after the coup, the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile (OTR) stated in an interview with *Informations Ouvrières*: "At the end of the first year of the massacre [the bourgeoisie] is trying particularly to wipe the revolutionary workers off the face of the earth—assassinating them—while the traitorous bureaucrats are relatively well-treated in prison, in the hope of a definitive deal between the bonapartist Soviet bureaucracy and the Chilean military junta." We also added, "...therefore Corvalán will not be shot, since he represents for the junta the last possibility of subordinating the workers movement." (This interview was never published, since the OCI leader in charge told us it was too "abstract.")

The Chilean junta, along with imperialism and international reaction, took advantage of this "exchange" of prisoners to carry out a forceful campaign of anti-communism, which has been joined in practice by such left organizations as the French OCI and its international conglomeration (the OCRFI), as well as West European Communist parties such as the French PCF.

As revolutionary militants, Chilean Trotskyists, we hail the release of Luis Corvalán, for which we struggled unremittingly, as well as for the life and liberty of all prisoners of rightist repression. We are likewise heartened by the release of Vladimir Bukovsky—our struggle is aimed also against repression by the anti-working-class bureaucratic regimes. We strongly reject Bukovsky's praise of the prisoner exchange and in particular his counterrevolutionary "humorous" suggestion that Brezhnev be exchanged for Pinochet; but we defend his freedom of expression in the Soviet Union as well as that of open reactionaries à la Solzhenitsyn, so long as this is not expressed in counterrevolutionary actions.

These two cases cannot be thrown into the same bag—there is a vast abyss separating Chile and the USSR: the abyss of the class character of their respective states. We cannot abandon one of the fundamental principles of our Trotskyist program, that is, the defense of the socialist basis of the USSR as a bureaucratically deformed workers state. When organizations which claim to defend the Transitional Program, such as the OCI, forget this fundamental principle, they become anti-Trotskyists and even agents of anti-communism.

The political line of the OCI and the OCRFI—as well as of their irreconcilable imitators, the "Fourth Internationalist rebuilders" led by Varga—of "freedom for *all* political prisoners" and of promoting committees of the Amnesty International type, leads them to organize events such as the October 21 meeting at the Mutualité in Paris [see "French CP Backs Liberal Anti-Soviet Meeting," *WV* No. 133, 12 November 1976]. This meeting was organized by a "Committee of Mathematicians" backed by the OCI, but the OCI finally had to keep out of the meeting which it had initiated only to find it had turned into an open tribune for anti-communism.

The PCF's prominent participation in the meeting was true to its flamboyant

UPI

Brezhnev welcomes Luis Corvalán to the Kremlin December 23.

Richard Melloul/Sygma

Vladimir Bukovsky in Zürich December 18.

slogan from its 22nd Congress: "socialism in French colors." The PCF together with the Italian and Spanish Communist parties is in the forefront of the rightist degeneration of the European CPs. But for Mandel, leading theoretician of the majority tendency in the United Secretariat of the self-proclaimed "Fourth International," this "social-democratization" obviously means anti-bureaucratic pressure from the ranks (!!): "That is, the Communist parties which take the Eurocommunist road are not simply making concessions to the bourgeoisie but also to the working class, to the powerful anti-bureaucratic current developing within the West European working class" (from *Mundo* [Barcelona], 23 October 1976). Thus these renegades from Trotskyism justify their Pabloist policy of capitulation to the bureaucratic leaderships of the reformist workers parties. Quite to the contrary, the fact that the PCF has deleted the dictatorship of the proletariat from its program simply by a stroke of the pen, without significant internal splits or protests, is further proof of the crisis of leadership of the working class.

Today Corvalán is already in the Kremlin, seated beside the almighty Brezhnev, while Pinochet assures the world that there are no more political prisoners in Chile. This is hardly surprising coming from the mouth of the leader of the bloodiest massacre ever perpetrated on the proletariat of Chile and Latin America, yet even spokesmen for the junta are compelled to admit that there still are in Chile today 880 people imprisoned for "subversion" (Chilean delegate to the UN). The United Nations General Assembly, a body hardly suspect of "Marxist" subversion, by a vote of 95 to 12 (with 25 abstentions) adopted a resolution expressing "profound indignation" over these prisoners and demanding that the military junta immediately release the prisoners.

There are still some 2,000 political prisoners in Chile, divided among the various concentration camps: Chacabuco in Antofagasta, Pisagua near Iquique, Isla Juan Fernandez 360 miles from Valparaíso, Isla Quiriquina across from Talcahuano, Colliguay Alto in Valparaíso and Peñalolen in Santiago, not to mention the ordinary jails and barracks used as centers of imprisonment and torture. In addition, an indeterminate number—at least 1,500—have been "abducted" by the armed forces. Hundreds of their relatives search desperately through the prisons and barracks without obtaining information. In the best of cases the "missing person" is later found imprisoned and broken by torture; in others they never show up again; in an occasional "humane" gesture, the military may turn over to the relatives a mangled corpse.

Among the missing is Edgardo Enríquez, a leader of the MIR taken prisoner in Argentina and handed over to the uniformed butchers in Chile.

Critically important among those still imprisoned is the case of Sergeant Cárdenas and the leftist sailors who were arrested and savagely tortured for trying to prevent a military coup while the Unidad Popular government was in power. The then Minister of the Interior, Carlos Briones, a member of the SP, asked for the maximum penalty of the law against the "insurrectionary" sailors who had transgressed against the "democratic" and "constitutionalist" Chilean Navy. By coincidence, not a word is spoken about Cárdenas in the numerous international campaigns demanding freedom for Luis Corvalán. The so-called "Anti-Fascist Front" dares not mention the sailors since this would mean a self-accusation as defenders of the bourgeois order up until the last moment and conscious gravediggers of the Chilean proletariat. Bonapartism repays its class favors—today Corvalán and Briones are at liberty while no one knows if Sergeant

continued on page 11

Conviction Stuns Liberals

Jersey Court Frames Carter/Artis Again

On December 21, Rubin Carter and John Artis were again declared guilty of first-degree murder at a retrial in Paterson, New Jersey. The jury's railroad verdict in this blatant frame-up—the most prominent current political trial in the country—stunned both the defendants and their liberal/radical supporters. When the jury decision was read after nine hours' deliberation, Artis remarked, "I feel like I'm in a tunnel going around in circles." The kangaroo-court proceedings at the retrial were so obviously prejudicial against the defendants that the legal atrocities committed at the original trial were almost dwarfed in comparison.

The state of New Jersey has a long-standing vendetta against the two black men accused of murdering three whites in a Paterson bar ten years ago. Tens of thousands of dollars and more than a half-dozen investigators from the Passaic County prosecutor's office were devoted by the state to the retrial with single-minded vindictiveness. The original decision to "get" Carter came after the outspoken boxer, then a leading contender for the middleweight title, called for black self-defense in the wake of the bloody 1964 police riots in Harlem. The first trial judge has since moved up the judicial ladder, but the New Jersey police and court apparatus, severely discredited by revelations of bought testimony and suppressed evidence at the 1967 trial, has continued the attempt to vindicate itself in a massive self-protection cover-up racket.

They carefully picked a jury that would know its "duty." Out of the first 500 people selected as possible jurors, only 80 were black. Of these, every young black person was peremptorily dismissed from consideration so that the final jury composition was ten whites and two elderly blacks.

As its "evidence" the prosecution brought a new element into this trial, inventing a motive—"racial revenge" in the context of unrest in the Paterson ghetto that year—in an attempt to manufacture a race riot mentality in the minds of the jurors. A cop with no connection with the case was called to testify on the existence of an angry crowd of blacks outside another tavern, where a black bartender had been slain by a white man six hours previous to the Lafayette Grill murders on 16 June 1966.

It is Carter and Artis who are the victims of racist revenge, by the capitalist courts and cops. The state took the retrial—ordered by the New Jersey Supreme Court last March when it overturned the original convictions because of suppressed evidence that the key prosecution witnesses were bribed by the police—as a test of its "justice system," as indeed it was. Not only had the pair sat in jail for *nine years* (Artis will be eligible for parole in 1980) on the basis of admittedly bribed and perjured testimony, but at the retrial all the false testimony, cop conspiracy, judicial pressure and racist innuendo of the first trial were redoubled.

The retrial was obtained largely through the investigations of *New York Times* reporter Selwyn Raab. Raab's inquiry led to public recantations by the two star prosecution witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. The two originally testified that they heard shots as they were robbing a factory near the Lafayette Grill and saw Carter and Artis running away from the scene of the crime. Last year Bello told both Raab and WNET television reporter Harold G. Levenson that, aside from the $10,500 promised reward, Paterson police had promised to "take care of me" in his problems with the law.

At the retrial Bello reversed himself again, renounced the recantation and accused Raab and Levenson of bribing him to obtain it! Bradley, who stands by his recantation though he was not called to testify, states that, because he was awaiting trial at the time, "I lied to save myself." A motion by defense lawyers to prevent Bello from testifying since he was an admitted perjurer and chronic liar was turned down by Judge Bruno Leopizzi. But a less credible witness than Bello would have been hard to find. According to the 17 November *New York Times*:

> "Alfred P. Bello who identified Carter and Artis as the gunmen in the first trial 9 years ago, then recanted, then renounced his recantation, depicted himself on the stand today as a man who had lied constantly to almost everyone involved in this long and complicated legal battle.... At different points during the day Mr. Bello, a former convict, was heard admitting that he lied to the police, to Assemblyman Eldridge Hawkins who was appointed by Governor Byrne to study the Carter-Artis case and to the Essex County Grand Jury in 1975."

Moreover, the state's three prime witnesses, defense witnesses in the first trial who had recanted their original stories that they had been with Carter far away from the Lafayette Grill the night of the murders, *all* turned out to be presently linked to the police, either through marriage ties or employment. Merritt Wimberly, a witness who did not recant, took the stand and testified that one of those who had reversed his story, Welton Deary, told him he had joined the police force and was now changing sides "in order to protect his job."

Artis and Carter UPI

Reporters were not only forbidden to talk to the jurors during the trial, but in an unprecedented action Judge Leopizzi threatened to arrest any reporters who tried to interview the jurors *after* the verdict was in! "If you want to spend Christmas at home, then don't talk to them," he threatened reporters in his chambers. He also instructed the jurors not to talk to reporters. So furious was the prosecution over the exposés by liberal New York reporters which were instrumental in winning the retrial that it was announced December 28 that both Raab and Levenson may face prosecution on Bello's accusation that they pressured and bribed him to recant.

The defense had sought to defuse the trial atmosphere by attempting (unsuccessfully) to bar testimony which would turn the courtroom into a "racial battleground." Thus it never directly exposed the monstrous racist frame-up in which Carter and Artis were scapegoated for ghetto unrest, then railroaded in order to restore the tarnished "dignity" of the courts and cops. Instead, claiming that "the state has the right to prove whatever facts it wishes to prove," Leopizzi accepted the prosecution's unproved assertion of motive as "evidence."

During the last year and a half Carter and Artis have received a great deal of publicity in the media and have been the occasion of some large demonstrations. Celebrities who campaigned in behalf of these two victims of racist injustice included Muhammad Ali, Bob Dylan, Candice Bergen and others. Yet none of the big names attended the trial, and the defense committee foundered. There were none of the mass demonstrations that should have taken place, mobilizing blacks, labor and defenders of democratic rights and turning all eyes to the scandalous proceedings in that New Jersey courtroom.

As the defense reportedly attempts to gain yet a third trial—for which there are more than ample grounds—those who wish to effectively defend Carter and Artis must turn to class-struggle methods, mounting a massive defense mobilization and demanding not endless trials (in which the capitalist courts repeatedly victimize the victims) but immediate, unconditional freedom for Carter and Artis! ■

Free All Victims of Apartheid Terror!

SASO Nine Railroaded in South African Court

On December 15, the South African courts convicted nine student leaders associated with the South African Students Organization (SASO) under the notorious Terrorism Act. This once again demonstrated the brutal repression which is necessary to the survival of the racist apartheid system.

After a 17-month trial which laid bare the vicious reality of "separate development" for the oppressed non-white masses, it was cruel hypocrisy for the "enlightened" judge to pretend sympathy for the plight of the South African blacks even as he condemned the youths to prison: six were sentenced to ten years, the other three received five-year prison terms.

They will be sent to the same jails in which hundreds of anti-apartheid militants have been "detained" without trial. During the last year in these racist hellholes, seven black detainees have died under suspicious circumstances which the government usually terms "suicide."

Five white university activists tried on similar charges were acquitted on December 2. The five, including four leaders of the National Union of South African Students, were charged with conspiring to aid the outlawed Communist Party and African National Congress.

The following telegram was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee denouncing the racist frame-up of the SASO Nine:

South Africa Permanent Mission to the UN
300 E. 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017

South Africa Embassy
3051 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

We protest the outrageous verdicts against the nine black students of the South African Students Organization, and demand that they be immediately freed. Vorster's courts declare the anti-apartheid students guilty, but in the eyes of the international proletariat the SASO Nine are courageous fighters against barbaric white supremacy. The working class will not forget who is guilty for the massacres at Sharpeville and Soweto, and for the continuing repression of all who struggle against apartheid. Free All Victims of Apartheid Repression!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

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c/o SYL, Room 4316
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Ann Arbor, MI 48109

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Over 100,000 Jailed in World War II Racist Round-Up

The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps

CPUSA Expelled All Japanese Members in 1942

Over 110,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up and incarcerated in concentration camps during World War II by the Roosevelt administration following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. A recent book, *Years of Infamy* by Michi Weglyn, documents this savage uprooting and imprisonment of thousands, victims of capitalist America's racist war hysteria. Although Weglyn's view is that the concentration camps were "a democracy's mistake," the book is extremely valuable as a detailed exposé of the cynical atrocities perpetrated upon an entire racial minority.

Because of the liberal authorship of this monstrous act of imperialist barbarity—and the obvious comparison to Hitler's concentration camps for Jews—there has been until recently a "gentlemen's agreement" not to mention the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans. Not only is this important aspect of World War II seldom taught in the schools, but when a pamphlet ("Concentration Camps U.S.A.") appeared in the mid-1960's, many liberals refused to believe that the camps existed.

Today, some 35 years after Pearl Harbor, many prominent liberals have had attacks of conscience and now bemoan the "tragedy," "mistaken policy," etc., that they hailed and implemented at the time. The race-hate campaign and roundup of the Japanese Americans was in fact initiated at the highest levels of the U.S. government. It was not some crude red-neck nativism which swept the Japanese into concentration camps, but a policy decided by prominent "upper crust" liberals around Franklin Roosevelt, including Francis Biddle, Earl Warren and a host of others.

Even before Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt had begun probes of the "loyalty" of the Japanese Americans on the West Coast and in Hawaii, since war with Japan was expected to break out imminently. A secret report to the president prepared by Curtis Munson found an extraordinary degree of "loyalty" among Japanese Americans, concluding that "there is no Japanese problem." Following Pearl Harbor, however, the report was hushed up and plans for the roundup began.

The "tragedy" so bemoaned by liberals today was, of course, the fact that from the bourgeoisie's own viewpoint the Japanese Americans were "innocent"—that is, they did not oppose the imperialist war aims of the U.S. Presumably those who *did* refuse to go along *should* have been thrown into prison, as were the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. However, the U.S. government was unable to find any proof of saboteurs or enemy agents among the Japanese American population, and decided, therefore, to round up *everyone* on the incredible grounds that they couldn't tell who was or wasn't "loyal."

One of the most vociferous advocates of this policy was Earl Warren, later highly revered as a liberal on the Supreme Court. Warren, then attorney general of California, claimed that the "Japs" (as he called them in a report prepared for the Tolan Committee set up to expedite the roundup) had for years been infiltrating themselves into "every strategic spot in our coastal and valley counties," and that "there is more potential danger among the... Japanese who were born in this country than from Japanese who were born in Japan. As a member of the racist "Sons of the Golden West," he evoked the image of the "inscrutable Oriental": "... when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods that will test the loyalty of them.... But when we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field...."

The shoddy "legal" basis for the mass internment was Executive Order 9066 issued by Roosevelt on 19 February 1942, and Public Law 503 passed in March. The rulings gave the U.S. Army power to remove all individuals from military areas, designated as all Pacific Coast states and southern Arizona! Francis Biddle, then U.S. attorney general, sent Roosevelt a covering note on how to present the laws to the press: "It [Order 9066] is not based on any legal theory, but on the facts that the unrestricted movement of certain racial classes, whether American citizens or aliens, in specified defense areas may lead to serious disturbances." (Biddle was later to have his words thrown back in his face when he acted as a judge at the Nuremburg war crimes trials against the Nazis, who used the Japanese American concentration camps in the U.S. to justify the Jewish camps in Germany.)

The Concentration Camps

Even before a formal order came to round up the Japanese Americans, the U.S. government began its campaign of harassment. All persons of Japanese descent who were not citizens were immediately designated "enemy aliens," forbidden by law to become citizens, forced to register and carry identification cards with photographs and to turn over all "contraband" articles (short-wave radios, cameras, weapons). Bank accounts of "aliens" were frozen, liquor licenses were revoked under "trading with the enemy" laws, and the licenses of "alien" architects, doctors, teachers and other professionals were rescinded. Many West Coast Chinese wore "I am a Loyal American Chinese" buttons for self-protection on the streets as well as for their own chauvinist reasons.

In Canada, which instituted its own mass concentration camps a month earlier than the U.S., all Japanese males were ripped away from their families and sent to the Canadian interior. Their property and possessions were confiscated and sold at public auctions to pay for the incarceration costs—only later were their families shipped off to join them.

When Executive Order 9066 was promulgated in February, the U.S. Army immediately began nailing up huge posters in Japanese American neighborhoods, saying, "Attention All Japanese," informing them they had a week or so to settle all their affairs and show up for "relocation" with a bedroll and whatever they could carry. The

National Archives

Mass demonstration of internees at Tule Lake in response to "retroactive" termination as farm workers.

Wayne M. Collins

WRA security police raid barracks at Tule Lake.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Posting of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 1 in early 1942

Japanese American population, overwhelmingly older people who had immigrated before 1924 and their young children, were tagged and shipped off to temporary "assembly centers." Orphans were ripped out of orphanages, the sick were pulled out of hospitals and crammed into the hastily assembled camps built on race tracks (Santa Anita was one), stockyards and fairgrounds.

The "assembly centers" were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by soldiers with rifles, as searchlights played over them by night. Asphalt floors melted in the burning California sun, and the livestock facilities stunk from years of animal dung, hastily swept up. Tarpaper shacks with no windows and thin partitions housed thousands of families jammed together. Straw-filled sacks served as beds, while infants had to sleep in cardboard cartons. Toilets were left unpartitioned, outbreaks of measles and other contagious diseases spread rapidly, and hundreds became ill from the unsanitary conditions in old stables. In the initial dislocation, many disoriented older people were abused, as a hospital record from one of the assembly centers notes:

> "Older people who have poor memories, etc., get up at night and try to get out—Doctor says she has to bandage and sew up heads in the mornings of the old people who try to get through the gates and have been struck on the head by soldiers."

More permanent stockades were constructed farther east, euphemistically dubbed "havens of refuge" by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), which administered the program. The Japanese Americans were assured conditions would be better there, but upon arrival they found the same conditions—barbed wire, wooden guard towers and armed patrols in the midst of arid, freezing, barren wastelands.

As regular farmhands flocked to jobs in the expanding war industries, the incarcerated Japanese Americans were used by the government as slave labor to harvest the cotton crop in Arizona and the sugar beet crops of Idaho, Utah, Montana and Wyoming. They were given only token wages which they were forbidden by law to spend in the towns they had to pass through, for fear they would "subvert" the countryside.

The Loyalty Oath

Adding stinging bureaucratic insult to grievous injury, in 1943 the U.S. government decided to administer a loyalty oath to the imprisoned Japanese Americans. Already ripped from their homes and thrust behind barbed-wire stockades, they were now expected to swear undying loyalty to the American system. Additionally, the government decided to create a special segregated Army battalion of Japanese Americans, so they could "prove in blood" their loyalty, thus producing some of the finest soldiers in the American Army—the 442 regimental combat team.

The loyalty oath, which threw the camps into fear and confusion, contained such insinuating queries as:

> "Can you furnish any proof that you have always been loyal to the United States?"
> "What does the Samurai tradition mean to you?"
> "Do you believe in the divine origin of the Japanese race?"
> "Will you voluntarily remain out of the States of Arizona, Nevada, Utah until such time as public opinion makes you more welcome?"
> "Will you conform to the customs and dress of your new home?"

There were more than 70 other insulting proddings. This "oath" caused such dissension, confusion and fear that its results were almost useless, although the government sought to use it to further divide out "loyal" from "disloyal" Japanese, segregating the "hard cases" at the Tule Lake camp in California.

Tule Lake became a center of protest over the harsh conditions of prison life. A demonstration there, over the segregation of "troublemakers" in a special prison within the compound, resulted in the Army taking over Tule Lake from the WRA, a move which provoked nationwide applause and further racist hysteria over the "coddling" the "Japs" were supposedly getting.

Dorothea Lange/WRA

Manzanar Relocation Center in California.

Following the uproar over the loyalty oath, in 1944 the government passed another law, providing that American citizens on American soil could renounce their citizenship in time of war. This was an effort to finally get rid of the Japanese Americans who were citizens, and could not simply be kept in the camps forever after the war. Given the bitter experience of the camps, the U.S. hoped to trap the Japanese Americans into renouncing their citizenship, so that they could be deported. Pushed to the limit of their endurance by the racist, brutal treatment they had received, thousands did—an act they were bitterly to regret after the war.

Following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the war's end, early in 1946 the Japanese Americans were unceremoniously shoved out of the camps and told to "go home." Many had nothing left to return to, and it has been estimated that some 80 percent of the possessions abandoned five years earlier by the Japanese were either lost, stolen or sold. The desperate, hysterical mass renunciation of citizenship many were forced into during the last months of the camps became the focus of lengthy court battles as thousands of anxious families sought to avoid deportation to Japan. The searing tragedy of smashed lives and hopes dragged on for decades after the deactivation of the concentration camps.

Ominously, several of these camps still exist, ready to be reactivated in times of "national emergency," when under provisions of the anti-communist McCarran Act thousands of "potential spies and saboteurs" on a "master pick-up list" can be arrested overnight. The Tule Lake detention camp is maintained as a McCarran Act site, with a capacity of 10,000 (Charles Allen, Jr., "Concentration Camps U.S.A.," 1966).

International Japanese Hostages

Even before the outbreak of war, the U.S government had formulated plans for the mass taking of Japanese hostages within its areas of influence, to be used as pawns in dealing with Japan. Latin America and Europe were scoured for victims. In October, two months before Pearl Harbor, a deal was set up with Panama to immediately intern Japanese there in case of war. Costa Rica and other Latin American countries were pressured to hand over their Japanese residents to the U.S.

Since the Japanese in Peru were providing particularly stiff competition

continued on page 8

How U.S. Imperialism Persecuted Iva Toguri

In Defense of "Tokyo Rose"

AP

Iva Toguri d'Aquino taken from Japan to be tried for treason in California in 1948.

Iva Toguri d'Aquino, now 67 years old, runs a small shop on Chicago's North Side. Twenty-seven years ago in San Francisco she was tried, convicted and jailed for the crime of treason. Called "Tokyo Rose," she was the central figure in what was one of the most sensationally vindictive campaigns of racist and chauvinist persecution of post-war America.

"Tokyo Rose" was the collective name given to all the women's voices that were broadcast over the Pacific Ocean in the English language from Japan during World War II. Radio Tokyo played American popular records over the air, and the disc jockeys talked about "home." Presumably this was meant to demoralize the U.S. military forces, although there is no evidence that it did anything but provide entertainment to bored and lonely men.

But the vindictive state machinery of U.S. imperialism wanted a victim. The nationalist logic of inter-imperialist war demanded that after the carnage in the Pacific, a villain be found and persecuted as a symbol of U.S. victory and Japanese defeat. "Tokyo Rose" was to be that symbol, a figure who was nearly as widely despised as the Emperor Hirohito and the General Tojo.

Of course there was no one "Tokyo Rose," so Iva Toguri was picked by U.S. occupation authorities for the sinister role. The fact that Toguri had really done nothing criminal didn't matter much to the imperialist victors. Since

continued on page 8

Japanese Americans...

(continued from page 7)

to indigenous businessmen, the Peruvian government was only too happy to oblige, and provided over four-fifths of all the Latin American Japanese shipped to the U.S. As U.S. ambassador to Peru Henry Norweb informed the State Department on 20 July 1942:

> "...the [Peruvian] President is very much interested in getting rid of the Japanese in Peru. He would like to settle the problem permanently.... He asked Colonel Lord to let him know about the prospects of additional shipping facilities from the United States.... Peru would like to be sure that these Japanese would not be returned to Peru later on."

Following this wholesale kidnapping, the unfortunate Peruvian Japanese abandoned in the U.S. after the war, their usefulness as hostages over, were not allowed back into Peru. They were then informed by American authorities that they were in the country "illegally," having failed to obtain the proper visas and passports, and some 1,700 Peruvian Japanese were dumped in Japan!

State Department telegrams to Rumania asking for the "fourteen Japanese nationals in Rumania" to be handed over forthwith to the U.S., and to Belgium inquiring about Japanese there, indicate the depth of America's arrogance in simply scooping up human beings at will to deposit them in wretched camps for use in prisoner trades.

The wartime practice of making hostages of unfortunate nationals of the "enemy" country is not particularly new. However, the mass concentration camps in the U.S. were an unprecedented expression of chauvinist hysteria, emanating from the highest levels of the government, the liberal intelligentsia and the Democratic Party.

American Anti-Oriental Racism

The mass internment of Japanese Americans provided a vent for wounded national pride and frustration after Pearl Harbor. It also intersected the fear and hostility toward Japanese and other Asians on the West Coast. It is interesting that the large Japanese population in Hawaii was *not* incarcerated (although several thousand "suspect" Japanese, including fishermen who "knew the waters," were shipped to the U.S.). The relative absence of racial hysteria in Hawaii was due to the crucial and well integrated role of Japanese Americans in the economy—thus giving the lie to the "security danger" they supposedly represented.

Years of anti-Oriental race hatred on the West Coast also had an economic component. Businessmen who found the industrious Japanese American farmers a serious economic threat saw Pearl Harbor as an opportunity to finally crush their competition. Moreover, general anti-Oriental prejudice has been a constant theme of West Coast politics since the Civil War, as the influx of Chinese workers—who slaved on the railroads, in California's fields and as small shopkeepers—was used to keep down wages and whip up racist resentment and hostility among the white population. The Democratic Party built its strength in California through anti-Oriental demagogy, expressed by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

In 1924 Japanese immigration was also halted. Japanese who had arrived earlier, however, and who like the Chinese before them were denied U.S. citizenship, nevertheless managed to buy up quantities of cheap "undesirable" land and through hard work turn it into profitable farmland. By 1941 the Japanese Americans produced 35 percent of the commercial truck crops of California.

The California Chamber of Commerce, the Bank of America and the Associated Farmers along with the xenophobic "Native Sons of the Golden West" all saw in Roosevelt's evacuation order an opportunity to seize the land. The Bank of America and the U.S. government both extended loans to white farmers to take over the Japanese land as its owners were shipped off to the camps.

Who Defended the Japanese Americans?

The vicious atrocities against the Japanese Americans went almost unprotested in the years of American war fervor—at least among those liberals who today claim to be so concerned for "human rights" and "dignity." Franklin Roosevelt and the liberals around him designed and carried out the roundups, imprisonment and humiliations. The only people who dared to help the Japanese Americans were the Society of Friends (Quakers), who visited the camps and provided bedding, clothes and what personal aid they could, a very few individuals such as the pacifist Norman Thomas, and the Trotskyists, who were themselves facing severe persecution.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) abandoned the Japanese to their fate, claiming the roundup was perfectly legitimate and a legal part of the president's war powers. To their credit, sections of the California ACLU objected to the policy.

Because of its pretentions to represent the working class and oppressed, the Communist Party (CP) was perhaps the most disgusting of all in its betrayal. The CP was not merely swept up in the war hysteria, but one of the most rabid drumbeaters for U.S. imperialism. It praised to the skies Roosevelt, and all he did, as the Soviet Union's great ally against fascism. The abandonment of the Japanese Americans by the Communist Party indicates the depths of national chauvinism to which its cynical class collaboration and support for Stalinist foreign policy led it.

The day after Pearl Harbor, the CP National Committee (then headed by William Z. Foster, as Earl Browder was in jail), pledged "its loyalty, its devoted labor, and its last drop of blood in support of our country in this greatest of all the crises that ever threatened its existence.... Everything for National Unity!" The statement, printed in bold type on the front page of the 8 December 1941 *Daily Worker*, began dramatically: "Japanese guns have fired on the American flag."

The *Daily Worker* carried "news" items on "subversives" during December 1941 and early 1942, such as "FDR Orders Enemy Alien Registration" (1 January), and "Coast Sharpens Vigil Against 5th Column" (15 January). A special article by Blas Roca (long-time Cuban CP leader, still active under Castro) on 25 January 1942, entitled "Pearl Harbor Holds Vital Lesson for Cuba," was a masterpiece of slanders, lies, chauvinist hysteria and vicious attacks on the Japanese Americans:

> "As it has already been published, the fifth column of Pearl Harbor was formed by the Japanese of Honolulu, many of them American citizens with more than 20 years in the country, established as business men and with children born in the island."

Repeating the outrageous stories the U.S. Army put out, Roca claimed that the Japanese bombers over Pearl Harbor were "led by arrows made on the cane fields, in the same manner that their Axis partners may be directed tomorrow by hundreds of "fifth column greengrocers'." But what about the presumably "loyal" Japanese Americans? Roca blasts "many outstanding North Americans" for their "interested and blind defense" of the Japanese Americans, warning that "the fact remains that among them Japan recruited countless spies and agents of sabotage...."

In 1972, in the guise of reviewing a book on racism in California (and fifteen years after its first, enormously inconspicuous apology), the CP belatedly admitted its rotten betrayals, while attempting to cover itself with the

Tokyo Rose...

(continued from page 7)

the "day of infamy" attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. propaganda mills had been characterizing the Japanese as "inscrutable" and "sneaky," while over 100,000 Japanese Americans were interned in concentration camps as supposed "fifth columnists" (see article this issue).

This found its way into the movies in the character of the Japanese commander who tells his captured American prisoners not to be surprised that he speaks their language because he was educated in California. The popularization of "Tokyo Rose" as a racist stereotype was particularly explosive in its sexual overtones, calling up the image of the "Dragon Lady," alluring but treacherous villain of Milton Caniff's chauvinist comic strip "Terry and the Pirates."

The case of "Tokyo Rose" is once again in the news, but this time she is not the target of the frenzied super-patriots who demanded her imprisonment after the war. In November, Iva Toguri requested a presidential pardon and reinstatement of her citizenship, and she may well receive it. This year the California legislature and the San Francisco board of supervisors passed unanimous resolutions supporting a pardon. The Los Angeles city council reversed its 1948 position opposing her re-entry into the U.S. and now supports her pardon and right to citizenship.

The pressure of the 30,000-member Japanese-American Citizens League no doubt accounts for some of the willingness to rethink the case. But also, with the passage of time it has become impossible to suppress the facts of the case—the truth is coming out over the din of racist hysteria. Most recently her story was sympathetically told by John Leggett in the *New York Times Magazine* (5 December). It is not merely the story of an innocent young girl caught up in the cruelty of imperialist war, although that is surely Iva Toguri's personal tragedy. It is also the story of the hypocrisy and racism of bourgeois class "justice."

The Case of Tokyo Rose

After growing up in southern California and graduating from high school, Iva Toguri was chosen by her family to visit a sick uncle in Japan. While she was there in 1941, Japan and the U.S. declared war and she was trapped. Tokyo authorities wanted her to take Japanese citizenship, but she could barely speak the language and refused. It is interesting that she held on to her American citizenship, in a country at war with the U.S. and at a time when "her country" was "relocating" Americans of Japanese descent into concentration camps.

In Japan, Toguri was denied a food ration card and forced from the home of her aunt and uncle because of harassment from the police and neighbors. Without a ration card and a place to live, in a country where she could barely communicate and didn't know the customs, Iva Toguri's choice was to find work or starve. She found a number of part-time jobs.

One of her part-time jobs was as a typist for Radio Tokyo. Here she made friends with a number of Allied POW's assigned to the radio station by the Japanese authorities. She met Major Charles Cousens, an Australian officer, and Captain Wallace Ince of the U.S. Army. After the war they both argued that their show, "Zero Hour," was an attempt at propaganda sabotage when it wasn't simply broadcasting American pop tunes. When it was decided that "Zero Hour" could use a woman's voice in 1943, Cousens and Ince were instrumental in selecting Iva Toguri. They wrote the scripts and Toguri broadcasted as "Orphan Annie." In fact, none of the various women who broadcast over Radio Tokyo used the name "Rose."

Yet the myth grew. After the war, U.S. journalists found a hungry and insecure Iva Toguri who allowed an interview, for which she was promised $2,000 she never saw. She was held by U.S. authorities for 11 months until the Army's legal division released her in October 1946, after saying that "Toguri's activities, particularly in view of the innocuous nature of her broadcasts, are not sufficient to warrant prosecution." Cousens and Ince were also cleared of involvement in treasonous activity. Iva thought she might at last come home.

But in America the cold war was beginning—the mobilization of public opinion behind U.S. imperialism's drive to be the world's leading power. Among the many targets for savage punishment for "disloyalty" and "un-American activities" was Iva Toguri. Walter Winchell advised "Mr. and Mrs. America" that "Tokyo Rose" must be kept out of the U.S.; American Legion posts demanded that she be jailed. And sure enough, Iva Toguri was arrested again in August 1948 and charged with treason.

Now separated permanently from her husband, Felipe d'Aquino, with little money and a racist witchhunt mounted against her, she was fortunate enough to find a courageous lawyer to represent her: George Olshausen, a left socialist.

The U.S. government had no legal case, but it was determined to send a Japanese woman to prison as "Tokyo Rose." Central to the case was the testimony of two Japanese witnesses who renounced their U.S. citizenship at the outbreak of the war. They testified that they heard the same broadcast by Toguri when she allegedly said: "Orphans of the Pacific, you are really orphans now. How will you get home now that all your ships are sunk?" But no tapes or transcripts survived to corroborate the testimony.

In a travesty of justice, Toguri was prevented from subpoenaing witnesses who could aid her defense, although the prosecution had unlimited rights to do so. Six blacks and two Asian Americans were peremptorily dismissed from the jury by the state. But the all-white jury seemed deadlocked until the judge instructed them to bring in a verdict. So after days of deliberation they brought in a verdict of guilty. On 7 October 1949, after Iva Toguri had already spent two years in jail, Judge Roche sentenced her to ten years in prison, a $10,000 fine and loss of her U.S. citizenship.

She was released from Alderson Prison in 1956 after nine years of imprisonment, being separated from her husband and losing a child in childbirth, as well as being hounded by both Japanese and U.S. governments. Iva Toguri was the victim of racism, imperialist war hysteria and cold war witchhunting. She was never guilty of anything but trying to stay alive by working and perhaps a mistaken and naive trust in the U.S. government.

Many others were victimized by the "democratic" U.S. imperialists during and after World War II. The leaders of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party were the government's prime targets because they took the principled Leninist position of calling for the defeat of *all* the imperialist bourgeoisies in World War II and for the victory of the international proletariat.

Iva Toguri was certainly no revolutionary. She was, and continues to be, a naively "loyal" American. It is not for her national loyalty that she deserves our efforts in her defense, but rather because she has been victimized by racist, chauvinist class "justice." That is why revolutionaries defend "Tokyo Rose." ■

excuse that, after all, *everybody* was more or less racist then:

> "The virulence of this racism in California has affected the Socialist movement, the labor movement, and it is reflected even in the Communist Party....
> "When the war between the United States and Japan began in the midst of World War II, the U.S. Army decided to round up all people of Japanese ancestry and to herd them into concentration camps on the West Coast. Among others who failed to fight this vicious racist action which violated the most fundamental democratic rights was the Communist Party.
> "Under a slogan of 'unity' in the struggle against fascism and Japanese imperialism, the Party allowed this act to go unchallenged, decided to drop Japanese from membership, and allowed their members to go to concentration camps."
> —*World Magazine*, 1 January 1972

This vile "excuse" for class collaboration is a slander of those few courageous revolutionaries and others who defended the Japanese Americans.

The Record of American Trotskyism

The American Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) defended the persecuted Japanese Americans both in their press, the *Militant*, and through whatever concrete aid they could offer. The SWP was then a small party, the target of a CP campaign of slander and intimidation. Their leaders had just been convicted under the Smith Act in Minneapolis and faced lengthy prison sentences. Nevertheless the Trotskyists extended what support they could to the persecuted Japanese Americans.

As a veteran Trotskyist organizer, in Los Angeles in 1941, has recounted, many Japanese Americans in the important CP fraction in San Pedro Harbor turned to the Trotskyists for aid when "their" party, the CP, told them they were no longer considered members, that they should expect no help from the party, and that they should accept any and all directions from the U.S. government and army. The West Coast Trotskyists helped the Japanese Americans secure their property and make personal arrangements and aided however they could in the days before internment.

In sharp contrast to the *Daily Worker*, the *Militant* carried many articles exposing the racist lies and atrocities against the Japanese Americans. In March 1942 the *Militant* attacked the "brutal and indiscriminate witchhunt being conducted against non-citizens," calling the government's roundup "characteristic of a racial pogrom" and exposed the big business interests behind the evacuation pressure on the West Coast:

> "And so the story of the Japanese American evacuation stands today—a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desires of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy'."
> —*Militant*, 30 May 1942

In July 1942 the *Militant* declared:

> "The American workers must let the ruling class know in no uncertain terms that they are ready to fight again in defense of their democratic rights and that they are as much opposed to racial discrimination when it is practiced in the United States as when it is practiced in Germany and the Far East."

Today it is cheap for the liberals to shed tears of remorse over their horrible "mistake," for the CP to attempt to slide out from under its horrible betrayals through slandering everybody as "racists." But in the war years, when American imperialism exposed its true bloodthirsty and vicious character, they were enthusiastic partners in persecution. The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with the revolutionary tradition of the Trotskyists who, in the face of terrible persecution themselves, courageously stood up for the rights of the oppressed against all odds and opposed the imperialist war aims of the U.S. ■

Albania...

(continued from page 3)

for its tradition of blood feuds, there was a regional/clan aspect to the purge. Xoxe and the other purge victims were members of the northern Ghegs, while Hoxha is a southern Tosk (the other major language group).

Until the split between Moscow and Peking, Albania remained a faithful follower of the Kremlin, serving after 1948 as a military base for the Soviet fleet. But in the Sino-Soviet split Hoxha allied himself with Peking for reasons having nothing to do with "peaceful coexistence" or any of the other ostensible ideological reasons for the bureaucratic split. Albania at first equivocated on the differences between Peking and Moscow, allying itself with China only when it became clear that a continued alliance with the Soviet Union would necessitate rapprochement with Yugoslavia.

But even before the formal break, the PPS had been busy expelling pro-Soviet party members, among them several political bureau members. When in 1961 Khrushchev attacked Hoxha's "savagery" in executing central committee member Liri Gega, the Albanian leader retorted that as head of the secret police she had personally executed several other CC members by hitting them over the head with a sledge hammer. Perhaps CCers are no longer demoted with sledgehammers, but the latest purge and the lockstep flavor of the seventh PPS congress indicate that Hoxha is still firmly in the saddle, and the rule of Albania's threadbare bureaucracy remains undisturbed by even the slightest token of workers democracy.

Locating the "Primary Contradiction"

There has always been a shading of difference between the foreign policies of Albania and China. Thus Hoxha has attacked the Soviet Union not only for its explicit policy of peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism, but also for its tacit approval of the Shah's repressive internal policies in the early and mid-1960's and for Soviet complicity in the destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965 because of its confidence in the "anti-imperialist" Sukarno. Albanian publications remain silent, however, about Mao's support for Iran's butcher and the equal responsibility of Peking in the Indonesian disaster.

In recent months, these policy differences have been growing as China has developed the position that "social-fascist" Russia is the "more aggressive" and "more dangerous" of the two "superpowers." Hoxha has continued to maintain that both "superpowers" are equally dangerous. Thus at the seventh PPS congress, a key section of Hoxha's report was his assertion that, "the two superpowers are the principal and most dangerous enemies of the peoples, and therefore we can never support ourselves on one imperialism to fight the other or to escape from it" (*Bandeira Vermelha*, 24 November).

It is this line that attracts the Portuguese PCP-R and the German KPD-ML when they praise Hoxha as "the greatest living Marxist-Leninist, whose teachings show the sure way to the communists of Europe and the rest of the world." The PCP-R went so far as to "entirely approve the Marxist-Leninist proletarian line of Comrade Enver Hoxha's report" at a central committee meeting, and its leaders attended the PPS' seventh congress as special guests. KPD-ML leader Ernst Aust, a long-time hard-line Stalinist, also attended the Tirana congress, and his newspaper (*Roter Morgen*, 26 November), in an article entitled "Study the Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha," praised the speech as a sharp weapon against revisionism "because it is guided by nothing else but the teachings of

Eastfoto

Arms from Soviet Union displayed in Tirana parade.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" (isn't someone missing here?). Not present at the PPS meeting was even a single representative of China.

Albania's "two equally dangerous superpowers" line is being eagerly seized upon by European Maoists who have been embarrassed by Peking's increasingly explicit alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR. Various Chinese pronouncements have made it clear that this includes calling for the strengthening of NATO and support for the most reactionary domestic forces in West Europe, such as Franz Josef Strauss in Germany. While some Peking-loyalists have taken up this policy and developed it into a policy of "defense of the fatherland," others have gagged on it, fearing a loss of credibility in the radical milieu.

In Portugal, for instance, immediately after the April 1974 coup there were six different Maoist groups with unclear lines of political demarcation. Of these, the PCP-ML has remained a tiny sect with its policy of openly supporting bourgeois forces against a supposed threat of "social-imperialist" aggression; the MRPP has lost influence with a line that is theoretically against "both superpowers" but in practice directed against the pro-Moscow Communist Party; and the remaining groups fused to form the PCP-R, which holds U.S. imperialism to be the main danger. The PCP-R is now by far the largest of the Maoist groups, with a periphery of several tens of thousands, while the PCP-ML has nothing but the Peking franchise.

In Germany the KPD-ML has gone through grotesque contortions over the question of "defense of the fatherland" and the question of the "main contradiction." During 1975 it wallowed in the most extreme anti-Sovietism, arguing that resistance by the West German Bundeswehr to a "social-imperialist invasion" would be a "just war of national defense." Aust went so far as to sue Social Democratic defense minister Georg Leber for "insufficient preparations" to defend against the "Soviet danger."

But after visiting Tirana in December of that year, the KPD-ML leader announced an abrupt switch. In Aust's 1976 New Year's speech he made a little "self-criticism": some KPD-ML documents had "unclear" and "confusing" views, it seemed, on the question of the "main enemy of socialist revolution in West Germany." Now it seems that "the West German working class is oppressed in the first instance by West German imperialism and secondly by U.S. imperialism" (*Roter Morgen*, 3 January 1976).

A Hoxhaite International?

Not only did Hoxha implicitly attack the Peking line of an anti-Soviet "united front" with U.S. imperialism at the PPS' seventh congress, but he hinted at the formation of an "ML" International. He spoke of the "quite useful activity" of the Comintern "at the time of Lenin and Stalin," although downgrading its role to mere "cooperation" of the national parties, which "naturally" must be independent and not "receive orders from one another" (*Roter Morgen*, 13 November 1976). As the "critical Maoist" Kommunistischer Bund (KB—Communist League) in West Germany noted, this is the first time since the Sino-Soviet split that such a suggestion has been made.

However, for several reasons it is unlikely in the extreme that a "Marxist-Leninist" International will ever see the light of day. In the first place, such a project would have to be undertaken without and largely against China. The Peking leaders have for decades resisted even so much as officially recognizing "fraternal parties" in the West, and the only international organization it has ever sought to build is that of "non-aligned" countries run by "Third World" despots.

The Albanians have begun to move away from any identification with Maoism. Thus demonstrators celebrating the seventh congress of the PPS carried in the front line mammoth pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; and in his speech, Hoxha repeated (on at least four occasions) this quartet, mentioning Mao only in relation to China. (Even while praising close relations with China, judging from excerpts published in the PCP-R's *Bandeira Vermelha*, Hoxha neither greeted Chinese leader Hua Kuo-feng nor condemned the "Gang of Four." Coincidentally, the last major Chinese leader to visit Albania was Yao Wen-yuan, one of the "Four.")

Moreover, to actually build an International means deciding upon which groups are the official sections, a procedure which requires either a combination of material inducements and a powerful repressive apparatus (as Stalin ruled the Comintern), which Albania would be hard put to supply, or a political struggle for a common line. The latter is unacceptable to the Stalinists because it could easily lead to a build-up of pressures for soviet democracy as prevailed in the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky. Enver Hoxha will hardly permit in his "International" what he could not tolerate in his own "party" without jeopardizing his bureaucratic rule.

In any case, while various "critical Maoist" groups may cut the ties that bind them to Peking, they are unlikely to exchange them for a Tirana franchise. It is one thing to believe that Stalin would overtake the West in a decade, or even that China could catch up in 50 years; it would be ludicrous to think that Albania could be anything other than an impoverished backwater without aid from the most advanced industrial powers. (Khrushchev was reportedly so struck by Albania's backwardness that he advised its leaders to forget about industrialization and stick to sheep and olives.) For today's "critical Maoists" to sign up as front men for Enver Hoxha would mean becoming the laughing stock of the left.

The counterrevolutionary policies of *both* the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies have become increasingly clear to would-be revolutionaries throughout the world. Yet the Albanian bureaucratic ruling clique, which for its own reasons has evidently become dissatisfied with its Peking benefactors, can only oscillate from one overlord to another. Real revolutionary leadership for the international proletariat can only come through a struggle against *all* the Stalinists, through political revolution from Tirana to Moscow and Peking, and by the reforging of the Trotskyist Fourth International as a true world party of socialist revolution. ■

China...

(continued from page 1)

robberies, murder and rape." And today's *New York Times* reports that according to the Honan provincial radio, People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops have taken over the key rail junction of Chengchow.

Military occupation of the coastal province of Fukien in late October could be viewed as a successful mopping-up operation against bureaucratic supporters of the Chiang Ching clique. But the reported "civil war" in Szechwan, riots in Paoting and labor unrest in Chengchow point to a serious disintegration of China's political and social order.

Although information about the current situation depends on the far-from-credible official Chinese organs and second-hand reports of bourgeois journalists in the major cities, reports of recent fighting indicate that the intra-bureaucratic conflicts may be fueling upheavals of a far broader and more spontaneous character. The clique- and faction-ridden Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, under the weak regime of the colorless, little-known Hua Kuo-feng, cannot contain the explosive pressures generated by uneven economic development, mass discontent, scarcity and inequality, and political repression. Chinese society is becoming unstuck.

Ever-Deepening Purge

The Hua regime has stated its intention to deepen the campaign against the "Gang of Four" and extend the purge throughout the 30-million-member Communist Party. On December 24, Hua announced that a "movement of consolidation and rectification" would be launched.

Here Hua is as good as his word. With each passing day some prominent Chinese figure disappears from public life. Early last month foreign minister Chiao Kuan-hua was dismissed and the regime announced other unspecified "appointments and removals." When Peking party boss Wu Teh failed to appear at an important national farm conference last week, bourgeois commentators deduced he was a purge victim.

Most of the "rectified" leaders will certainly be accused of being cohorts of the "Gang of Four." In most cases this accusation will be false. The so-called "moderate" majority which ousted the "gang" last October was a heterogeneous, conflict-ridden grouping whose only point of agreement was hostility to the Chiang Ching clique and to upstarts like Wang Hung-wen, who rose to prominence during the Cultural Revolution. With Chiang Ching's cohorts out of the way—at least at the uppermost levels of the bureaucracy—all the conflicts which have beset Chinese Stalinism for the past three decades are reappearing among the victors of October.

An editorial in the 23 December Peking *People's Daily*, the official party organ, characterized the four arrested leaders—Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan—as "active counterrevolutionaries." This is the term usually applied to Kuomintang agents and is qualitatively harsher than the charges Mao levelled at his bureaucratic rivals Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Not only does this have grave implications for the four (they could be executed), but it should be, mind-boggling to foreign Maoists. After all, Chiang Ching and her friends weren't exactly nobodies: if the Chinese "socialist" regime was presided over during the past period by "active counterrevolutionaries," does that mean that capitalism was secretly restored and has now been overthrown again? The thought should send would-be serious foreign Maoists into the cocktail lounges and mental hospitals.

A key purpose of the campaign against the "gang" is to shore up the authority of Hua's weak regime by blaming all of China's manifold social and economic difficulties—endemic to a bureaucratically deformed workers state, especially one so economically backward—on sabotage by the purged leaders. They have been accused of preventing "preparedness against war and modernization of the army"; stifling culture and the arts; "destroying education"; undermining the rural commune system and agricultural production; and impeding industrial and technological development. But just where were Mao, Hua and other party leaders when the "counterrevolutionary Gang of Four" were supposedly sabotaging the Chinese economy?

Just as the "gang" is held responsible for China's ills, the campaign against them is supposed to open a cornucopia of opportunities for economic and social development. Recent production increases claimed in the national chemical industry, the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company and a large tractor plant in Kiangsi province have all been hailed as victories stemming directly from the "overthrow of the Four."

For Political Revolution Against Chinese Stalinism

The evident preoccupation of the Hua regime with economic development points to the root cause of the relative instability of Chinese Stalinism. The legacy of Maoist economic adventurism (particularly the catastrophic Great Leap Forward), bureaucratic ultimatism and the extreme poverty and isolation of the Chinese deformed workers state (in part a result of China's counterrevolutionary foreign policy) has produced a materially discontented and increasingly restive population.

AP

Carter advisor James Schlesinger with Hua Kuo-feng during recent 23-day tour of China.

The millions of students ordered to the countryside to "learn" from the peasants are a mass of discontent both in the rural areas and in the cities to which many have returned illegally. Extreme regional income differences, built into the commune system with its emphasis on self-sufficiency, feed peasant unrest. The low-wage policy pursued by the Maoist regime since the early 1960's has exacerbated industrial unrest, provoking some important strikes in the past period, the most notable being that in the textile center of Hangchow in 1975, which were suppressed by the army.

It is revealing in this respect that Hua has accused the "Gang of Four" of "*mishandling*" the suppression of these strikes and riots in Hangchow and Paoting, indicating the common hostility to the working class which unites the squabbling bureaucratic cliques.

Hua and the remaining senior leaders (largely veteran PLA commanders) lack the broad political authority of Mao, who in the eyes of the Chinese masses is identified with the overthrow of bourgeois/feudal oppression and of foreign domination. Because of the fundamental inability of Stalinism with its nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" to transform China into a modern, nationally integrated industrial society, Mao's heirs face the same centrifugal tendencies that have beset weak Chinese governments for centuries.

Furthermore, the backwardness of communications and transport as well as of military technology, limits the effective repressive power available to the central state apparatus. At the same time, the policy of economic decentralization and the associated strength of provincial military and party leaders threaten to unleash unchecked regional autarky and incipient warlordism.

In their vicious clique battles and ritual of vilification and purge, the Stalinist mandarins threaten more than their own careers and miserable necks. They undermine the very foundations of proletarian property forms upon which their bureaucratic regime rests. Defense of the real and important gains of the Chinese revolution requires the extension abroad of the gains of the Chinese revolution and the institution of workers democracy through soviets; that is, a proletarian political revolution under the banner of communist internationalism, of Trotskyism! ■

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Sadlowski...

(continued from page 1)

525,000 steelworkers, today you have 357,000 employed.... That says something about what that industry has done, and what this union *hasn't* done to keep abreast.... I think it's long overdue that we start talking about a shorter workweek—not just talking about it, but making it a reality."

PENTHOUSE

Sadlowski: "We have already benefited from what our brains have produced technologically. We've reduced labor forces from 510,000 fifteen years ago to 400,000 today. Let's reduce them to 100,000. The coal miners went from 400,000 to 68,000."

Interviewer: "But what happens to the guys who get laid off?"

Sadlowski: "In the present structure, they find employment somewhere else. Society absorbs it."

Interviewer: "How does society absorb it? There seem to be a lot of unabsorbed people right now."

SOCIALISM

MILITANT

Interviewer: "Well, are you a socialist?"

Sadlowski: "In the sense of Eugene Debs, yes. You carry that answer back with you. Get a handbill out—get it just exactly as I quoted it now."

PENTHOUSE

Sadlowski: "I don't have a political philosophy. I'm not that sophisticated."

Interviewer: "If you could replace capitalism, what would you replace it with?"

Sadlowski: "It's not a question of a system. It's a question of the distribution of the system. The worker should get a larger share than he's getting now."

Malinowski

Ed Sadlowski

LABOR BUREAUCRACY

MILITANT

Sadlowski: "They're calling Abel a labor statesman and responsible union leader. I'm very leery about any form of statesmen, especially a labor statesman. His concept is to be responsible to the industry, not to the membership. The only guy that he thinks he's responsible to is the boss."

PENTHOUSE

Sadlowski: "Abel doesn't get money from U.S. Steel. They don't pay him for being a dinosaur. Abel is very inconsistent. I've seen him come out strong. I've seen him backtrack. Abel is his own boss."

Interviewer: "George Meany?"

Sadlowski: "You ask me about Meany. I ask what you're measuring him by.... Meany has been very, very consistent on domestic affairs. I think, however, he should have said more than he said."

Interviewer: "How do you assess Walter Reuther's place in history?"

Sadlowski: "I think that Reuther was probably the most significant, decent labor leader in the last quarter century. In my opinion, he was progressively sound."

NATIONALIZATION

PENTHOUSE

Interviewer: "Do you envision ultimate ownership of the industry by the people who work in the industry?"

Sadlowski: "No. That might work in Western Europe, to some degree, but it doesn't seem likely here." ■

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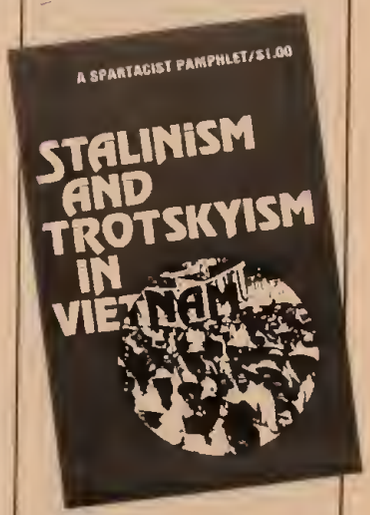

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Daley...

(continued from page 12)

commercial center of the downtown Loop—which buoyed up the Democratic machine. It was the availability of a few crumbs to distribute that made possible the lucrative real estate deals and development projects which Daley used to keep both Republican big businessmen and organized labor happy.

Blacks and Labor

The black vote, organized and delivered to Daley by South Side bosses like William Dawson, and the AFL bureaucracy, headed by William Lee of the Teamsters, put Daley in office in 1955 and kept him there for over two decades. In return, Daley gave Dawson a free hand in the massive ghetto and authorized a number of housing projects in black neighborhoods. Top city jobs were systematically awarded to his loyal supporters in the unions like William McFetridge of the Flat Janitors Union (appointed head of the city parks system), William Lee (appointed head of the civil service commission) or Joe Germano of the Steelworkers (appointed to the library board). One or another of Germano's flunkies has had a seat on the school board since 1954.

Daley, who consistently refused to grant collective bargaining rights to thousands of city workers, maintained his patronage system to the end, and thus his direct control over thousands of jobs. The labor bureaucrats happily acquiesced. At the same time, he cultivated his cherished "friend of labor" image through the paternalistic practice of periodically granting wage increases through pressure on "downstate" to come up with the necessary money, as in the 1974 Chicago teachers strike.

Daley's skill at integrating the top labor bureaucrats into the Democratic machine and the building boom he encouraged in the downtown Loop area, providing many jobs to the labor aristocracy in the construction trades, have effectively kept the lid on labor unrest in Chicago. But today, as the city faces a financial crunch and significant erosion of manufacturing jobs (which dropped by 21 percent between 1969 and 1974), with an estimated unemployment rate standing at over 50 percent among Chicago's black males, the era of the "city that works" is coming to an end.

Explosive ghetto riots already ripped the city's façade of ethnic peace in 1968 following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., prompting Daley to furiously order his cops to "shoot to kill." Now even the machine has begun to show signs of wear, with the reelection of black congressman Ralph Metcalfe in last year's Democratic primary despite a break with Daley. The Boss died before terminal decay had set in, but unrest was already visible behind the massive steel and glass monoliths of the Loop. Now the rich and powerful are worried that no one can take his place.

Daley's Heirs

With Daley hardly in the ground, a power struggle broke out among the faithful. A squabble immediately erupted in the city council over who would get to be temporary mayor until special elections are held—Wilson Frost, a black Democrat who as head of the council should automatically have been appointed, or one of Daley's Irish or Polish hacks. Ralph Metcalfe and Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH were quick to jump into the fray, threatening dire consequences unless Frost got the nod: "I'm fearful. I am just fearful," Metcalfe blustered. Jackson, not to be outdone, claimed that unless Frost were chosen, "It will make the city too unsafe, too unethical, too costly...too unmanageable" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 26 December).

Needless to say, this amounted to nothing more than a tempest in a smoke-filled room, as the machine-loyal Frost refused to be set up as "leader" of the Daley oppositionists, despite the blatantly racist maneuvering against him. After it was over Metcalfe sighed sanctimoniously at a meeting of the Ad Hoc Citizens' Committee for Fairness, "God didn't will that Frost would be Mayor...who are we to question God's will?"—not the first time Metcalfe has confused the machine with the "Almighty."

UPI

Chicago's acting mayor Michael Bilandic addresses city council beneath larger-than-life portrait of the late mayor.

An interesting sidelight on how ethnic politics are played in Chicago was the futile maneuvering by several members of the "Jewish caucus" of the city council. Hearing that the "Polish caucus" was going to get a specially created position of "vice mayor" and they would be left out, they promptly switched alliances and tried to join the Poles on the basis that their families were originally from Poland (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 28 December)! The Mayor's ghost was undoubtedly indulging in one of his infamous giggling fits.

One of the more ludicrous aspects of the overblown journalistic binge of adulation for Daley is the identification of the late mayor as the power making Chicago "work." To call Daley, that bloated ward-heeler whose imagination was limited to the confines of smoke-filled back rooms, the "soul" of Chicago reflects only the distorted vision of a bourgeoisie concerned above all with maintaining social peace so that it can continue its frantic drive for profits. If Chicago is "the city that works," it is only because of the hundreds of thousands of working people whose sweat and blood brought forth the fabulous wealth upon which it is based.

Chicago is the magnet of the Midwest, nerve center of railroads and airlines; on its Lake Michigan side ore freighters daily go down to feed the fires of the gigantic steel plants of Gary and the South Side; to the west stretch the rich farmlands of the Great Plains, whose produce is traded on La Salle Street, world capital of the wheat market. Daley and his cronies are only parasites leeching off the wealth produced by the working class. This 200 square mile commercial and industrial complex, scene of major labor struggles in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, will be one of the key centers of the American revolution.

Boss Daley is dead, but the web of the Democratic machine remains intact. Daley's cynical and poisonous legacy still cripples the black masses and the labor movement. The attitude that "it may be crooked, but it's the only game in town" has dominated Chicago politics for much too long—Daley was only one of the more competent dealers in the rigged game of bourgeois politics. We say good riddance to Daley, and pledge ourselves to abolishing the system which breeds him and his like. ■

Corvalán-Bukovsky...

(continued from page 4)

Cárdenas is still alive.

We do not believe that "humanitarian" exchanges of political prisoners will free victimized revolutionary and working-class militants; only the organized struggle of the Chilean and world proletariat can tear them away from the grasp of the junta's criminal hangmen. Campaigns for the release of the prisoners must be organized on the basis of revolutionary working-class principles: the class line must be clearly drawn and our politics cannot be confused with those of the enemy.

Examples of the correct application of a class-struggle campaign have been carried forward by the Partisan Defense Committee of the U.S. and the Europe-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile. The OTR wholeheartedly endorses the campaigns sponsored by these committees, which recently achieved a crucial victory in rescuing the revolutionary workers leader Mario Muñoz Salas from the clutches of the Argentine and Chilean dictatorships.

The prisons and torture chambers of Chile or any other country will not be ultimately eliminated until the international working-class leadership has been reforged, capable of leading the proletariat in its struggle to destroy the capitalist system and establish socialism. Likewise, in those countries where there are regimes like that which issued from Stalin's political counterrevolution in the USSR, such as those of East Europe, China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc., the struggle is posed for the construction of sections of the International to lead the political revolution to overthrow the rule of the parasitic bureaucracy.

—Free Edgardo Enríquez and all the "Missing Persons"!

—Free Sergeant Cárdenas and all Prisoners of Rightist Repression!

—For the Construction of a Trotskyist Party in Chile!

—For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

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Witchhunt of Puerto Rican Militants...

(continued from page 2)

ment of the Puerto Rican Community!" and "Self-Determination for the Puerto Rican Nation!" The Chicago Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) participated in the December 8 demonstration with placards demanding: "Stop the Grand Jury Witch Hunt!" "Independence for Puerto Rico!" "For a Trotskyist Party in Puerto Rico!" "No Illusions in Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism!" and "For a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!"

In counterposition to the nationalist PSP's popular-frontist chant, "The people united, will never be defeated!" the SL/SYL contingent chanted "Black, Latin, Asian, White—Workers of the World Unite!" Despite an attempt to suppress *WV* sales by PSP marshals (who with narrow nationalist logic explained that *only* the Puerto Rican movement was under attack, and therefore the Puerto Rican movement—i.e., the PSP—had the right to censor views expressed at the demonstration), sales of *WV* at the demonstration were brisk.

At the follow-up December 15 demonstration, in order to quarantine its ranks from revolutionary Trotskyist politics, the PSP-dominated Committee excluded the SL/SYL. While Youth Against War and Fascism, the Communist Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—all of whom habitually act as uncritical cheerleaders for "Third World" nationalists—turned their heads, PSP marshals threatened to tear up SL/SYL picket signs. They particularly objected to our signs bearing the slogan "No Illusions in Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism!" Militants must strongly condemn this cowardly political exclusion.

While the PSP marshals were splitting opponents of the witchhunt with such exclusionist tactics, the judge moved at the December 15 hearings to uphold the subpoenas. Not only must these subpoenas be quashed but the entire government witchhunt against the FALN, the PSP and other Puerto Rican independence organizations must be halted.

Marxists oppose individual terrorism as an impotent and dangerous strategy based on a lack of confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. We nevertheless defend militants who seek to strike at the class enemy in the name of the oppressed masses. Most of the bombings ascribed to the FALN have been directed against banks and other symbols of imperialism. But one such incident—the bombing of the Fraunces Tavern in New York in January 1975—was a case of criminally indefensible mass terror against innocent people. *WV* denounced this senseless anti-working-class outrage but expressed no confidence in the racist "justice" of the bosses' cops and courts.

The present government persecution is an attempt to victimize fighters for Puerto Rican independence and an attack on the entire left. An injury to one is an injury to all—smash the witchhunt! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bourgeoisie Mourns Chicago Autocrat

DALEY DROPS DEAD

So Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley is dead—and good riddance to that corrupt master of bourgeois big city politics, the wheeling-and-dealing vote-peddling dispenser of machine favors and juicy contract deals, "the Boss" backed up by his brutal police force and army of ward-heelers. After a 21-year career as mayor of the midwestern metropolis, Daley dropped dead of a heart attack in his doctor's office, surely the end he would have favored. Had he left office voluntarily, "His Honor" would doubtless have gone directly to jail on a host of corruption charges (assuming there's an honest judge in Chicago, that is).

The city was soon inundated with official glorification of the dead mayor. A billboard at Soldier Field proclaimed, "We Join in Mourning Our Great Leader Richard J Daley Goodbye, Friend," and the local media chimed in with a chorus of hyperbolic praise, the *Chicago Daily News* headlining "Loving City Buries Daley."

Chicago has certainly been called a lot of things, but "loving city" was never one of them. Along the ghetto streets in this most segregated of America's major cities there is no outpouring of love for the late mayor. Nor is there any love lost for Daley among those who demonstrated outside the Democratic Party convention of 1968 and were bloodied by Daley's rampaging cops as the whole world watched on TV.

As for "friends," even among his fellow Democratic Party politicians, there are few who would call him that. The memory of "kingmaker" Daley's highhanded behavior at that Chicago convention, shouting obscenities and cutting off the microphones of nationally known figures as if they were unruly members of his captive city council, still rankles. Nobody who knew the man loved him—Daley was feared and/or despised, yet still the national politicians, Carter, Ford, Rockefeller, McGovern, Kennedy, et al. flocked to his graveside to pay their last respects to the powerful politician who ran Chicago with an iron grip.

Ed Jarecki/Chicago Daily News

"The City That Works"

The bourgeoisie certainly has reason to mourn the passing of this master of ward-heeling politics, since traditional means of dominating the masses have become increasingly difficult to apply as America's big cities continue to disintegrate in the epoch of capitalist decay. And the Daley mystique—last of the big city bosses, Democratic kingmaker, the man who made Chicago work—has fascinated political commentators for years.

Daley was unique in recent years in managing to successfully play a bonapartist-like role as mediator between big business interests and the labor movement, in containing the large black vote and in adroitly manipulating the various ethnic blocs which have dominated Chicago politics for the last half-century. He came up through the Democratic machine, making all the right connections along the way and building his base among the city's Irish population, which is heavily represented in municipal government jobs. Behind the Daley mystique lies one of the most powerful repressive apparatuses in the country, ranging from a massive spying system to a ruthless police force equipped with armored anti-riot vehicles. But more than just another corrupt and dictatorial machine boss, Daley was able to maintain intact his unchallenged rule in part because he "delivered."

It is not necessary to deal in depth with the notoriously corrupt practice of the mayor and his administration, since even his fellow politicians and admirers will freely admit he was a past master at the usual practices of machine politics, including a little graft, nepotism, currying favor with the corporations and cold contempt for the poor. It is remarkable, nonetheless, how almost every single one of the men surrounding Daley was struck down by federal indictments for various forms of corruption. To hit just a few of the high points of *recent* history: over 50 North Side policemen sent to prison for extortion and income tax evasion in the early 1970's; chief of traffic and 18 vice detectives convicted in 1973 of extortion; federal judge and former governor of Illinois Otto Kerner, Jr. found guilty in 1973 of income tax evasion on racetrack stock; Cook County clerk Edward Barrett convicted in 1973 of bribery in purchasing voting machines; Daley confidant Matthew Danaher indicted in 1974 for a shady real estate scheme; city council leader Thomas Keane indicted in 1974 on conspiracy and mail fraud charges; and so on.

While a mere piker compared to respected members of the notorious "millionaires' club"—the U.S. Senate—where such "friends of labor" as Henry Jackson wield large personal fortunes built up during years of "devoted public service," Daley himself managed to lay aside a "nest egg" for a rainy day. He secretly owned a real estate firm called Elard Realty Co., which bought up acres of tax-delinquent South Side property expropriated by the city from impoverished blacks. In the process of this brutal "urban renewal," fortunes were made; Daley accumulated $200,000.

Daley's main concern, however, was always strengthening and maintaining his grip on the city. What was unique about Daley was his skill at manipulating and controlling the sources of political power in Chicago. In the final analysis, it was the willingness of the prosperous Chicago bourgeoisie to invest in "their" city—at least the thin strip along Lake Michigan stretching from the Gold Coast to the financial

continued on page 11

WV Photo

Sign in Soldier Field in downtown Chicago.

Chicago Sun-Times

August 1968, Daley's police and units of the Illinois National Guard battled demonstrators near the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 140 14 January 1977

Sunday Observer (London)

Anti-apartheid youth march to demand that minister of justice Kruger release militants.

SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION:

Black Unions the Key!

Implement International Labor Boycott January 17!

The white supremacist South African government has responded to the wave of black and "coloured" (mixed race) uprisings that has swept the country since June with a few token concessions and massive ruthless repression. According to the government's statistics (undoubtedly only a lying fraction of the real total), at least 400 non-whites have been massacred by the police.

The independent Institute of Race Relations estimates that in addition over 400 have been detained without charge, of whom at most about a quarter have been released in recent weeks. Nearly 4,200 have been arrested on such charges as riotous assembly, incitement and public violence. While most of them rot in jail awaiting trial, over 600 have been convicted and sentenced to the barbaric corporal punishment of "heavy caning."

Among these victims of apartheid repression are a number of activists associated with the nascent black labor movement. In November two dozen of these activists were served with banning orders; another half dozen were arrested. Banning orders are an elastic repressive measure, prohibiting specific activities (in this case, union organizing) and often including the virtual "civil death" of years under house arrest. The move followed an announcement by labor minister Marais Viljoen that the government will not extend legal recognition to black unions, a question which had been under official re-examination in recent months.

In response to these attacks on the black labor movement, the executive board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), meeting in Brussels on November 25, issued a call for national and international labor organizations "to take the strongest possible measures... to ensure that the bannings—which are tragically jeopardizing the efforts made so far by the African workers to organise themselves—be lifted forthwith." The board concretized its call by initiating an international trade-union protest campaign during the week of January 17, urging "large-scale rallies," educational activities and "industrial action," including "the grounding of South African aircraft and ships, as well as a boycott on the unloading and loading of goods destined for or coming from South Africa."

Most of those banned in November are white. Some are associated with groups like the Urban Training Project (UTP) of Johannesburg, the Durban-based Institute for Industrial Education (IIE) or the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau of Cape Town, which engage in research and education and assist black workers in forming unions. Others are organizers for unregistered African trade unions or officials of the Trade Union Advisory and Coordinating Council, which functions as a federation of black unions in the state of Natal. Some, like UTP chairman Loet Douwes-Dekker and IIE researcher Charles Simkins, teach in the universities, and seven are connected with the Wages and Economic Commission established by the National Union of South African Students in Cape Town.

The African labor movement is still tiny, comprising 24 unions with about 60,000 members and, while not formally illegal, it has no recognized organizational rights. Yet the combativity demonstrated in the extensive 1973-74 strike wave (when the bosses extended de facto recognition by negotiating with the unregistered unions) and the protest strikes organized in the non-white townships this summer make the apartheid butchers fear the potential role of organized black workers as a rallying point for mass struggles against white supremacy. Pretoria fears that concessions to the handful of existing black unions will open the floodgates to a mighty surge of social struggles by the five-million-strong black proletariat.

By the same token, the government is particularly concerned to abort any cooperation among blacks and whites on the trade-union front, indeed to crush any incipient white support to black struggles for democratic rights. The regime's anxiety does not flow from any direct threat posed by the tepid liberalism of a few anti-racist intellectuals or the staid trade-union economism encouraged by organizations like the UTP. It flows rather from the enormous assistance that even a tiny minority of whites, with their privileged access to culture and technology, could potentially lend to a revolutionary movement spearheaded by the black workers in alliance with their Indian and "coloured" class brothers. Moreover, even the slightest instance of genuine interracial solidarity flies in the face of every tenet of the apartheid system.

If massively implemented, the call for a week of industrial action could be an important opportunity for militant workers to demonstrate solidarity with their victimized class brothers in South Africa and to marshal the strength of the international proletariat to force Pretoria to lift the bannings and free *all* victims of the reign of apartheid terror. However, the ICFTU-initiated campaign clearly exhibits the deforming influence of labor reformism. Thus the call is narrowly focused on 24 banned or arrested union activists and fails even to demand release of all victims of the Vorster regime's police-state measures. It also includes a call for a consumer boycott, a liberal gesture which in the unlikely event that it were successful in putting pressure on the South African

continued on page 10

How Maoists "Restore Capitalism" in the Soviet Union 6

A review of Martin Nicolaus' *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR*

An Exchange:

Crime, Punishment and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

14 July 1976

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Comrades:

The question of the Marxist attitude towards punishment raised in *WV* [No. 117], 9 July 1976, can stand a lot of thought. I do not claim to be a master of the subject and am interested here in improving my grasp of it through an exchange of views.

The history of meting out "justice" in all hitherto existing societies is undoubtedly a tale of unrelieved horror. It does not follow from that that repressive measures are never just; indeed they are sometimes progressive from the standpoint of anyone who recognizes the difference between the hammerblow which breaks a link in the chain of a slave and the blow that reforges that link. What does follow from the history of official violence is that it is hard to tell which forms of repression are more humane and which less. Thus I doubt that "The deterrence argument upheld by the utilitarians in the period of industrial capital represented an advance." You say it broke with "the barbarous practices of torturing and maiming criminals." I do not know who is worse off, the convicted pickpocket in Khadaffi's Libya who gets his right hand amputated in accordance with the provisions of the Holy Koran, or, say, George Jackson, convicted of taking about twenty dollars from a service station and given a 1-to-30 year "conditional sentence" under the penal code of "enlightened" California. I do not know that there is any practice more "barbarous" than locking up a human being in a steel and concrete cage for decades or for life. That is a practice never conceived of by authentic barbarians, many of whom imagined exile from the tribe to be the supreme penalty, more terrible than death even. Deterrence also goes by another name: preventive detention. How is that an advance over "getting even" with offenders? In one case the state locks you up for what you have (presumably) done. In the other case it locks you up for what it suspects you are going to do. Whatever it may have been in the days of Jeremy Bentham, preventive detention in our epoch has become a method of holding on to power equally favored by unstable bourgeois regimes and by the Stalinist bureaucracies.

I strongly agree with you that "Socialists do not proceed from the standpoint of punishing the offender." I would add that socialists can no longer believe that putting anybody in prison is going to do him or her any good. If Marx still thought in 1875 that productive labor engaged in by prisoners was "corrective," he was wrong. A century later anybody can see that "houses of correction," so-called, are not what they were cracked up to be. I hope you will not tell me that corrective labor won't work under capitalism but will after the revolution. The revolutionary party should inscribe on its banners not the reform of prisoners through forced labor or the improvement of prison conditions but the abolition of institutions of punishment. In the struggle for socialism let us seek ways to realize the remarkable vision of Marx that "Under *human* conditions punishment will *really* be nothing but the sentence passed by the culprit on himself." (In a society whose principle is human solidarity, not the exploitation of labor and violence, it will be the responsibility of other human beings to commute that sentence.) I would like to know more about the Bolshevik attitude towards punishment. E.H. Carr's paraphrase of the 1919 party program, which you quote, contradicts the principle of no punishment, to which you subscribe. According to Carr the program calls for "a fundamental alteration in the character of punishment,... applying public censure as a means of punishment," and also "compulsory labour with retention of freedom." If this paraphrase is to be trusted, the 1919 program proposes to change the "character" of punishment but not do away with it in principle. By the way, how will we ever get from "applying public censure as a means of punishment" to the condition envisioned by Marx in your quotation from *The Holy Family* where a culprit "will see in *other* men his natural saviors from the punishment which he has imposed on himself"?

I get a different impression of Bolshevik penal theory than the one Carr gives from a reading of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*. Quotations from Soviet documents in that book convey that the Bolsheviks flatly repudiated the concept that punishment is the purpose of imprisonment. They held that defense of the revolution by isolating its opponents, quite a few of whom were armed and mobilized for several years after 1917, was the only justification for depriving anyone of liberty. They claimed no right of retribution nor did they argue that incarceration was beneficial to the imprisoned. But then the growing bureaucracy in the 1920s reintroduced the old formulas justifying prisons as places of punishment and corrective labor. (Solzhenitsyn tries to destroy the good name of the Bolsheviks in *Gulag* but his quotations sometimes undercut the attempt.)

Former members of the Russian bourgeoisie at compulsory labor, 1918.

The question of punishment must also be considered in the light of the Marxist theory of the state. According to that theory, before it was subject to brutal, nullifying, completely unacceptable amendment by Stalin and Mao, the growth of socialist society is to be measured by the fading away of classes, the attenuation of the class struggle, and the withering away of the apparatus of repression. According to the Stalin-Mao revision, as classes begin to disappear, the class struggle heats up and the survival of the revolutionary regime requires more and more repression of the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders. In reality that revision is a defense of the power of the bureaucrats. They shore up their authority by resorting to old ideas about punishment and correction (and to newer ideas like using psychiatric "therapy" against political opponents). They thus widen the gulf separating them from those whose mission it is to struggle towards a society in which violence, whether physical or mental, will have no further role in the relations between human beings.

Fraternally,
David Herreshoff

WV Replies: David Herreshoff's letter does not present a clear counterposition to our views on crime and punishment, which is why we have taken a long time to ponder it. Neither Herreshoff nor Marx nor the Bolsheviks nor the Spartacist League advocates forced labor, prisons or punishment. Along with a number of correct assertions, however, the letter offers some doubts, reservations and leading questions which taken together suggest an approach more closely associated with ahistorical humanism or libertarianism than with the traditions of revolutionary Marxism.

Herreshoff is quite right when he says that socialists must renounce the concept of punishment, and also that some repressive measures are necessary and just in the cause of liberating mankind. In these assertions he is in agreement with our article "Abolish the Death Penalty" in *WV* No. 117. But in the form of rhetorical questions he raises differences with our position that abolition of physical mutilation in official punishment represents social progress, and he also expresses uncertainties concerning the Bolsheviks' penal policies. In both these concerns Herreshoff abstracts the questions from the actual process of history.

Marxists should not find it so "hard to tell which forms of repression are more humane and which less." Communists need not be ambiguous about the abolition of the practices of drawing and quartering, disemboweling, pulling on the rack, breaking on the wheel and crushing on the "Scavenger's Daughter" out of fear that something equally cruel will take their place. Eliminating the most barbaric practices of official physical mutilation can be supported as part of the progress associated with the bourgeois revolution.

From the standpoint of subjective psychology and ahistorical relativism, one might also find it difficult to decide which is worse: the rigors of early industrial society or those of feudalism. But this viewpoint is alien to the Marxist who ultimately views human progress in the first instance as an advance in the development of productive forces.

Marxists do not proceed from the subjective desires (real or supposed) of individual victims, which are necessarily conditioned by existing social norms and ideology. We are against the rack even if some woebegotten sinner thinks he deserves it. In this regard it is illuminating to consider the contemporary case of Gary Gilmore. The fact that Gilmore has expressed a desire to be shot before a firing squad in Utah has no bearing whatsoever on the Marxist opposition to the death penalty (see "Stop the Legal Murder of Gary Gilmore," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976). That Gary Gilmore and some liberal ideologues have argued that it is less cruel to die immediately than "rot in prison" is for a Marxist no reason to look longingly to the savage and terminal punishment of the death penalty.

Similarly, an individual may subjectively prefer to have his body mutilated in Libya than spend time behind bars in California, but that is no answer to the social question of punishment, which must be posed in its historical/material context. In the first place, one never gets the choice: you cannot choose to be pilloried for a few weeks in Elizabethan London rather than spend years in a miserable U.S. prison. And it should not be forgotten that the society that cuts off the hands of its victim condemns him to lifelong misery as a helpless beggar and outcast.

It makes a significant difference historically that the bourgeoisie in its

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Green/Sygma

Saudi oil minister Sheik Yamani (center) at recent OPEC conference in Qatar.

David Rubinger/Time

Israeli troops patrol Nablus in the West Bank after recent Arab demonstrations.

Pax Americana in the Near East?

The fall of the Rabin government in Israel last month; the split in OPEC at its mid-December meetings in Qatar; the suppression of the civil war in Lebanon by 30,000 Syrian troops; and the PLO's capitulation to the proposal for a West Bank/Gaza Strip Palestinian "mini-state" are all part of a plea to the incoming Carter administration to impose a Pax Americana solution on the interminable Near East "crisis."

Defying for years UN resolutions to withdraw from the occupied territories, the Israeli ruling class has committed itself not to give up at the negotiating table what it can keep on the battlefield. The American bourgeoisie would certainly like Israel to make such concessions as would placate the surrounding Arab states and defuse the brink-of-war situation. However, the American ruling class is not about to apply the only form of pressure that would force Israel to do its bidding—a severe cutback in aid sufficient to cripple the Zionists militarily. To do so would cause a major political crisis in Israel, upset the balance of power in the region—which currently places the U.S. in a pivotal position—and thereby threaten a new Near East war with the danger of a direct Soviet-American confrontation.

Rabin Government Falls

The maneuvering surrounding the fall of the Israeli government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin graphically displays the reactionary clericalist character of the Zionist state. To begin with, Israel does not have the oil wealth or the industrial base to sustain a large military apparatus and therefore must get its weapons gratis from the Pentagon or pay for them with dollars contributed by the world Zionist movement. So in December Defense Minister Shimon Peres made his annual pilgrimage for military alms to Washington, D.C.

There was the usual haggling without which, apparently, no deal can be closed between the merchants of death and their small-power clients. In the fiscal year ending 30 September 1976 Israel received $2.3 billion in aid and requested the same amount for 1977. But since the U.S. presidential elections (with their demagogic appeals to the Jewish vote by bellicose statements of support for Israel) are now over, the State Department and the President's Office of Management and Budget pared this request to $1.5 billion of which $800 million would be for military credits.

While this haggling was going on a special welcoming ceremony including 3,000 spectators was held near Tel Aviv on Friday, December 10, to receive the first three of 25 promised F-15 Eagles, the U.S.' most advanced fighter jet. For some unexplained reason the ceremony was delayed. According to Prime Minister Rabin, it concluded 17 minutes before sundown, or the beginning of sabbath. According to the ultra-orthodox United Torah Front the ceremony continued past sundown, thereby desecrating the sabbath and, perhaps even more of an affront, preventing the religious Jewish participants in the ceremony from driving home.

The United Torah Front was formed by the fusion of Agudat Israel and Agudat Israel Workers before the formation of the Israeli state in 1948. It opposed Zionist political independence because, according to strict orthodox interpretation, political independence required the redemption of the Jewish people through the coming of the Messiah. But messiah or no, the United Torah Front entered Israel's first government only to leave it again in 1951 over the conscription of women into military service.

The United Torah Front has five members in the Israeli parliament, or Knesset, and on the Tuesday following

David Rubinger/Time

Israeli prime minister Rabin

the incident they put forward a no-confidence motion condemning the Rabin government for desecrating the sabbath. Irrespective of their religious convictions, many splinter groups voted for the no-confidence motion. Most embarrassing, nine of the ten National Religious Party members of the Knesset abstained. The NRP was in the Rabin government, occupying the ministries of interior, welfare and religious affairs.

On December 19 Rabin expelled the NRP from the government coalition, reducing his majority (67 seats in the 120-member Knesset) to a minority of 57. Rather than face the humiliation of falling on a no-confidence motion put forward by the main right-wing opposition bloc, the Likud, the Rabin government resigned the following day.

Although less fanatical and more secular than the United Torah Front, the NRP is built upon orthodox religious obscurantism. Thus in 1951 it brought down the Ben Gurion government by leaving the governing coalition claiming that Yemenite Jewish children were not receiving the necessary religious education. The party also left governing coalitions in 1958, 1970 and 1974 over that perennial question of "Who is a Jew?"—a question of utmost importance in this clericalist, racist state, which was built by denying the Palestinian people their homeland and by claiming it instead as a homeland of world Jewry.

Religious Obscurantists Fight for "Eretz Yisrael"

But while the NRP embarrasses self-styled "left-wing" Zionists in the government coalition and sometimes irritates the major Zionist party, the so-called "Labor" (Mapai) Party, nonetheless the alliance grows out of mutual need through which Mapai is able to retain the reactionary clericalist character of the Zionist state without having to take direct responsibility for it.

Nowhere is this symbiotic relation of fake squabbles masking mutual dependence clearer than in the tiff between the NRP and the Mapai over the policy toward Jewish settlements in the Arab territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 war. There are now 23 such settlements built in the West Bank, 17 on the Golan Heights and 16 in the Gaza Strip. Most of the settlements have been launched by the ultra-right-wing, rabidly chauvinist and fanatically orthodox Gush Emunim movement.

All these settlements except "Camp Kadum" near Nablus have been approved by the Israeli government because they define the "security frontiers" that the Rabin government ultimately wishes to retain in any future settlement. Camp Kadum, however, is in an area heavily populated by Palestinian Arabs which the Mapai wants to leave unsettled as a negotiating chip for some future treaty with Jordan and the other Arab states. The NRP supports the demand of Gush Emunim to annex all of the West Bank as part of "Eretz Yisrael" (their "Holy Land") with the corollary of the forcible displacement of the West Bank's 650,000 Palestinian Arabs.

While Kadum has been declared "illegal" by the Rabin government, it has continued to flourish since its foundation one year ago. Its population has increased from 120 to 200, $700,000 has been invested there (partly by government agencies) and the settlement has two industrial plants producing goods for the defense industry and for export. Rabin has not cracked down on Kadum in order not to break with the NRP.

In addition the NRP/Mapai coalition has been strained by the provocative antics of the Gush Emunim settlement near Hebron, Qiryat Arba. Hebron is a relatively large West Bank Arab city with a population of 60,000. The leader of the Qiryat Arba settlement, the notorious ultra-reactionary Rabbi Moishe Levinger, has led his flock of fanatics

Time

PLO head Arafat

into making vicious physical attacks upon Hebron's Arab inhabitants, knowing that Qiryat Arba would be defended from Arab retaliation by the Israeli occupation army. These attacks provoked rioting and desecration of Muslim and Jewish religious articles at a common site of worship (called the Tomb of Patriarchs) this past fall. Hebron was placed under military curfew and the Israeli army arrested 74 Arabs.

Gush Emunim was denounced for its provocative behavior even by conservative Israeli journals like *Haaretz* and the English-language *Jerusalem Post*. Further, *Haaretz* suggested that Israel might even have to get out of the occupied territories. The Israeli army was criticized for not containing Gush Emunim, and this criticism of the military occupation necessarily implicated Defense Minister Shimon Peres,

continued on page 4

Near East...

(continued from page 3)

Rabin's arch-rival within the "Labor" Party.

The religious riots in Hebron are only part of a continuing Arab protest against the brutal Israeli military occupation. Most recently protests centered on the extension of an Israeli 8 percent value added tax to the West Bank, taxes which in large part go to buying advanced military hardware (like the F-15 Eagles, which cost $24 million apiece) used against the Palestinians. These protests culminated in a 15 December West Bank general strike which spilled over into the Gaza Strip.

No doubt Rabin wants to distance himself without actually breaking from the openly annexationist demands of the NRP and the Gush Emunim in order to appease the U.S. which has been openly critical of Israeli policies in the occupied territories. On 11 November the U.S. voted with the other 14 UN Security Council members for a statement expressing "grave anxiety and concern over the present serious situation in the occupied territories as a result of continued Israeli occupation." The real issue behind the temporary falling out between Rabin and the party of orthodox rabbis is the policy toward the occupied territories, that is, partial versus complete annexation of the West Bank.

The Price of Sheik Yamani's Price Restraint

The U.S.' principal ally among the Arab states of the Near East, Saudi Arabia, is also pressuring Washington and in its own way competing with the Zionists for the good graces of American public opinion. Hence the "split" in the oil producers' cartel (OPEC) at the Qatar meetings, where the Saudis raised their price only 5 percent while other, supposedly greedier, producers upped theirs by 10 percent.

In an interview before the OPEC summit, Saudi oil minister Sheik Yamani emphasized his tender concern for the economic health of the advanced capitalist world:

> "We need a strong economy in the West to achieve our industrial and development targets inside Saudi Arabia. And we do not want a recession in the West that will definitely weaken the present political systems, especially in certain areas in Europe...."
>
> —*Business Week*, 29 November 1976

After the OPEC conference, Yamani urged the U.S. to show its "appreciation" for the Saudis' price restraint.

Actually, whether crude oil prices are raised by 5 or 10 percent or not at all will have a negligible effect on the world economy. The significant change in oil prices was the four-fold increase following the 1973 Arab-Israel war. And the imperialist bourgeoisie is by no means reconciled to paying for Arab oil at many times its cost of production. To quote Robert Hormats, economist for the U.S. National Security Council:

> "The question is how to survive the disaster that has already been inflicted upon us....
>
> "Ultimately we either have to roll back the price of oil or get OPEC to finance the [balance of payments] deficits directly or through international institutions on giveaway terms."
>
> —*Business Week*, 20 December 1976

One of these days the smiles of the Persian Gulf sheiks and shahs when they talk about oil prices may be rudely wiped off their faces.

Even as a modest economic concession, the Saudi action is a hoax. OPEC is by no means the only effective monopoly operating in the world oil business. The principal financial beneficiary from the price split will be Aramco, a consortium of Exxon, Mobil, Texaco and Standard Oil of California. Aramco has a near monopoly (about 90 percent) over the purchase of Saudi crude petroleum. It can now buy this oil at roughly 5 percent less than the price of oil in other markets.

Aramco, of course, will not pass this saving on to final consumers, but will share the 10 percent price increase enough to expand its markets at the expense of firms lacking access to Saudi oil. After all the maneuvers there will again be one selling price to final consumers, probably about 8 percent higher than previously. Some U.S. oil majors will quietly increase their profits, while the Saudis will have their publicity coup as a supposed benefactor of the American consumer.

The Saudis have made it clear that their oil price "restraint" is also a bargaining counter for the U.S. to pressure its ally Israel into making concessions to the Arab states. As the Saudi ambassador to Washington put it: "The one point which should be made just as strongly as the economic aspect is the positive need for all parties to get on now with achieving a just and durable settlement in the Middle East" (*New York Times*, 18 December).

PLO Settles for Mini-State

While the Zionists were squabbling over how much of the occupied territories to annex, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was debating whether to propose the establishment of a Palestinian statelet in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Previously the PLO had called for a "democratic secular Palestine" which implied the destruction of Zionist Israel as well as the incorporation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, that is, recreating the post-World War I British mandate of Palestine.

This debate is a direct result of the bloody military defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon by the right-wing Maronite militias in alliance with 30,000 Syrian troops. Since April 1975 Palestinian commando groups in Lebanon have suffered 3,000 fatalities and lost about a fifth of their leadership, while 20,000 Palestinian civilians were murdered. Saudi Arabia, which through doling out its oil wealth to Syria, Egypt and the PLO wields enormous influence over their policies, forced a reconciliation of sorts between Syria and Egypt on the one hand, and Syria and the PLO on the other.

The massive Syrian invasion of Lebanon has now been turned into an Arab League "peacekeeping force" with a fake Lebanese command. The 19-month Lebanese civil war which resulted in over 60,000 fatalities was finally suppressed, but only by ringing the Maronite communities and Palestinian refugee camps with Syrian troops. Just a couple of months earlier PLO leader Yassir Arafat was denouncing Syria as a traitor to the Palestinian cause while the Syrian government was openly calling for Arafat's ouster. To demonstrate their "reconciliation" Arafat called the first meeting of the PLO's Central Council since June 1974 for mid-December in Damascus where it would debate the future of the badly mauled Palestinian movement. The three-day meeting ended with a carefully worded declaration which made no mention of the demand for a "democratic secular Palestine" or the need to destroy Israel or even Zionism, merely calling for an "independent Palestinian state" without defining its boundaries.

Syrian president Assad has been temporarily reconciled to Arafat's continuing leadership of the PLO, and December 14 issues of government-controlled Syrian newspapers prominently displayed photographs of the Syrian and Palestinian leaders sitting next to each other, flanked by their respective lieutenants. It should be remembered, however, that Assad came to power in 1971 by opposing Syria's support to the Palestinians in Jordan during the Black September massacre of the commandos and refugee camps. Since then he has formed a "united political leadership" with the feudalist Hashemite dynasty in Amman.

Although the 1974 conference of Arab rulers in Rabat proclaimed the PLO "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people, since one million Palestinians live in Jordan, the Hashemite King Hussein is not about to give up sovereignty over half his "subjects." During the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, Hussein's grandfather Abdullah annexed the Palestinian West Bank and held it until it was in turn militarily occupied by Israel in the 1967 war. Likewise Egypt annexed the Gaza Strip after the 1948 war and lost it to Israel in 1967.

In Lebanon, which has a Palestinian population of 400,000 and where the Palestinian commandos numbered more than 20,000 (being larger, better armed and certainly better motivated than the Lebanese Army), the Palestinians constituted a state within a state. After suppressing the Lebanese civil war Syria is not about to agree to the Palestinians' having a state with any more "independence" than they currently have in the refugee camps in Lebanon ringed with Syrian troops. Syria wants to see the West Bank reannexed by Jordan under the guise of a federation in which the Palestinians would retain nominal authority.

Egyptian-Syrian "Unity"

At the PLO meeting in Damascus pro-Syrian and pro-Jordanian forces within the umbrella group attempted to get the Central Council to enlarge the Palestinian National Assembly (a kind of Palestinian parliament to which the PLO is nominally subordinate) in order to pack it with supporters of the Damascus and Amman regimes and dilute support for Arafat.

Another fake reconciliation going on between Syria and Egypt culminated in the announcement on December 21 that they too were forming a "united political leadership." Although Egypt and Syria both fought together against Israel in the October 1973 war, they have been bitter enemies, at least verbally, since Egypt concluded the "separate" Sinai Agreement with Israel in the fall of 1975. Under the pressure of Saudi Arabia,

continued on page 10

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LONDON

After 30 Years of Official Protection

Millionaire Dutch Nazi War Criminal Snared

A dramatic escape last November by the Dutch Nazi and multimillionaire art dealer Pieter Menten only hours before detectives closed in on his 20-room mansion to arrest him touched off a political uproar in the Netherlands. On December 6 Menten was finally captured in Switzerland and has now been extradited to Holland to face war crimes charges. This is the culmination of a series of events beginning last spring with Menten's exposure as a former German SS sergeant in Poland responsible for the murder of hundreds of Jews.

Scion of a family of wealthy exporters of Dutch products to Eastern Europe, Menten first went to Poland in 1923 to run the family business. Shortly thereafter he lost a protracted court case against a wealthy Polish Jew, Isak Pistiner, an event which apparently encouraged the development of his rabid anti-semitism. By the time of the German invasion of Poland Menten had become a sergeant-major of the SS and headed up an execution squad in the Lemburg area where he ordered and supervised the mass execution of hundreds of local men, women and children.

Now more than 35 years since the crimes took place, survivors recall how Menten ordered victims to dig their own graves, then sat by and laughed as they were forced to walk across planks laid across the graves while his assistants gunned them down. The survivors also attest that in a sadistic vendetta in 1941, Menten personally ordered and supervised the execution of numerous family members, friends and neighbors of his old business rival Pistiner.

Shortly before the German defeat Menten returned to Holland and was arrested. With influential figures in the Dutch government intervening in his behalf, Menten got off with an incredible eight months' imprisonment on charges of serving in a foreign army and stealing the art collection of a Polish professor! Since then the old Nazi butcher, whose personal fortune by conservative estimates now stands at $115 million, has risen to become a considerable power in Dutch politics.

According to his former butler, Menten inadvertently triggered his own exposure when in a bout of anti-Communist paranoia, in fearing a Russian invasion of Western Europe, he began to sell off his investments. During one of these selling sprees the auction house ran a full-page ad in *De Telegraaf*, Holland's most widely-circulated newspaper, for a sale of part of Menten's art collection. *De Telegraaf* made its way to Israel where it was read by an editor of the Tel Aviv newspaper *Haaretz*, Chaviv Kanaan, a nephew of Isak Pistiner whose parents had been killed in the vendetta! After a 32-year search for Menten's whereabouts, Kanaan published an exposé of Menten's wartime activities. In turn the *Haaretz* article was picked up by Hans Knoop, editor-in-chief of the Dutch weekly newsmagazine, *Accent*, who broke the story in Holland.

The *Accent* story sparked a wave of outrage in the Netherlands where still

Guus de Jong

Journalist Hans Knoop (left) confronts Menten in Zurich as Dutch and Swiss police look on.

today the population is strongly anti-Nazi (as well as chauvinistically anti-German). Although during World War II the Nazis regarded the Dutch as being of German stock and therefore a future part of the Third Reich, they were never able to build much support in the Netherlands. Moreover, the February 1941 announcement by Nazi occupation forces that 400 Dutch Jews had been deported to German concentration camps provoked a massive strike wave. In the munitions industry alone 18,300 workers stayed out and most major industry, shipyards, utilities and transportation were paralyzed by strikes. However, the SS broke the strike after three days with threats of death penalties and a ban on all meetings. From this point on Menten's murderous colleagues in Holland stepped up the full-scale deportation of Dutch Jews to German concentration camps. By the end of the war three out of four Jews who had inhabited Holland at the beginning of the Nazi occupation were dead (Lucien Steinberg, *La révolte des justes: Les juifs contre Hitler*).

When Menten's past was first exposed, Holland's Labor Party-dominated government coalition claimed there was no reason to reopen the case. But the public outcry, used as a parliamentary maneuver by opposition parties, forced Justice Minister van Agt to investigate the magazine's charges. Following their verification, the Amsterdam attorney general scheduled Menten's arrest for the morning of November 15.

When police arrived at his home, Menten and his wife were gone, having escaped a few hours earlier. Incredibly, no police had been ordered to watch Menten's movements nor was his passport impounded. The escape, clearly due to a tip-off from within the police, provoked a parliamentary crisis, embarrassing the government and damaging the reputation of van Agt who is expected to lead the Catholic People's Party in next year's general elections.

When, in response to the storm of criticism, the Dutch authorities issued an international arrest warrant for Menten, *Accent* editor Hans Knoop tracked him down through contacts with other journalists. When a correspondent of the German magazine *Stern* informed him that the Nazi murderer was hiding in a Swiss hotel, Knoop, a photographer and a team of Dutch police flew there and finally apprehended Menten on December 6. According to *De Telegraaf* (8 December), as he was being led away by police Menten saw Knoop in the hotel lobby and snarled "Vuile rotjodd, communist!" ("Dirty rotten Jew, Communist!"). Shortly after, he took an overdose of sleeping pills and was rushed to a hospital to have his stomach pumped. It is Knoop's opinion that Menten felt the chances of an escape were better from a hospital than a jail.

Swiss law does not permit the extradition of war criminals, but a loophole was found and Menten was returned to the Netherlands on the condition that he not be extradited to a third country. Menten has yet to be officially charged with any crime and, since Menten's crimes were not committed in the Netherlands but in a part of Poland that is now in the Soviet Union, there is a real danger that the Dutch authorities may dismiss the case as being outside their jurisdiction and let him off after a sham trial when the clamor dies down and the elections are over.

Moreover the Soviet Union, which collaborated in the Dutch investigation of Menten's past, has yet to demand his extradition from the Netherlands. All opponents of Nazi barbarism must demand that this fascist butcher be extradited to the Soviet Union where he could be tried by the survivors and relatives of those he watched, laughing in his armchair, as they were machine-gunned to death.

As demonstrated by the tip-off which facilitated Menten's escape last November, there can be no confidence placed in either the will or the capacity of the Dutch government to bring Menten to justice. Moreover, that this butcher was allowed to live in peace for over three decades and re-establish himself as a respected capitalist and a political power is further proof that bourgeois democracy cannot protect society against such Nazi filth. The fascists are kept in reserve should they be needed when bourgeois-democratic methods are no longer capable of constraining the working class. Class-conscious workers demand that Menten be jailed for his crimes against the people, but it is only the victory of the international proletariat sweeping away bourgeois rule which can wipe out the fascist scum once and for all. ■

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Hank deLespinasse

McBride and Sadlowski at September USWA convention in Las Vegas.

Sadlowski Sues McBride

Keep Bosses' Courts Out of the Steelworkers!

As the campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) enters its final month, both candidates have turned to the big guns in their respective arsenals of class-collaborationist unionism: the bourgeois courts. Amid a flurry of suits and countersuits, I.W. Abel's handpicked successor, Lloyd McBride, and steel "rebel" bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski have amply demonstrated that on the central question of safeguarding the independence of the labor movement from the capitalist state there is not a dime's worth of difference between them.

The present spate of legal maneuvers began when McBride took Sadlowski to court for allegedly violating the USWA's constitutional clause against receiving campaign funds from employers or corporations. McBride charged that Sadlowski had received funds from Bernard Soloman, a vice-president of Stop and Shop, a New England chain store which had been convicted of unfair labor practices in an NLRB case last year. On January 4 Sadlowski forces, stung by the indictment of his pretensions to militant "rank and file" unionism, filed a countersuit charging that McBride was illegally using union funds for the campaign and seeking $5 million in damages for libel.

This appeal to the capitalist state to arbitrate internal union struggles represents not only a fundamental betrayal on the part of Sadlowski and McBride, but demonstrates once again the lack of a class alternative in this election and the need for intransigent revolutionary opposition to both candidacies. In the case of McBride, this simply continues the policies of his mentor Abel. In 1971 USWA president Abel along with AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany sat on Nixon's wage and price control board. Even in parting, Abel engaged the Labor Department to "supervise" the union elections by sending in a department task force including 50 "compliance officers," possibly including the actual tallying of the votes.

But Sadlowski is not just another candidate for union office. He has been hailed as providing a class-struggle alternative to the Abel regime by such ostensibly revolutionary organizations as the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party. Behind militant-sounding jargon and the "Oilcan Eddie" image so coveted by the fake lefts lies a mainstream union bureaucrat on the make, with a consistent record of reliance on the state and bourgeois liberals to get him there.

Sadlowski's 1974 election as director of USWA District 31 (Southworks) in Chicago was based on a court suit against the corrupt 31-year union machine leader Joe Germano and a Labor Department-run re-election. Last November, Sadlowski again went to court to seek that the court oversee the union's distribution of Sadlowski/McBride campaign literature and the coverage of the campaign in *Steel Labor* (the union magazine). In the current litigation Sadlowski has tried to use the courts to force a public disclosure of all campaign sources—i.e., subjecting the finances of the labor movement to the scrutiny of the state.

However, the treacherous bordered on the ludicrous when Sadlowski followed up his adamant denials concerning Stop and Shop funds with a press conference last Sunday where he revealed a list of his big contributors including Democrat Howard Samuels (a vice-president of Mobil Corp.), Sarah Pillsbury, Arnold Hiatt (president of the Stride-Rite Corporation, a Boston shoe manufacturer) and other bourgeois figures. Furthermore, actual conduct of the Sadlowski campaign is in the hands of Edgar James and Robert Hauptman. This pair also stagemanaged the 1972 election of that other great union "reformer" Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers. Nor is it surprising that such anti-communist liberals as Joseph Rauh (who a decade ago was actively red-baiting the civil rights movement) and John Kenneth Galbraith play large roles in drumming up support for the Sadlowski slate, demonstrating the close connection between reliance on the courts and political links to liberal Democrats.

Sadlowski's advocacy of state regulations of such key matters as union campaign funds, disposal of union money and the editorial policy of the union press should serve as a clear warning that his victory would in no sense represent a break with the class-collaborationist business unionism of the Abels, Meanys and Woodcocks.

Their capitulation to the left-talking Sadlowski demonstrates the inability of the fake-lefts to have assimilated any of the lessons of the Miller campaign. The qualitatively greater strategic importance of the USWA with respect to the UMW only heightens the crucial need for resolute opposition to Sadlowski and the need to build class-struggle caucuses to overthrow these labor lieutenants of capital. ■

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How Maoists "Restore Capitalism" in the Soviet Union

Part 2 OF 2

by Joseph Seymour

Are Profits in Command in Brezhnev's Russia?

Editor's Note: In the first installment, the myth of a workers paradise in Stalin's Russia was refuted. In addition, the notion presented by Maoist economist Martin Nicolaus (recently expelled from the October League) that factory managers in the USSR were the core of a new capitalist class was debunked and the similarity of Khrushchev's regional decentralization with Chinese economic organization demonstrated.

The Kosygin reforms "restored capitalism" in the USSR, proclaims Martin Nicolaus, and he may well be the only person in the world who thinks so. (Unfortunately for his career as a Maoist, the official Peking line is that capitalism was restored under Khrushchev.) However, many commentators did regard the 1965 Soviet reforms

Review of *Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR* by Martin Nicolaus

associated with the economist E.G. Liberman as capitalistic because of their emphasis on enterprise "profitability." *Time* magazine ran Liberman's picture on its front cover with a story entitled "Borrowing from the Capitalists," and ten years later the U.S. Maoist Revolutionary Union (now Revolutionary Communist Party) declared that the Kosygin reforms "made the profit motive the major guiding force in the Soviet economy..." (*Red Papers* No. 7).

As Liberman points out in defending himself against charges of anti-Marxist revisionism, ever since 1921 Soviet enterprises have been expected to make "profits," or at least avoid losses. This is true. However, the overriding goal of traditional Soviet planning was to overfulfill the output target at the expense of all other considerations, including other plan indices. The purpose of the 1965 reforms was to eliminate the waste of resources caused by pervasive and many-sided managerial parasitism.

Since both monetary income and promotion to a higher position depended on over-fulfilling the output plan, managers usually understated enterprise productive capacity so as to be assigned an easy target. Moreover, a savvy plant executive would not overfulfill the plan by too much, since then he would be given a much higher output goal for the following year. In his famous 1962 article, "Plan, Profits, Bonuses," Liberman addresses this problem:

> "How can the enterprises be entrusted with the job of working out plans when at present all their draft targets are usually much lower than their actual capacities?
> "This can be done if the enterprises have a maximum interest, both material and moral, in making full use of their reserves...."
>
> —reproduced in Myron E. Sharpe, ed., *Planning, Profit and Incentives in the USSR*, Vol. I (1966)

Of course, the planning authorities always knew that enterprise managers systematically understated capacity, and attempted to correct for this. Plant executives and Gosplan (plan organization) authorities played a cat-and-mouse game with one another, and the resulting output targets bore only a rough relation to actual production capacity.

Since managers were rewarded for output regardless of the usability of or demand for their products, there was a tendency to sacrifice quality and assortment of goods in order to maximize output. Targets are set in physical units (e.g., silverware in kilograms, cloth in square meters) so that managers chose items maximizing this index even if the products had little use value. In a famous cartoon from the Russian humor magazine *Krokodil*, the annual output of the nail factory (measured by weight) is shown as one mammoth nail. Another example is the notorious fragility of plate glass in the USSR: since plan targets are set in square meters, managers maximize output by producing over-thin glass. In his September 1965 speech introducing the new system, Kosygin bluntly stated the problem:

> "Experience indicates that the index of volume of gross output does not stimulate the enterprise to produce goods which are really needed by the national economy and the public, and in many cases the index tends to limit any improvement in the assortment of goods and their quality. Not infrequently our enterprises produce low-quality goods which the consumer does not want and which therefore remain unsold."
>
> —"On Improving Industrial Management...," in Sharpe, *op. cit.*

Another problem with the traditional system was that output was measured by total (gross) value, not that added by the enterprise. So managers naturally tended to use the most expensive inputs which thereby maximized the value of "their" output. And since managers had little incentive to minimize cost, hoarding labor and building up huge inventories of supplies was the rule. In particular, there was no material incentive to

E.G. Liberman

economize on plant and equipment, because investment was financed by a non-repayable budget grant. Since it was "free," managers consistently overstated their need for new equipment.

It is clear that what we have described is nothing but *bureaucratic parasitism* at the enterprise level. A plant manager who understates actual enterprise capacity in order to receive an easy plan, or one who produces low-quality goods so as to more easily meet output goals, knows he is behaving in an anti-social manner. Some managers may be personally honest but believe they will be victimized in income and career advancement if they don't over-fulfill the output plan. Moreover, *all* spokesmen for the Soviet bureaucracy regard the kind of managerial dishonesty depicted above as inherent in the system.

Libermanism is a fruitless effort to overcome managerial parasitism through more sophisticated plan indices. But no planning techniques, however sophisticated, can prevent dishonest managers from subverting the planners' intent and squandering resources. As we shall see, the 1965 reforms perpetuated some of the old problems while generating new forms of managerial dishonesty and waste of resources.

The elimination of bureaucratic parasitism at the base of the economy as well as at the top is impossible without thoroughgoing soviet democracy, which in turn requires revolutionary action by the working class to topple the Stalinist bureaucracy. Two requirements, in particular, are necessary to ensure conscientious management: selection of managers with demonstrated socialist consciousness and workers control of production.

Following the Bolshevik Revolution and during the 1920's, Soviet economic management had to rely on bourgeois experts drawing high salaries. Lenin's Bolsheviks regarded this as a necessary evil, only partly offset by workers control. A revolutionary workers government coming to power in the advanced capitalist countries through social revolution or in the USSR and East Europe through political revolution would not face the same situation today. Managers would receive straight salaries commensurate with the wages of skilled workers, and a central task of the factory committees would be ensuring against managerial wastage of resources. Under the close scrutiny of the workers in the enterprise, incorrigibly incompetent, abusive or dishonest managers would simply be removed.

Objective Pressures for Economic Reform

Managerial parasitism and the consequent squandering of resources at the enterprise level have long characterized Stalinist bureaucratic planning. Why then did pressure for reform build up in the early 1960's, culminating in the action of the incoming Brezhnev-Kosygin regime?

During the last years of the Khrushchev period a number of objective factors caused the bureaucracy to become more concerned about microeconomic inefficiency. A rising standard of living in the late 1950's made

Lev Nisnevich

Computer room at Moscow headquarters of the State Planning Committee

consumers more selective and unwilling to purchase shoddy or otherwise undesirable merchandise. Also, in Stalin's day a manager who played too fast and loose with the plan and his superiors could get into very hot water indeed. Thus the post-1956 relaxation of totalitarian state terror may have allowed greater managerial dishonesty and violation of planning instructions.

However, the basic motives for the 1965 reforms reflected profound changes in the Soviet economy. The later Khrushchev years (1958-64) saw a marked fall in economic growth, particularly in productivity increase per unit of new investment. In part this worsened economic performance reflected

Alexei Kosygin

Khrushchev's regional decentralization, undertaken purely to strengthen his power base within the party apparatus. More importantly, the USSR was beginning to experience a labor shortage which put an end to the traditional Stalinist pattern of rapid industrialization.

Stalin-era economic development was *extensive*, with almost all investment expended on new factories drawing upon seemingly unlimited labor supplies from the countryside. Around 1960, however, the most far-sighted elements in the bureaucracy realized that continued economic growth must become *intensive*, concentrating on modernizing existing productive units and raising their labor productivity. Under these circumstances, traditional managerial parasitism and conservatism had become a serious obstacle to further economic growth.

Libermanism was not the answer to supposedly inherent inefficiencies in centralized planning, as some bourgeois commentators claimed; and it certainly was not capitalist restoration. Rather it was a weak, contradictory attempt at self-reform of certain types of bureaucratic parasitism which had become increasingly harmful to the interests of the Soviet Stalinist regime.

The 1965 Kosygin reforms had four major elements. First, Khrushchev's regionalism was done away with and the economy was recentralized. Also, the key indices for measuring enterprise performance and managerial success were changed, the method of financing and determining investment at the enterprise level was altered, and the formula for setting wholesale prices was changed.

A significant effect of the 1965 measures which is often overlooked was the re-establishment of the traditional ministerial system. In one important respect the post-1965 economic structure was *more* centralized than it had been under Stalin, when industrial ministries tended toward autarky and "empire-building." To avoid wasteful duplication of intermediate products, the Kosygin reforms established a State Committee on Material-Technical Supply (Gossnab) as the centralized organ for allocating these goods.

It is typical of the dishonesty running through Nicolaus' book that he doesn't even mention the existence of Gossnab, although the Kosygin reforms are central to his thesis. The reason for this silence is not hard to discern: the very existence of Gossnab refutes his contention that after 1965 there was a market for producer goods created by enterprise competition. In the late 1960's this administrative organ allocated 16,000 intermediate products, and by 1971 it accounted for two-thirds of all inter-enterprise transactions (cited in *Soviet Studies*, July 1972). But according to Nicolaus the 1965 reforms ended centralized control over the enterprises, which thereafter operated on the basis of unrestrained profit maximization:

> "Its essence...consists in giving the central planners the task of keeping the economy as a whole in balance while each particular unit of the economy runs riot in pursuit of its maximum profit."

This is a blatant falsification.

"Profit" in the Soviet Economy?

Since the early 1930's, Soviet enterprises have had a "profit" plan as well as an output plan and other indices. Basing herself on this, more than 30 years ago the anarcho-syndicalist Raya Dunayevskaya contended that since Soviet enterprises made "profits," the economy was capitalist (see her "A New Revision of Marxian Economics," *American Economic Review*, September 1944). However, in actuality enterprise "profit" amounts to a *tax* levied at the point of production, part of which is then granted to the enterprises subject to strict guidelines and instructions for its allocation.

From being a secondary and often neglected target under Stalin and Khrushchev, the profit plan was made the key index governing managerial bonuses in the Kosygin reforms. (To eliminate unusable merchandise, enterprises were credited only for output actually sold.) However, there is still an output plan, measured in physical units, which must be fulfilled. A manager who does not fulfill the output plan will not receive a bonus (regardless of profit), and he may also be administratively disciplined as a state functionary!

The standard Soviet work on current economic policy is *Soviet Economic Reform: Progress and Problems* (1972), which describes the relation of enterprise production to the planning authorities as follows:

> "...guiding themselves by the prices *set from above*, production costs and the possibilities for the sale of the finished output, enterprises independently decide on the concrete, detailed assortment of output. But to reduce the probability of mistakes which separate enterprises might make, they are given *administratively*, as an initial basis, an *assignment* as regards the nomenclature [product-mix] of major output." [our emphasis]

This official description is confirmed by a leading British bourgeois expert on the Soviet economy:

> "Managerial bonuses have simply redirected effort from output to profit—but *only* when output has *exceeded* the plan targets; below that level, profit counts for little." [our emphasis]
>
> —Peter Wiles, "Recent Data on Soviet Income Distribution," *Survey*, Summer 1975

In contrast to capitalist firms, Soviet enterprises do not seek to maximize

Leonid Brezhnev Der Spiegel

profit levels or the rate of return on invested capital. Managers are supposed to over-fulfill the output plan while maximizing the difference of realized profit over planned profit. As a result, the "reformed" system perpetuates a central weakness of the old system in a different form: instead of understating their production capacity to get an easy plan, managers now understate their ability to generate profit. So higher authorities still must intervene to offset the dishonesty of the managers.

E.G. Liberman, who of all people should know the effect of the 1965 measures, expresses disappointment in the Kosygin reforms:

> "Basic shortcomings are also manifested in the striving of ministries to impose higher sales volume on the enterprises. This is an expression of uncertainty that, independently, the enterprises will sufficiently utilize their production capacities and disclose reserves....
>
> "The question of what the 'product-mix of most important items' is must be clarified. At present, its definition is chiefly left to the ministries. But the ministries tend to expand rather than restrict this product-mix, and this expresses a tendency to retain the old methods—to provide a greater degree of regulation...."
>
> —E. G. Liberman, *Economic Methods and the Effectiveness of Production* (1971)

Since Liberman's book was written, the tendency has been to restrict enterprise autonomy even more.

The continuity of the post-1965 system with traditional Soviet planning is strongly emphasized by Alec Nove, one of the foremost bourgeois experts in this field. Under a sub-head entitled "The reform that never was," Nove writes:

> "The power to allocate resources and to take production decisions remains with the central authorities, and is shaped between the revived industrial ministries, Gosplan and Gossnab, under the general supervision of the higher party organs.... current doctrine regards an increase in profits due to a change in the product mix or in inputs as somehow illegitimate.... Yet this means that both the product mix and the inputs of the enterprise are laid down in a plan initiated or approved at the ministerial or *glavk* [sub-ministerial] level. It logically follows that the supply plans made in one or another of the central bodies cover the major part of industrial output, and that both its production and its delivery to designated customers must form part of obligatory plan-orders from above. *This is the essence of the old system. It survives today.*" [our emphasis]
>
> —"Economic Reforms in the USSR and Hungary, a Study in Contrasts," in Alec Nove and D. M. Nuti, eds., *Socialist Economics* (1972)

Are the Means of Production Commodities in the USSR?

According to Nicolaus, the 1965 measures transformed the means of production into marketable commodities:

> "The 1965 measures, in sum, wiped out the legal and financial barriers that had kept the emerging market in the means of production underground during the Krushchev years. The exchange of the means of production as commodities...became respectable, universal and amply supplied with liquidity."

Another gross falsification! One might accuse Nicolaus of conscious deceit, except this would assume he actually knows something about the Soviet economy. Far from the means of production having become commodities, as we shall show *all* inputs purchased by the enterprises must be approved in the supply plan; "decentralized investment" by enterprises is a small share of total expenditure on plant and equipment; and enterprise funds

continued on page 8

Are Profits in Command in Brezhnev's Russia?

(continued from page 7)

cannot be expended outside the inherently narrow basis of the technical production unit

Just as output targets are set from above, so supplies are allocated through a detailed annual plan. Unlike their Yugoslav, Hungarian *and Chinese* counterparts, Soviet enterprises cannot acquire supplies through a more or less free market. Almost all major inputs are allocated directly by Gossnab or through long-term contracts between the producing and consuming enterprises negotiated through Gossnab. Supplies neither go to the highest bidder nor are they distributed on a first-come, first-served basis. An enterprise which is willing to pay three times the official price for, say, a truck might not be able to purchase one, while a far less profitable firm will be allocated a vehicle according to the plan.

As a British expert on the Soviet economy put it:

> "The material inputs which enterprises need for production are not simply purchased from producers as they would be in a free market, but are allocated to consumer enterprises by the state supply organs. In effect this is a rationing system for producer goods."
>
> Michael Ellman, *Planning Problems in the USSR* (1973)

To drive this point home, Ellman cites an incident reported in the Soviet press in 1969. The deputy director of a state farm purchased wood (a centrally allocated item) from a quarry which had chopped down some trees in the course of its operations. As a result, the managements of both the state farm and the quarry were prosecuted and convicted for an economic crime!

In debunking Nicolaus' fraudulent contention that relations between Soviet enterprises are governed by the market, we are not endorsing traditional Stalinist bureaucratic planning methods. The detailed rationing of intermediate goods a year in advance possesses neither the virtues of socialist principle nor of economic rationality. The supply plan, involving hundreds of thousands of transactions, is always and necessarily inconsistent, resulting in untold shortages and bottlenecks. Soviet managers regularly resort to hoarding, blackmarketeering and corruption to procure their "planned" supplies. Rational socialist planning should involve a *centralized* wholesale market where enterprises can purchase inputs at will. This would provide the necessary flexibility for the production process while avoiding the inefficiencies and dangers of atomized competition between enterprises.

From the standpoint of the enterprise, the most significant change caused by the 1965 reforms was in the financing of investment. Under the traditional system all new plant and equipment was financed by a non-repayable grant from the government budget. After the reforms such investment was largely financed through retained enterprise profit. In 1967 wholesale prices were revised upward in order to increase enterprise profits. And while in 1966 enterprises retained 26 percent of their profits, by 1969 this had risen to 40 percent (*Soviet Economic Reform*...).

Nicolaus naturally points to the significant increase in retained enterprise profits as key proof of "capitalist restoration":

> "They [enterprise directors] became not only dictators of the production process...but also managers of important sums of money, who have the eagle eye of investors to succeed."

Any Soviet enterprise manager would find this statement utter nonsense.

According to Nicolaus' own figures, in 1969-70 only about 25 percent of enterprise investment was decentralized—i.e., was outside the annual plan. Decentralized investment means that managers do not require approval from higher bodies to *spend* enterprise funds. However, as we have seen, producer goods are not available in a market, but are rationed by the central supply agency. Thus an enterprise still requires approval from the Gossnab to actually implement "decentralized investment."

So the 1965 measures produced a contradiction: *demand* was partially decentralized while the *allocation* of producer goods remained centralized. The result of this contradiction is growing balances in the bank accounts of Soviet enterprises, since they cannot always use "their" "profits" to purchase actual means of production.

Nicolaus is aware of this fact but attributes it to the lack of profitable investment opportunities:

> "...some enterprises cannot profitably place all 'their' funds, but accumulate what is called a 'free profit remainder,' in which case they 'are entitled to offer loans to Gosbank...for a certain interest fixed by the government'."

Any capitalist firm in the U.S., West Europe or Japan which had excess liquidity would certainly not keep its money-capital in a bank, drawing minimal interest. It would branch out, build new factories, buy out other firms, purchase stocks and bonds, lend directly at the highest available interest and generally seek to maximize the return on its capital. Why don't the purported "capitalists" in the Soviet Union act in this way? *Because they can't*—because the means of production are not private property, commodities to be purchased in the market. Therefore, enterprise funds are not money-capital, which Marx termed "the universal means of purchase." To put it another way, *because the Soviet Union is not capitalist.*

Growing Unemployment in Brezhnev's Russia?

Along with his absurd claim that managers in Stalin's time "lacked the whip hand" over the workers, Nicolaus' contention that unemployment has been restored in the USSR since 1965 is the most obvious and incredible of his endless falsifications. He writes:

> "the unemployed are made to pay materially for the official hypocrisy. An even more bitter aspect of their situation is that all the layoffs undertaken by the enterprise directors for economic reasons are strictly against Soviet law, as embodied in the Constitution of 1936, the Stalin Constitution."

Before dealing with unemployment in present-day Russia, we have once more to debunk the myth of Stalin's "workers paradise." As we have seen, during the 1930's there were widespread obligatory dismissals for breaches of work discipline, and mass disguised unemployment existed on the collective farms. Despite the "right to work" in the Stalin constitution, a Soviet employee *never* had a legal right to his job.

Because the planning system encouraged managers to hoard labor, and because economic (as distinct from disciplinary) dismissals were generally regarded as anti-socialist, layoffs were and continue to be rare. But as to *legal* managerial rights, the 1970 Principles of Labor Legislation perpetuate Stalin's precedent. Managers are obliged to seek comparable employment for those they intend to lay off. But if the trade union agrees that management has made a honest, though fruitless, effort in this regard, *any* Soviet worker can be dismissed with two weeks severance pay.

Anyone with the slightest knowledge of Soviet society today knows that there is an acute labor shortage, which greatly worries the bureaucracy. In 1960, 78 percent of the working-age population was employed; by 1965 this proportion had jumped to 87 percent, and by 1970 it had increased to 91 percent (V. Kostakov, translated in *Problems of Economics*, November 1974). By way of comparison, in the United States only 61.8 percent (1975 figures) of the non-institutional population, age 16 and over, is employed (*Monthly Labor Review*, November 1976).

The problems which the extremely high level of labor force participation in the USSR poses for the bureaucracy have been clearly stated by the Soviet manpower expert E. Manevich:

> "The economic consequences of the manpower shortage are very great: in a number of cases there arise serious difficulties in supplying personnel to newly activated enterprises; it is difficult to secure the uninterrupted operation of enterprises in two shifts...; manpower turnover rises; the existence of a large number of vacancies hinders the collectives in their struggle to strengthen labor discipline and is one of the reasons for maintaining clearly superfluous workers and employees, which in turn aggravates the general manpower shortage in the nation."
>
> —"Ways of Improving the Utilization of Manpower," translated in *Problems of Economics*, June 1974

Nicolaus can nonetheless find in Soviet economic literature references to people who are not employed and are looking for work. As Manevich points out, labor shortage encourages high labor turnover. Since strikes and other forms of collective class struggle are suppressed by state terror, Soviet workers seek to improve their circumstances through individual initiative. Increasingly, workers take advantage of the tight labor market and change jobs frequently. In a formal, statistical sense this means more unemployed at any given time.

We are obliged to explain to Dr. Nicolaus that there is a difference between being the victim of a mass layoff and quitting one's job in order to find a better one. If the academic economist doesn't understand this difference, every worker in the world does. Furthermore, the difference between genuine labor turnover and unemployment can be measured statistically. The average period between jobs commonly given in Soviet literature is about three weeks. At present in the U.S., the average duration of unemployment is about 15.5 weeks (*Monthly Labor Review*, November 1976).

Under capitalism, mass unemployment is not primarily caused by technological progress, by machines replacing men. Rather, the appearance of masses of jobless workers results from a contraction of production recessions, depressions, stagnation. Even a charla-

CP Spokesman in ILWU Retires

Requiem for a Class Collaborator

SAN FRANCISCO—Archie Brown, prominent Communist Party (CP) trade-union supporter and Bay Area longshoreman for about 40 years, retired last month. Given a few minutes at the December meeting of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10, Brown rambled on about younger workers picking up the banner and similar platitudes. He carefully steered clear of any comment on the present abysmal state of the union except for remarking vaguely, "we're in a lot of trouble."

A long-time militant in this hard-hit industry should have no difficulty picking out issues of burning interest to the ILWU membership. Conditions for longshoremen have deteriorated badly over the last decade and a half: available jobs have been slashed by more than 50 percent through disastrous "mechanization and modernization" (M&M) contracts; lower seniority "B" men are being driven out of the union; gang sizes and "guaranteed pay" are being cut; the union hiring hall has been weakened by the introduction of "steady men," and the very existence of the ILWU is threatened by rumored merger deals with the Teamsters.

However, in order to address these issues, a fighter for class-struggle unionism would have to come up against ILWU president Harry Bridges. This Archie Brown was unwilling to do, so instead he stuck to nostalgic references to the "good old days." Appropriately enough, Bridges was the first person to speak after Brown, and he had nothing but praise for his loyal Stalinist bootlicker.

For years the Communist Party has been the chief propagator of the myth that Harry Bridges is a militant defender of the working class. As the ILWU president and S.F. port commissioner has become increasingly overt in tossing overboard vital union gains in exchange for favors from Democratic Party politicians like former San Francisco mayor Joe Alioto, even the CP has become embarrassed by Bridges' actions. But never have the Stalinists gotten up the nerve to openly oppose the conniving, class-collaborationist longshore chief.

Archie Brown became a well-known West Coast political activist at an early age, running for California state treasurer on the CP ticket in 1934. In 1942 he ran for U.S. Congress from San Francisco. At that time the Communist Party—along with Bridges—was vigorously supporting FDR and the American bourgeoisie in the imperialist World War II. Brown vociferously supported Bridges' wartime no-strike pledge. In Local 10, the 16 September 1942 "Longshoremen's Bulletin" (edited by a Stalinist hack) warned that if dock workers didn't accept speed-up, "it wouldn't be long until we'd be eating sauerkraut with chopsticks..."(quoted in "West Coast Longshoremen and the 'Bridges Plan'," *Fourth International*, December 1942).

Archie Brown

After the war the CP/Bridges bloc continued and Brown argued for extending the no-strike pledge. The ILWU president had appetites to integrate himself into the increasingly anti-Communist American labor bureaucracy, but this was made impossible by the repugnance toward red-baiting felt by rank-and-file longshoremen as well as the bourgeoisie's hostility toward him. (Australian-born Bridges was the intended victim of several deportation

continued on page 10

tan like Nicolaus who invents growing unemployment in Brezhnev's Russia cannot invent cyclical contractions in the Soviet economy. Since 1956 (as well as before then), industrial production in the USSR has increased every single year, though at greatly uneven rates.

Thus the Maoists and other believers in "Soviet capitalism" present us with a capitalism free of cyclical fluctuations—a condition quite contrary to Marx's understanding of the capitalist system. The notion that the Soviet Union is capitalist necessarily leads to a revision of the Marxist analysis of actual capitalist societies. And, in fact, the Maoists, anarcho-syndicalists and social-democratic "Third Campers" tend to believe that present-day "state-monopoly capitalism" in the West can, in general, suppress sharp economic contractions and cyclical crises.

Until recently, the "Russia is capitalist" crowd would argue that Soviet economic performance over the past decade or so was no better than some "traditional" capitalist countries like Japan or France. In 1974 this impressionistic argument blew up in their faces. Between mid-1974 and mid-1975, industrial production in the advanced capitalist world dropped 19.5 percent. The 1974-75 depression hit *every* major capitalist country with drops in production ranging from 13.5 percent in Britain to 33 percent in Japan (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, December 1975 and July 1976). But in 1974-75 industrial production in the USSR actually *increased* by 18 percent (United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook* 1975).

A serious and honest Marxist confronting these empirical facts could reach only one of two conclusions: either the USSR is not capitalist, or it is a new form of capitalism which has overcome cyclical contractions (which Marx considered *necessary* for the capitalist mode of production).

The latter, revisionist conclusion directly negates the fundamental Leninist position that this is the epoch of capitalist reaction and decay. The Marxist revolutionary program is not based on moral repugnance against social oppression, class exploitation and inequality; it is based on the *objective* condition that capitalism arrests the development of productive forces and must be superseded by a superior economic system. Thus if there exists today a capitalist system which insures the rapid and steady growth of productive forces, this calls into question the necessity and progressive character of proletarian revolution and working-class rule.

What Would Capitalist Restoration Look Like?

Nicolaus' empirical description of the Soviet economy is a mass of fabrications from beginning to end. However, the "capitalistic" features which he falsely attributes to "social-imperialist" Russia—enterprises determining output on the basis of profit maximization, a market for producer goods, widespread layoffs—do exist to some extent in other bureaucratically ruled workers states, notably Yugoslavia, Hungary *and China*.

Despite "radical" Maoist ideology the Chinese economy is characterized by significantly greater market orientation and enterprise autonomy than prevails in the Soviet Union. (We have already pointed out the substantial regional decentralization of the Chinese economy, another source for inegalitarianism.) The liberal American economist Lloyd G. Reynolds, who visited China in 1973, observed:

> "In deciding what varieties of, say, watches or carpets to produce, the factory relies on the judgment of the sales organization that distributes its product 'Market guidance' in this sense seems more prominent in Chinese planning than in traditional Soviet planning."
>
> —"China's Economy: A View from the Grass Roots," *Chinese Economic Studies*, Spring 1975

Reynolds' observation about the market orientation of Chinese enterprises is confirmed by a report in the *U.S.-China Business Review* (May-June 1976) concerning a factory producing firecrackers for export:

> "Workers in the factory receive an average monthly wage of 72 yuan, which is a high income for a rural area. Their salaries are at least partially the result of the method used to set firecracker prices. In general, various commodities receive prices either through a unilateral assignment or through *negotiations* between the Foreign Trade Bureau and a particular enterprise.... Firecrackers are priced using the negotiation process. Because their price has been rising in the *international* market, the chance for negotiation within China has led to *higher prices* there too, and a *resultant higher income* for the firecracker factory employees." [our emphasis]

In Brezhnev's Russia one will not find anything so irrationally capitalistic and inegalitarian as the wages of a particular group of workers being influenced by their product's price fluctuations in the world market.

In any case, whether a Soviet, Hungarian or Chinese manager orders more cups produced because it is more profitable or if he can purchase a new kiln on his own initiative has no bearing on whether the economy is capitalist. Such practices merely indicate the degree of centralization within a collectivized economy.

What distinguishes the capitalist mode of production is that the means of production are commodities, a phenomenon having its highest expression in the stock market. While there is a limited market in producer goods in various of the degenerated/deformed workers states, in none of them are the basic units of production—the enterprises—commodities. Even in Yugoslavia between 1965 and 1971 (the period of maximum enterprise autonomy and market relations) enterprises themselves could not be bought and sold. Investment by one Yugoslav enterprise in another was treated like a loan that had to be fully repaid over time.

The non-commodity character of Soviet and East European enterprises is not a mere juridical principle which could be changed overnight but integral to collectivized property. Enterprises, however autonomous their operations, are not owned by their managers but are sub-units of a single collective. Commodities can only be exchanged between different, independent owners. That is why Marx wrote, "Capital exists and can only exist as many capitals" (*Grundrisse*, Notebook IV).

The prerogatives and very existence of enterprises in the deformed workers states are decided by governmental authorities. In 1973 the Brezhnev/Kosygin regime downgraded the enterprise (usually corresponding to the technical production unit) and replaced it with the association (*obyedineniye*) as the basic unit of management and accountability. In 1971 the Tito regime in Yugoslavia sharply curtailed enterprise autonomy and reversed the trend toward greater market orientation. This "conservative" turn refuted those impressionistic leftists like Paul Sweezy who saw in Yugoslavia a gradual, organic and peaceful return to capitalism.

But to assert that neither in the Soviet Union nor in any of the burcaucratically deformed workers states that have emerged since World War II has capitalism been restored is not to argue that such a development is impossible. The bureaucracy's attempts to conciliate imperialism embolden capitalist-restorationist forces at home and abroad, and despite tremendous industrial development over several decades, the Soviet and East European economies are still far behind the most advanced capitalist societies.

Capitalist restoration in the Sino-Soviet states is possible through an essentially internal process and not only through imperialist reconquest from without. However, capitalist restoration *cannot* occur either through gradual evolution or a mere reshuffling of personnel at the top; it requires a violent counterrevolution.

Objective conditions encouraging the growth of bourgeois-restorationist forces were most closely approximated in Yugoslavia during 1965-71. These included the proliferation of property-owning petty capitalists (well-to-do farmers, owners of small workshops exploiting wage labor, middlemen/usurers operating with money-capital); the growing activity of foreign capital in the economic life of the country; the elimination of the state monopoly of foreign trade, allowing the world market to have maximum impact on the economy; the atrophy of centralized planning with enterprise relations largely governed by market forces; and the separation of managers from the state bureaucracy. Moreover, this economic "liberalization" was closely linked to an upsurge in Croatian nationalism, expressed not only in student protests and strivings for greater autonomy among party leaders but also in stepped-up activity by fascistic Ustashi groups.

Under such objective conditions, a domestic capitalist-restorationist movement could well emerge. But this would not be a conspiracy striving for a palace coup in the manner of the Maoist fiction of a "Khrushchev restoration." It would be a visible, aggressive movement challenging the regime and polarizing society. Such a movement would require an ideology and organization capable of enlisting masses of adherents, such as the Catholic Church in Poland.

The emergence of powerful capitalist-restorationist forces would produce a "conservative" reflex among Stalinist officials anxious to preserve their social position, and also give birth to a directly counterrevolutionary wing of the bureaucracy (what Trotsky called the "Butenko faction"). However, the workers would instinctively move to defend their interests from the growing threat of reaction. Capitalist restoration could triumph only through a civil war in which the class-conscious elements of the proletariat were annihilated in the course of their bitter struggle to defend collectivized property as the economic basis for the transition to socialism.

Defend the Gains of October Through Political Revolution!

The Mao-Stalinists go from hailing the supposed establishment of socialism in the USSR with the 1936 constitution to discovering a peaceful counterrevolution secretly carried out by Stalin's heirs. Not only did such a momentous event go unnoticed at the time, but Peking has never published an analysis of how or why this occurred and Maoists in the West cannot even agree on the timing. Moreover, if capitalism can be restored by a palace coup, then presumably socialism can be reinstituted in the same manner; thereupon another Khrushchev could appear on the scene, and so on indefinitely, producing a cycle that has more to do with the Buddhist "wheel of life" than with Marxism.

As against this idealist/conspiratorial view of history, Trotsky provided a materialist analysis of the degeneration of the Russian revolution under Stalinism. "The October revolution has been betrayed by the ruling stratum," he wrote in 1936, "but not yet overthrown." He briefly summarized the nature of the regime in an analysis that remains valid today:

> "The Soviet Union is a contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism, in which: (a) the productive forces are still far from adequate to give the state property a socialist character; (b) the tendency toward primitive accumulation created by want breaks out through innumerable pores of the planned economy; (c) norms of distribution preserving a bourgeois character lie at the basis of a new differentiation of society; (d) the economic growth, while slowly bettering the situation of the toilers, promotes a swift formation of privileged strata; (e) exploiting the social antagonisms, a bureaucracy has converted itself into an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism; (f) the social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party, still exists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses; (g) a further development of the accumulating contradictions can as well lead to socialism as back to capitalism; (h) on the road to capitalism the counterrevolution would have to break the resistance of the workers; (i) on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena."
>
> —*The Revolution Betrayed*

Not only is the Maoist illusion of a restoration of capitalism in the USSR wrong and profoundly anti-Marxist, but it serves to justify an increasingly open counterrevolutionary alliance of the Peking bureaucracy with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. In contrast, as the Russian Left Oppositionists were taken from arctic concentration camps to be shot in 1938-39 they again vowed their unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Their struggle was not one of bureaucratic intriguing in the interests of one clique against another, but rather to defend and extend the world-historic gains of the October Revolution by ousting the parasitic usurpers. It is because the Trotskyists know how to defend past conquests of the workers that the Russian Left Opposition will arise again from the ashes, while there never has been and *never will be* a significant Maoist opposition in the USSR. ■

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South Africa . . .

(continued from page 1)

economy would actually *harm* the cause of the oppressed non-white workers.

While calling for "the strongest measures" and specifying a labor boycott ("hot cargoing" or "blacking") of South African goods, the ICFTU executive board has given no indication that it will really mobilize its affiliates or wage a political struggle for implementation of the call. In fact, in a letter announcing the campaign (Circular No. 56, 30 November 1976), ICFTU general secretary Otto Kersten specifically referred to "token industrial action."

Instead of a tokenistic boycott, the world's trade unions should apply industrial action against those multinational corporations operating in South Africa to force them to recognize the black unions. The unions of British Leyland, which has plants in South Africa, have raised such a demand, though the corporation has resisted to date.

ICFTU's half-heartedness is hardly surprising for pro-capitalist reformists who are well aware that militant industrial action is political dynamite. The use of class-struggle tactics to aid embattled workers in other countries sets a dangerous precedent for the tame, social-patriotic union leaderships. Bureaucrats of the ilk of Britain's Len Murray and Jack Jones, who participated in the ICFTU meeting in November, will hardly lead serious actions to defend South African workers while they are busily betraying their own members with a "social contract" designed to bail out the sinking British bourgeoisie.

Such protest campaigns are intended as inexpensive gestures which serve primarily to bolster the "leftist" credentials of their social-democratic initiators. Feeling little compulsion to project a left face, the American AFL-CIO refused to lend even paper support. In a typical display of naked anti-communism, reactionary AFL-CIO head George Meany rejected the ICFTU call for labor protest, accusing it of having a "double standard" and making an indirect but transparent call for boycott of the Soviet Union (*AFL-CIO News*, 18 December).

To turn such a protest into a genuinely effective labor action requires struggle against both the do-nothing AFL-CIO dinosaurs and the slicker but no less opportunist social-democratic bureaucrats in Europe. A demand that they lead strike actions to win full citizenship rights for all foreign workers would quickly expose the chauvinist underpinnings of the ICFTU bureaucrats' internationalist posturings.

The ICFTU campaign raises the unsupportable and dangerous proposal of an open-ended and total economic boycott of South Africa. The World Confederation of Labor, based on Catholic-originated unions like the French CFDT, declared: "This should not be a symbolic action for one week only but a sustained effort which will affect the economic and strategic interests of South Africa—boycott on South African produce, cessation of arms deliveries and investments" (quoted in *Daily World*, 6 January).

The Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, which is supporting the January 17 protests, also champions the position of a total boycott, a long-standing panacea among liberal pacifists, social democrats and Stalinists alike. Such a policy is rife with contradictions and illusions. It is most often merely an empty expression of moral condemnation by reformist misleaders who would never risk their bureaucratic sinecures in the confrontations with the bourgeois state to which any serious industrial action would inevitably lead.

The reformists fall back on appeals to the imperialists to isolate weaker bourgeois regimes judged to be qualitatively more reactionary. But this is nothing but the crassest liberalism, drawing a fundamental line between "democratic" capitalism and dictatorship. During the post-war period, the U.S. government (operating within the confines of bourgeois democracy) has played an infinitely more reactionary role than third-rate despotisms like South Africa, Iran or Spain. Nor are the major capitalist powers about to sacrifice profitable trade and investments to the dictates of "conscience."

But "what if" an unusual conjuncture of events (probably associated with inter-imperialist conflicts) somehow gave rise to the reformists' goal of effective imperialist economic "sanctions against South Africa? What then? Only in the imagination of muddle-headed moralists and cynical opportunists does crippling the economy of an entrenched reactionary regime lead to its overthrow by the aroused masses. Quite the contrary, a forced contraction of foreign trade, resulting in greater unemployment, could actually weaken the capacity of the workers to struggle. The significant wage gains won by South African black workers through the strikes of 1973 and 1974 followed a decade of industrial expansion in which their strategic weight in the economy increased markedly.

A really major blow to the economy (a catastrophic drop in the gold price along with imposition of oil sanctions, for example) leading to extreme social and economic dislocation could actually lead to the Zionist solution of "separate development" of which the right-wing Afrikaners dream. The compacting of the oppressor white caste into a nationally distinct group (a desperate nuclear-armed white *laager* defending an autarkic economy) is precluded only so long as the economy depends on black labor.

Fortunately, such a disastrous "achievement" is not within the capacity of the "left" labor reformists and "Third World" nationalists who advocate it. Instead, they are limited to token labor boycotts, which usually do not employ enough effective force to win even limited goals like the lifting of the banning orders on trade unionists, or to impotent and often ludicrous consumer boycotts. First prize in this latter regard must go to the U.S. Communist Party which rages against the evils of eating South African sardines.

The absolute absurdity of such a boycott is indicated by the South African exports itemized in the 6 January *Daily World*'s list of "racist unpalatables." After canned fish, lobster tails and wines, it notes: "South Africa also exports diamonds, gold, seal skins and uranium to the U.S., but such items are generally not open to direct access by the average consumer." Thus the success of a boycott campaign directed at petty-bourgeois intellectuals and youth depends on moral sensibilities of society matrons, power companies, the Atomic Energy Commission, the American Dental Association and above all *the U.S. Treasury*.

But there is action which class-conscious militants can take to aid their victimized comrades in South Africa. Beyond implementing the call for a week-long labor boycott of South African cargo and transport, a "blacking" of all military production and military cargo for South Africa would be a powerful expression of labor solidarity and a concrete blow against the repressive machine of the apartheid regime. In addition, industrial action against multi-national corporations operating in South Africa to force them to recognize the black unions is a key tactic furthering the growth of proletarian organization in the apartheid state. Such class-struggle measures, however, will not be undertaken by the social democrats, Stalinists and business unionists of the ICFTU, WFTU, WCL or AFL-CIO. It requires the forging of a revolutionary opposition in the unions capable of mobilizing the international proletariat around its historic class interests. ■

Class Collaborator . . .

(continued from page 8)

attempts.) The ILWU was expelled from the CIO but refused to implement a red purge.

The 26 November 1961 *People's World* (West Coast CP weekly) praised Brown for his participation in a court suit fought on his behalf by the ILWU which successfully challenged the constitutionality of the section of the Landrum-Griffin Act prohibiting communists from being elected union leaders. This was an important victory, but no one should be deceived that Archie Brown defends workers democracy for anyone but himself and his reformist cronies.

In 1949, at the same time that CP leaders were being hounded to jail under the Smith Act, the Stalinists refused to defend James Kutcher, a legless veteran who had been witchhunted out of his government job because he was a member of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). At a Local 10 meeting in July of that year Brown suffered a tremendous drubbing when a motion defending Kutcher passed by a vote of 2,800 to 12, despite a concerted effort by Stalinists present to malign and slander Trotskyists as "agents of the bosses."

Thankful for being granted a safe haven from the cold war red purges sweeping the labor movement, the Communist Party became the most abject apologist for the Bridges bureaucracy. Not only did they fail to attack the ILWU tops for sacrificing union gains, but the Stalinists voted for job-cutting automation contracts.

Unwilling to antagonize Bridges with a program for saving the ILWU through militant class struggle, Brown spent much of his time at the December meeting reminiscing about his role in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish civil war. In the same breath he praised the Chilean resistance and remarked, "The Spanish working class is once again fighting for democracy." But "Archie" was only pulling his punches. The real meaning of this apology for popular-frontism came out at a December 1970 "Northern California Rank and File Action Conference" where he boasted of murdering Trotskyists during the Spanish civil war, the act of a vile class traitor.

Nor have the politics of this veteran class collaborator changed one iota over the years. At a June 1975 Bay Area trade-union conference on Chile, Brown unsuccessfully tried to mobilize a goon squad to stifle opposition to the disastrous policies of the Allende popular front, which had left Chilean workers defenseless before the bloody Pinochet coup. Among those who successfully beat back Brown's attempt to exclude class-struggle politics at that conference were Local 10 executive board members Gow and Keylor. In their newsletter to

Near East . . .

(continued from page 4)

which subsidizes the economies of both countries, verbal animosity has been replaced with verbal pledges of "unity."

Of course Egypt and Syria along with Libya are already part of a "Federation of Arab Republics" formed in 1971. However, Libyan-Egyptian verbal animosity has almost been transcended by an actual declaration of war, most recently over a Libyan-backed coup attempt against the Egyptian-backed Sudanese government. The defunct "federation" still has a federal cabinet and parliament and even a phony ceremonial capital at Heliopolis, a suburb of Cairo.

The new Egyptian-Syrian "unity" is more reminiscent of this fake-"federation" than their last unity move, the ill-fated United Arab Republic, which lasted from 1958 to 1961. While every Arab ruler, whether Arabian sheik or bonapartist colonel, pays lip service to pan-Arab unity, they all jealously defend their borders, the product of imperialist balkanization, and seek "unity" only through territorial aggrandizement against their neighbors.

The real motivation behind the current Egyptian-Syrian "united political leadership" is the desire to avoid another "Sinai"—that is, to prevent a separate deal with U.S. imperialism. So instead they are proposing a *common* deal with U.S. imperialism in which a West Bank/Gaza Strip Palestinian mini-state would be jointly supervised by Jordan and Egypt—i.e., a return to the pre-1967 situation. Up to now both the U.S. and Israel have refused to have the PLO at the Geneva Conference because Arafat refuses to recognize Israel. Clearly what Syria and Egypt have united on, together with Jordan and Lebanon, is the subordination of the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" to a joint Arab delegation of the so-called "confrontation states" (the Arab states which border Israel and whose main confrontation has historically been with Palestinian liberation, in collaboration with Zionism). Further, by accepting the mini-state "solution" the PLO will implicitly accept the sovereignty of Israel's pre-1967 borders.

The PLO and Arab rulers know full well that the West Bank and Gaza Strip—poor land that occupies a mere 18 percent of the old British mandate of Palestine—can neither provide the basis for a modern state nor the haven for 3.5 million Palestinians. But the Arab rulers have no intention of permitting the Palestinian people to have genuine political independence of any sort. After all, from 1948 to 1967 the West Bank and Gaza Strip were under the control of Jordan and Egypt respectively and the Palestinians had hardly more rights then under their Arab oppressors than they do today under their Israeli rulers.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East

We demand that Israel get out of the Arab territories But the Palestinian people cannot realize their national liberation only in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The fate of Palestinian liberation is intimately intertwined with the revolutionary overthrow of the reactionary regimes in Amman, Damascus and Beirut, as the Jordanian Black September and the Lebanese civil war have so graphically demonstrated. The Israeli state and Zionism must be destroyed, but through an alliance of the oppressed Arab masses and the Israeli proletariat, which in November shook the Rabin government with the most militant strike wave in Israel's history.

Subjected to a 37.5 percent inflation rate, the highest taxes in the world and a rapidly falling standard of living, the Israeli proletariat can be broken from its garrison mentality by an Arab-Hebrew revolutionary workers party which while firmly fighting for the Palestinian right to complete self-determination does not deny the right to self-determination of the Hebrew people. Such a party must necessarily be committed to the perspective of international proletarian revolution embodied in a reborn Fourth International. ■

the membership they explained the danger represented by the Stalinists' popular-front politics:

> "The Chilean workers parties attempted major reforms without seeing the need for completely abolishing the old state and its key institutions, the army and the police. They failed to independently organize the working class—either politically or militarily. Both Allende and Corvalán, head of the Chilean CP, consistently told the Chilean working class to have faith in the liberal capitalists and their allies, the 'democratic' military. When the coup came, the workers were unprepared."
>
> —"Longshore Militant," 25 June 1975

Brown, a past master at writing meaningless resolutions, once authored a Local 10 motion calling for boycott of Chilean cargo. But when Gow and Keylor together with other ILWU members pushed to implement this resolution—and successfully stopped Chilean cargo on the San Francisco docks during a two-day international protest in September 1974—Brown was nowhere to be seen. He didn't want to upset Bridges and the shipping companies.

Popular-frontist to the end, Brown also continued to support the top ILWU misleaders. At the December Local 10 meeting Bridges advocated jurisdictional war with other waterfront unions over the shrinking job pool. Predictably, when a supporter of "Longshore Militant" later tried to present a motion condemning any raiding, one of Brown's sidekicks dissolved the meeting with a quorum call. Such underhanded tricks may put the Stalinists in the good graces of labor fakers like Bridges, but in the end the working class will prove more powerful than all the slimy maneuvers and strong-arm methods of the bureaucracy. ■

Yoshimura...

(continued from page 12)

cornerstones of bourgeois "justice." Asked why she fled after the arrest of Brandt, Rubenstein and Bortin, Yoshimura replied:

> "I began to think of the government's racist attitude toward Asian people, my concentration camp experiences [she was born in a Japanese internment camp in Inyo County in 1943], *what happened to my parents* [they were sent to the camp shortly after World War II began], the same kind of racist attitude continued with the Vietnam War."

That Wendy Yoshimura's fears of racist victimization were fully justified was demonstrated when she had the misfortune of being arrested together with Patty Hearst in September 1975. Soon after her arrest, "Patty" was holding hands with her parents in jail; Yoshimura, however, was shipped off to the Santa Rita detention center where *her* parents could only talk to her through wire barriers. When "Patty" was released on bail, "daddy" paid the tab from his pocket money, but the bail for Yoshimura was raised by Japanese Americans who also remember the horror of the "relocation centers" (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," *WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977); her defense committee received contributions from more than 1,000 individuals and organizations including the Partisan Defense Committee.

Patty Hearst was convicted for her admitted role in a holdup by the killer-cult "Symbionese Liberation Army," but she agreed to aid the government in fingering those who harbored her during her flight. Today the wealthy heiress sits in a posh penthouse suite sipping cocktails with her reactionary multi-millionaire newspaper magnate father. Meanwhile, Wendy Yoshimura, daughter of a Japanese American gardener from Fresno, refused to be a government informer. *She* is being railroaded to prison.

The Yoshimura case is a prime example of how the government uses conspiracy charges to stage a show trial in the absence of any evidence. For the state's prosecutors, the conspiracy rap is a legal dream come true, but for the innocent victims it is a nightmare of jail sentences. Here, truly, is bourgeois justice American style:

- First Brandt, Rubenstein and Bortin are tried, convicted and jailed for "conspiring" to blow up an ROTC building that never blew up, for "plotting" to explode a naval architecture building whose architecture remained intact and for "planning" the kidnapping of mass murderer Robert McNamara who never was kidnapped.
- Then the state went after Yoshimura as an accessory to these "crimes" that were never committed.
- But since they had no evidence to connect Yoshimura to these phantom crimes, they began to hound her about her years as a fugitive *after* the non-existent blow-ups and kidnappings. By asking her these questions the government is able to send her to jail on charges of contempt.

There is a conspiracy here, but the conspirators are capitalism's cops, prosecutors, judges and legislators in their vengeful drive to frame antiwar protesters. Other victims of this rigged "justice" are two Pennsylvania men, Jay Weiner and Phillip Shinnick, who have been jailed since November for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury witchhunt "investigating" those who aided Patty Hearst during her flight. Under a law whose spirit finds its counterpart in the Middle Ages, these men must remain in jail on contempt charges until they decide to become informers or until the grand jury is discharged.

As we previously stated, the state's real purpose in prosecuting Yoshimura is to strike a vicious blow at all those who have struggled against U.S. imperialism's war on the Indochinese workers and peasants. For this reason and because this case is a symbol of the deep and incurable rottenness of capitalist justice and the rule of the American bourgeoisie, the workers movement must demand the immediate and unconditional freeing of Wendy Yoshimura! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Crime, Punishment...

(continued from page 2)

ascendancy renounces the maiming of prisoners in favor of a penal reform which claims as its primary purpose the protection of society rather than the infliction of pain upon the offender. The bourgeois revolutionaries sought to introduce a "rational" society in which the penalty was "equal" to the crime. That is also the sense of the U.S. Constitution's proscription of "cruel and unusual punishment." But the bourgeois state can no more protect the general population against crime than it can fulfill the promises of "liberty, equality and fraternity." In the period of capitalist decay the bourgeoisie's "law and order" is in fact the mass organization of crime through social disorder and cop terrorism. The recrudescence of the rack and screw in bourgeois society in their modern electronic forms, as well as the reinstitution of the death penalty from Argentina to the U.S., is bloody confirmation of capitalism's irreversible decay.

As Herreshoff implies, U.S. prisons today are a form of torture, particularly for the blacks and other minorities who make up such a large percentage of the prison population. While we demand an immediate halt to such barbaric practices as the death penalty, solitary confinement, virtually unpaid menial labor, preventive detention and all forms of torture, we understand that capitalism in its death agony maintains its prisons as an instrument of reactionary social coercion beyond any significant reform. In the very first issue of *WV* (October 1971), in an article on the Attica massacre, we demanded: "Smash the Prisons!"

The socialist revolution not only smashes capitalist prisons but also lays the material basis to rid society of all its prisons. But, as in the question of abolition of official mutilation, the question of prisons after the proletarian revolution cannot be abstractly posed as a matter of comparative felt pain. The revolutionary Bolsheviks intended their prisons to isolate counterrevolutionaries and criminals for the protection of society rather than for the punishment of the individual offender. But everyone understood that such isolation was punishing from the subjective point of view of the prisoner, and the Bolsheviks at times even used the word "punish."

The question of penal policy is really the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat cannot wage ruthless war against the bourgeoisie one day and wake up the next morning to the dawn of idyllic socialism—the first stage of classless society. The newly fledged workers state must not only repress outright counterrevolutionaries in a civil war, but also deal with crime in a society which (although it has abolished capitalist exploitation) still contains members corrupted and driven to crime by continuing economic scarcity and remnants of bourgeois and lumpen class violence.

Neither forced labor nor prisons are the norm for a healthy workers state. The reason that prisoners in revolutionary Russia were placed in a regime of forced labor is that in a society suffering economic collapse universal compulsory labor was the necessary rule. But even under these conditions of extreme hardship the Bolsheviks insisted that prison working conditions were covered by the general labor code providing trade-union rates, food rations and other conditions applying to the non-prison workforce (Margaret Dewar, *Labor Policy in the U.S.S.R.*).

Instituting prison labor was not a remedial program for individual rehabilitation. The Bolsheviks and Marx were not starry-eyed about eliminating crime through individual rehabilitation. It should be made clear, moreover, that Marx's reference in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* to productive labor was directed against the Lasalleans, whose program was to *enforce idleness* in prisons in order to avoid economic competition with non-institutionalized labor. Against that position Marx argued that prisoners must not be deprived of productive labor.

The revolutionary Bolsheviks' early penal policies were summarized in Bukharin and Preobrazhensky's *The ABC of Communism* (1920). They explained that "a large number of professional criminals, trained to become such in the old order, survive to give work for the proletarian courts. But these courts are entirely free from the spirit of revenge." So long as prisoners had to be isolated, the incarcerated individuals were offered "full opportunities for moral regeneration" rather than being forced to remain there "without any occupation, [in] enforced parasitism, the penal method so frequently employed under the tsarist regime." Therefore the Bolsheviks sought a "complete transformation of the customary penal methods," including the introduction of some which "have been recommended by the best bourgeois criminologists. But in bourgeois society they remain a dream."

The important point with regard to the Bolsheviks' prisons is that they were meant as temporary measures to be abolished as the society advanced toward socialism. It is this understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a *transitional* period that is missing in Herreshoff's static comparisions of "houses of correction" under the bourgeoisie with the prisons in revolutionary Russia. *The ABC of Communism* states clearly that the "courts will gradually change in character. As the State dies out, they will tend to become simply organs for the expression of public opinion. They will assume the character of courts of arbitration. Their decisions will no longer be enforced by physical means and will have a purely moral significance."

Unlike the state apparatus in capitalist society which can only more or less effectively organize for class oppression, it is the special character of the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat that it can wither away. But this transition to socialism demands a material abundance possible only with the spread of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. Stalinism is the result of prolonged national isolation. The answer is not an alternative penal policy but political revolution in the degenerated/deformed workers states and social revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

Herreshoff's questions and comparisons could imply a political continuity between Leninism and Stalinism which is held by liberals, anarchists, tsarists like Solzhenitsyn and, of course, by the Stalinists. Certainly there were prisoners under Lenin and prisons under Stalin. But the prisons in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Trotsky were filled with active counterrevolutionaries and cannot be equated politically with Stalin's concentration camps filled largely with innocent people as well as old Bolsheviks, left-wing intellectuals and class-conscious workers. Bolshevik prisons in 1917-23 required an all-sided political counterrevolution to become the new Stalinist economic category of multi-millioned forced labor based upon mass terror and bureaucratic intimidation.

No workers state under conditions of national isolation and economic backwardness can move forward to socialism—i.e., abolish prisons. To answer Herreshoff's "by the way" (how can we get from the dictatorship of the proletariat to a society without prisons?): Only by internationalizing the revolution, opening the way for socialism on a world scale, which can and will abolish all the repressive instruments of class society and usher in that society which Marx said was worthy of the name human. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victimized Because She Won't Turn Informer

Stop Court Vendetta Against Wendy Yoshimura!

Anne Dowie/SF Bay Guardian

Wendy Yoshimura

OAKLAND—In a shocking display of courtroom vengeance, the trial of Wendy Yoshimura took a dramatic turn last week as the trial judge cited the defendant five times for contempt of court, then ordered that all her testimony be stricken from the record just as her defense attorney was resting the case. This outrage is the state's answer to Yoshimura's courageous and principled refusal to fink on people who had aided her after she went into hiding in 1972 following the arrest of three companions—Willie Brandt, Paul Rubenstein and Michael Bortin—who were accused of attempting to blow up an ROTC building at the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

Alameda County superior judge Martin Pulich's high-handed actions were part and parcel of a deliberate government attempt to rig the trial against Yoshimura. Although the defendant told of her activities and associations *before* the 1972 arrest of her companions, she announced in a prepared statement that "It is impossible to explain my life after 1972 without suggesting or providing information about the people and friends who have helped me during these years.... I am morally obligated to bring them no harm in any way possible."

The prosecution, well aware that it has a flimsy case against Yoshimura on charges of possession of explosives and a machine gun, directed all its cross-examination at the period *after* the 1972 arrests. These questions had nothing to do with the matter under prosecution in this trial but allowed the state to trigger contempt of court charges and demand that her testimony on the weapons allegations be removed.

Judge Pulich willingly cooperated in this crude ploy to railroad Yoshimura to jail. He "graciously" asked the defendant whether she wished to claim privilege under the Fifth Amendment (against self-incrimination), knowing that if she did so she would have to answer questions about her associates. But Yoshimura's courageous refusal to plead the Fifth exposes the government's cynical maneuver: if the information the prosecution is seeking would *not* be self-incriminating, then it is irrelevant to the case.

From the very beginning of the trial it has been clear that the prosecution's case against Yoshimura is based, in the words of her defense attorney, on nothing but "innuendos and disconnected facts." Unable to come up with a single piece of hard evidence that Yoshimura had committed any crime, the prosecutor, Jeffrey Horner, has instead tried to weave a lurid conspiracy theory portraying the defendant as a member of a sinister gang planning an "all-out war against society."

Horner (who at one point in the trial proceedings attempted to show the jury a technicolor film of the effects of an AK-47 rifle on a can of tomato juice!) pulled his latest shabby maneuver by demanding Yoshimura tell the jury the answers to the following questions:

> "Who called her at 5 a.m. on the day three men were arrested by Berkeley police as they entered a Berkeley garage-bomb factory she had rented?
> "Where did she go when she fled the Bay Area?
> "What mode of travel did she use?
> "Did she go back east?
> "Did she apply for a driver's license in New Jersey under the assumed name of Joan Shimada?"
>
> —*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 January 1977

Clearly these questions are nothing but a fishing expedition to gain information for a further government witchhunt against anyone who aided Yoshimura between the time of her flight and her arrest in September of 1975.

Yoshimura's lawyer, James Larsen, correctly objected that the questions were irrelevant and inflammatory. When he repeated his client's statement that she couldn't answer these questions out of a moral obligation not to betray those who had helped her, Judge Pulich snapped back that he didn't recognize "moral obligations."

The judge then slapped Yoshimura with five counts of contempt of court, each worth up to six months in jail. He also refused a motion for a mistrial by Larsen. And in case any juror failed to get the message, this tribune of bourgeois "justice" instructed the jury that "the defendant's refusal to answer questions can be considered by you on the issue of the credibility of her testimony" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 January). The next morning, after Yoshimura again refused to turn informer on the witness stand, Judge Pulich ordered that all her testimony be struck from the record ("as if it hadn't been said").

But Mr. Assistant District Attorney Horner is not satisfied. He is insisting that the testimony of Yoshimura's father, Frank Yoshimura, also be struck from the record, presumably because of his daughter's refusal to be a stool pigeon! When one of the incredulous spectators exclaimed, "What?" as Horner put forward this motion, he was ordered removed from the courtroom.

From start to finish the capitalist government's vindictive harassment and persecution of Wendy Yoshimura has been a case study in the racism, class bias and anti-communism which are the

continued on page 11

PDC STATEMENT:

Free Wendy Yoshimura!

The government's vindictive attempt to break Wendy Yoshimura on the witness stand is a modern inquisition. The questions as to the details of her life during the years that she was hounded by a wanton FBI manhunt are neither intended to bring to light facts "relevant" to the prosecution's frame-up, nor even as a test of her credibility. Rather, they seek to turn Yoshimura's trial into an exercise in McCarthyite entrapment and coerced testimony. The judge's action declaring her in contempt of court for refusing to answer such outrageous questions proves that this trial has been rigged in advance.

The Partisan Defense Committee hails Yoshimura's principled and courageous stand in refusing to turn informer for the state's witchhunt. This innocent woman, born in a racist U.S. concentration camp, propelled into action against American imperialism's war against the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia, and now being persecuted in this vengeful show trial, has become a symbol of resistance for the entire working class and all those who struggle for democratic rights.

We demand that the judicial persecution stop immediately. Drop the charges against Wendy Yoshimura!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station,
New York, N.Y. 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 141 — 21 January 1977

While Hundreds Wait on Death Row

STATE BUTCHERS GILMORE

Stop the Executions!

Gary Gilmore was executed by firing squad on Monday morning in a state prison at Point of the Mountain, Utah. It was the first execution in the United States since 1967.

We recoil at the spectacle of this vengeful slaughter. Almost two centuries ago the death penalty was denounced as barbarous by leaders of the bourgeois revolution. Today, in the name of the future of mankind, we demand its abolition.

The capitalist state has shot a man; hundreds more wait on death row as the repressive state machinery arrogantly wields its monopoly on the means of organized violence. The targets: usually the black and the poor.

In the weeks and months leading up to this execution, the reintroduction of capital punishment in the U.S. was peddled to the public in terms of the sick personality of an admitted murderer who "wanted to die."

The necessary cry of outrage sticks in the throat until the savage meaning of the death penalty is separated from the cult of Gary Gilmore.

The press has already fed us more than we need to know about Gilmore, in order to deny the enormity of what is really at stake. Months of the most putrid yellow journalism have oiled the rifles of the Utah firing squad. We do not want to read another word about Gilmore's last meal, his last song, the last jerk of his body. His love letters, his poetry, his fascination with death, his suicide attempts are matters of indifference to history.

The parasites who are exploiting the cult of Gary Gilmore for profit enact a repulsive ritual as old as punishment by death. Today, movie rights and ringside seats to the execution are sold; in the Middle Ages executioners found a ready market for the sale of the blood and parts of the criminal's corpse believed to possess magical qualities.

In 17th century England the crowds flocked to Newgate jail and jammed the roads to Tyburn prison to view torture and hangings. Now we are told that a Texas court has cleared the way for the next scheduled execution to be televised. We are witnessing the use of the propaganda techniques of 1984 fueling the social spirit of the punishment of 1684.

The obscene media build-up surrounding the case of Gary Gilmore must not be allowed to obscure the fundamental fact: the bourgeois state has reinstituted legal murder. The sensational publicity campaign was aimed at making it easier for the state to pull the trigger. On the day of the execution television specials announced victoriously that 71 percent of the American population now supported the death penalty.

As the death watch went into its final hours over the weekend, the "law enforcement community" must have been congratulating itself on finding such a perfect victim for the reinstatement of capital punishment. The Supreme Court opened the door last summer; President-elect Carter was on their side; demonstrations against the execution were few and small—even Gary Gilmore was on their side. When the ACLU and a liberal judge threatened to get in the way, they could be brushed aside.

How different it would have been for the bloody enforcers of capitalist "law and order" if they were dealing with a more typical resident of the nation's death rows: a black man accused of the "crime" of shooting one of the killer cops who every day unleash ruling-class terror in the northern ghettos.

"Let's do it," read the headlines across the country, quoting Gilmore's last

continued on page 8

Der Spiegel

Peking wall poster denounces "Gang of Four."

What Now, Maoists?

The Return of Teng

JANUARY 16—Twice purged as a "capitalist roader," Teng Hsiao-ping may yet live to become king of the mountain in Stalinist China. The tough, sharp-tongued veteran of Peking's turbulent clique battles has survived all the architects of his two falls from grace. He has outlived Mao, seen Lin Piao posthumously reviled and witnessed (perhaps helped plan) the overthrow of Chiang Ching and the so-called "Gang of Four."

The real questions now are when Teng will be officially "rehabilitated" and what post he will fill in the party or government hierarchy. Peking wall posters proclaiming "With Teng Hsiao-ping as prime minister, Chou En-lai can rest in peace" indicate that he may rise right to the top, co-equal with the new party chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

"Gang" Out, Teng Back

The Hua regime has not officially committed itself, but is testing the waters through the typical Maoist methods of manipulated "public opinion." Teng's restoration is organically linked with the purge of the "Shanghai circle" and follows fast apace. Short-

continued on page 11

Teng Hsiao-ping — Bureau/Sygma

SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE IN CUBA

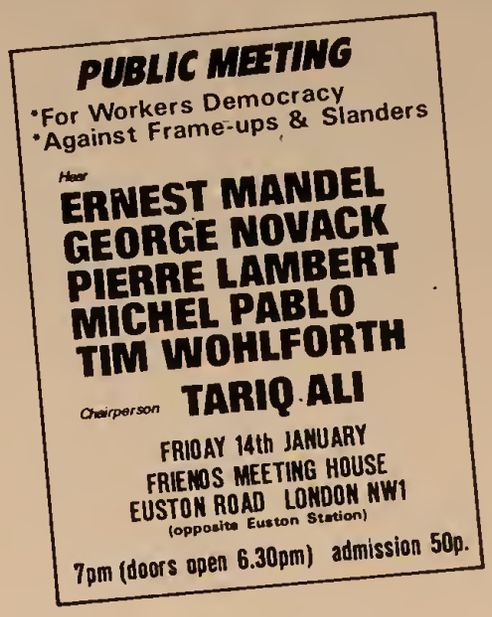
Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente....6

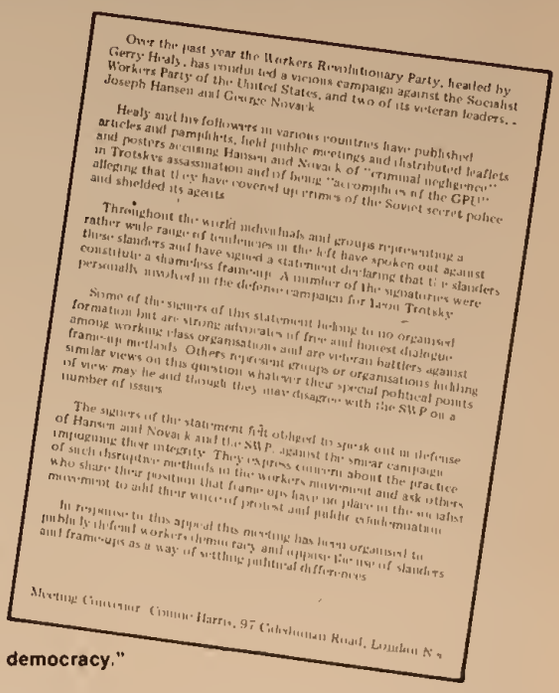
PART 1 OF 2

"Hypocrisy Is the Homage that Vice Pays to Virtue"

Joe Hansen Is an Honest Revisionist

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by London supporters of the international Spartacist tendency at a January 14 meeting to protest Healyite slanders of SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack.


PUBLIC MEETING
*For Workers Democracy
*Against Frame-ups & Slanders
Hear
ERNEST MANDEL
GEORGE NOVACK
PIERRE LAMBERT
MICHEL PABLO
TIM WOHLFORTH
Chairperson TARIQ ALI
FRIDAY 14th JANUARY
FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE
EUSTON ROAD LONDON NW1
(opposite Euston Station)
7pm (doors open 6.30pm) admission 50p.


Over the past year the Workers Revolutionary Party, headed by Gerry Healy, has conducted a vicious campaign against the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, and two of its veteran leaders, Joseph Hansen and George Novack.

Healy and his followers in various countries have published articles and pamphlets, held public meetings and distributed leaflets and posters accusing Hansen and Novack of "criminal negligence" in Trotsky's assassination and of being "accomplices of the GPU" alleging that they have covered up crimes of the Soviet secret police and shielded its agents.

Throughout the world individuals and groups representing a rather wide range of tendencies in the left have spoken out against these slanders and have signed a statement declaring that the slanders constitute a shameless frameup. A number of the signatories were personally involved in the defense campaign for Leon Trotsky.

Some of the signers of this statement belong to no organised formation but are strong advocates of free and honest dialogue among working class organisations and are veteran battlers against frame-up methods. Others represent groups or organisations holding similar views on this question whatever their special political points of view may be and though they may disagree with the SWP on a number of issues.

The signers of the statement felt obliged to speak out in defense of Hansen and Novack and the SWP, against the smear campaign impugning their integrity. They express concern about the practice of such disruptive methods in the workers movement and ask others who share their position that frame-ups have no place in the socialist movement to add their voice of protest and public condemnation.

In response to this appeal this meeting has been organised to publicly defend workers democracy and oppose the use of slanders and frame-ups as a way of settling political differences.

Meeting Convenor: Connie Harris, 97 Caledonian Road, London N-

Leaflet announcing January 14 rally to "defend workers democracy."

Considering the notorious scoundrels who mainly comprise the speakers tonight, this is not a company that we of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) would freely choose to be among. But Trotsky has taught us that if the issue is just, one can unite with "the devil and his granddam" (taking due account of the old folk saying that "when you sup with the devil, use a long spoon"). But the ostensible purpose of this meeting—to protest and expose the infamous slanders against Joseph Hansen and George Novack of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) by Gerry Healy and his Workers Revolutionary Party— is at most only one of its purposes. For the speakers have another, overriding common denominator: they are all, to a man, revisionists and destroyers of the Trotskyist movement, not merely guaranteed to be oh-so-diplomatic about one another's betrayals of Marxism, but actively in pursuit of new combinations and configurations of revisionism (the stresses of an internationally rising line of class struggle having deeply undermined their old alignments).

It is only abstractly nauseating to think of speaking from the same platform as e.g., a Pierre Lambert, whose organization continues to practice endless physical violence against the "Vargaites" in the streets of Paris; or a servile Tim Wohlforth, now speaking for the shamelessly reformist SWP, who has spent fifteen years as a leading practitioner of Healyite slander and violence; or, above all, a Michel Pablo (sometime arch-enemy of the former two), who personally has done quite as

WV Photo

Gerry Healy at London meeting last week.

much as any other living human being to destroy the Trotskyist movement from within and turn "Trotskyism" into a cesspool.

Nonetheless a meeting "for workers democracy" and "against frame-ups and slanders"—even including such elements as these—could be a good thing, only providing that it was an honest meeting with full freedom of criticism. Unfortunately, as the speakers' list guarantees, this is not the case here. It is the omissions which tell the story. For example, when Hansen's *Intercontinental Press* (6 September 1976) published the statement "A Shameless Frame-Up" signed by a long list of individuals and organizations, *IP* in its informational breakdown identified from among the hundreds of signers sixteen as "internationally known Trotskyists." Of these, eleven were supporters of the United Secretariat (USec), two were from the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert, two were from Lutte Ouvrière and one was from the iSt. But only some of the USec leaders, and Lambert from the presently ingratiating OCI, and that master of intrigue, Pablo himself, are to speak tonight. Particularly objectionable to the meeting's sponsors would be a spokesman of the iSt—the group which at the level of workers democracy campaigned earliest against the Healyite slanders (picketing with our slogan "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?") and which helped initiate the impartial Commission of Inquiry into the affair of the highly dubious Varga vs. the slanderous OCI.

It is not enough to describe Healy, as Hansen does, as a paranoid. The conduct of Healy's organization demands *political* explanation. The Healyite combination of crude opportunism and fake-Trotskyist "orthodoxy" has repeatedly lost out to the slicker USec, whose internally warring wings are led by Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel. In his slander campaign, Healy no doubt thinks he has gone V.I. Lenin one better. Lenin exposed Karl Kautsky as a revisionist through careful and savage analysis. It would therefore have been inconceivable for Lenin, as a Marxist, to have substituted the false and gratuitous and so simplifying—accusation that Kautsky was an agent of the Kaiser. Healy cannot follow this principled course toward the USec revisionists, for comparable analysis would indict his own conduct. He resorts to contemptible slander which merely brings ostensible "anti-revisionism" into disrepute. As always, Healy is the horrible example which Hansen feeds off, for his own purposes—in this case, an unprincipled attempted international "regroupment" parading as a rally for workers democracy.

The real political issues which place all these squabbling slander-mongering, violence-prone elements at one pole and the iSt at the other are currently posed by two decisive considerations: the popular front and the Fourth International. Of course, as in the 1930's when the centrist London Bureau zig-zagged through the no-man's-land between Trotskyism and the mass reformist parties, so today one finds more leftist ephemeral groupings which seek to straddle between a revolutionary course and the accommodationism common to all tonight's speakers. The overriding characteristic of these groups is negative: not to stand *for* a common and coherent international program, but to posture *against* those (such as tonight's speakers) whose betrayals have become too overt. Thus for example there is the "Necessary International Initiative" bloc (including one Roberto from Italy, Sean Matgamna's recently split International Communist League, the disintegrating German Spartacusbund and maybe somebody else). Their tendency to themselves capitulate under pressure to popular frontism aside, they have hardly a point in common among their component factions and individuals except their objection to the manifest revisionism of the USec (and to the "sectarian" intransigence of the iSt).

With the renewal internationally of massive proletarian unrest, the popular front is again in the air. And all revisionists must try, in their own ways, to accommodate on the central question of class collaboration and, with their "new mass vanguards" or self-serving descriptions of mass reformist parties as simply "workers parties," to pave the way for new betrayals.

The 1930's centrists of the London Bureau, which Trotsky condemned, had to verbally separate themselves from the popular front rather more than such types do today:

> "The Popular Front practised by the Second and Third Internationals is a form of class collaboration between the proletariat and the Liberal bourgeoisie (and the petty bourgeoisie which depends on this latter) on a Capitalist basis which subordinates and sacrifices the class interests of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie to those of monopoly Capitalism.... In consequence, the Revolutionary Socialist Movement rejects the Popular Front as being absolutely contrary to the historic interests of the working class. To Capitalism we must oppose Socialism. To the Popular Front we must oppose the United Workers Front."
>
> —Resolution adopted at the "Revolutionary Socialist Congress" of the London Bureau, Febuary 1938

Thus despite their anti-Trotskyist obliteration of the necessity of the proletarian vanguard party, the London Bureau was perforce compelled to make a categoric class counterposition to the popular front and did not expect the Stalinist and reformist parties to somehow turn into their opposites. But instead of, and in opposition to, the Trotskyists' hard, bleak struggle for the Fourth International, those centrists counterposed to reformism their innocuous and impotent phantom, "the Revolutionary Socialist Movement." This is why the organizations of the London Bureau, though nominally disposing of forces one hundred times that of the Trotskyists, are a barely known historical footnote whose descendents must masquerade today as Trotskyists.

The hard lessons of the victorious October Revolution retain their full force on our planet. Lenin and Trotsky did not enter or tail the provisional government of socialists and liberals—they overthrew it on the basis of soviet power. The international Spartacist tendency stands today with Lenin's Third and Trotsky's Fourth International in insisting not only that the issue of state power is class against class, but that without the struggle to create a programmatically united and disciplined Fourth International the workers are left to wander into the new traps of capital—and, as in the 1930's, with the assistance of their revisionist would-be "leaders."

[Authorized text]

14 January 1977

international Spartacist tendency

Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile

Trotskyist Faction (expelled) of the Spartacusbund (Germany)

London Spartacist Group
BCM Box 4272
London WC1V 6XX
England

Ernest Mandel speaking at January 14 London meeting. WV Photo

Tim Wohlforth WV Photo

Pierre Lambert WV Photo

Opposing Healy Slanders, Suppressing Workers Democracy

London Meeting: Fake-Trotskyist Family Reunion

At a London meeting attended by some 1,500 people last Friday, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Lambert, Michel Pablo and representatives of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were to have shared the same platform for the first time in over 25 years. Behind the speakers was a banner proclaiming, "For Workers Democracy—Against Frame-Ups and Slanders," and the ostensible purpose of this reunion of renegades from Trotskyism was to condemn the outrageous accusation by Gerry Healy that SWP leaders Joe Hansen and George Novack were "accomplices of the GPU" in Stalin's 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky.

To be sure, Healy's disgusting slanders deserve nothing but utter contempt from revolutionists as they are manifestly absurd and groundless, and, moreover, serve to fuel the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was murdered by "one of his own." But the main purpose of the meeting's organizers lay elsewhere. Planned at an October 1976 session of the "United" Secretariat (USec), at the same time as an abortive pact was worked out between the USec and the French OCI (see "No Tango in Paris," *WV* No. 137, 10 December 1976), Friday's meeting provided a forum for the chieftains of the squabbling factions of competing revisionists masquerading as Trotskyists to publicly bury the hatchet.

Much of the meeting was an orgy of indignation against Healy and his Stalinist practices, from gangster attacks against other leftists to pernicious cop-baiting and character assassination. Healy richly deserves the harshest condemnation for his venomous slanders and thuggery, but the ex-Trotskyist dignitaries who use his travesty of anti-revisionism to justify their own maneuvers have little to boast about as partisans of workers democracy.

Starring in the role of "saved" sinner and prodigal son was former Healy lackey Tim Wohlforth. After a dozen years as servile Gauleiter of American Healyism, Wohlforth was blackjacked by his master (and perforce accused of harboring a suspected "CIA agent"). Wohlforth, now a book reviewer for the SWP's *Militant*, appealed for sympathy because of the trials and tribulations he and his companion Nancy Fields faced after being dumped by Healy ("no one knocked on our door"). In the process he inadvertently revealed his own moral cowardice and total unfitness to be a revolutionary leader.

According to Wohlforth, the "hardest thing that I ever said in my life" was to get up in a meeting with Healy and say that he "disagreed with the proceedings." But this "disagreement" was not sufficient to prevent him from voting ("against my convictions") for his own removal as head of the Workers League. By his own testimony, then, Wohlforth demonstrates that he would have stood in the front ranks of the capitulators to Stalin in the 1920's. If he cannot stand up to Healy's blustering, how could he have resisted the onslaught of Stalin, who had the full resources of state power at his command, or the pressures exerted by the bourgeoisie?

You Scratch My Back, I'll Scratch Yours

In the chummy atmosphere of a family reunion, the meeting also celebrated the "growth and vitality of the Fourth International." Mandel put it most clearly: the meeting was not called to refute Healy's vile frame-up, but "to defend the Fourth International through our solidarity with comrade Hansen and comrade Novack... because it needs defending."

The intervention by Lambert of the OCI—by far the most political of the evening gently chided the USec majority for refusing to discuss with the OCI so long as the latter refused to characterize the Mandelites as "revolutionaries" (after all, he pointed out, terms such as "centrist" are a legitimate part of political debate among ostensible Marxists). But at the same time he abandoned the OCI's anti-Pabloist tradition and accepted the USec's ultimatum by several times pointedly referring to this gang of revisionists as "the Fourth International."

Lambert went out of his way to imply that the OCI had never considered the Socialist Workers Party as anything but revolutionary. He claimed that in 1963 when Healy characterized the SWP as centrist the OCI had rejected this label. This bald assertion cannot alter the fact that during the late 1960's and early 1970's the OCI referred to the SWP as "revisionist." Moreover, in 1962 Healy had split the Revolutionary Tendency (RT—predecessor of the Spartacist League/U.S.) of the SWP when the RT majority refused to sign his dictated statement avowing that the SWP was revolutionary and *not* centrist.

Mandel in his closing speech returned Lambert's compliment, stating that he must "give credit where credit is due" and praising the OCI for having played "an excellent, excellent leading role" in the campaign to free Leonid Plyusch and to defend other left dissidents in the Soviet Union. Referring to the liberation of Plyusch last February, Mandel assimilated the OCI to the USec by triumphantly proclaiming, "we got him out."

Michel Pablo, the dean of anti-Trotskyist revisionism, did not show up, no doubt to the secret relief of Mandel and Lambert, since Pablo no longer maintains any pretense of Trotskyism or adherence to the Fourth International and might therefore give the game away. His message read at the meeting was in many ways the frankest of all. He disparagingly referred to "this nasty quarrel" which was "symptomatic of a certain ideological decomposition in the movement of epigones, who have not succeeded in linking themselves up seriously with the natural movement of the class." But after denouncing the "exacerbated sectarianism of the sects," in the spirit of the evening he went on to propose "our common task" which was to "search with the utmost determination for what can unite us and not to divide ourselves." All that was necessary, said Pablo, was a "common program which corresponds to the current necessities."

The speakers wholeheartedly took up Pablo's admonition. Lambert declared that he did not wish to discuss "who was correct" in 1953, when Pablo caused the split and destruction of the Fourth International with his liquidationist program of "deep entrism" in the Stalinist and social-democratic mass reformist parties. Mandel, recalling Pablo's 1950's talk of a "new world reality" in which the Stalinists could no longer betray, discerned that "Eurocommunism" has introduced "new and tremendously vulnerable elements of division" into world Stalinism, which can have "fairly big effects in favor of Trotskyism." He therefore proposed that "all comrades present here, of all different tendencies, factions and organizations," undertake a "common political campaign" to "ask" the European Stalinists to "immediately, openly and publicly rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow trials," and to call on the Spanish Communist Party to expel Trotsky's assassin! After all, "It can't hurt to ask?"!

Following hard on the USec's prostration before a new wave of popular-frontism in Europe and Latin America, Mandel is proposing a "broad front" of the "family of Trotskyism" to fight

continued on page 8

WORKERS VANGUARD

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CP Under Fire

Indira Gandhi Nods to Right Wing

Congress Party poster in praise of the prime minister.

JANUARY 15– Gaudy posters deifying Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi as the Hindu goddess Durga, "the savior of India," flutter over squalid and choked streets in Calcutta, where hundreds of thousands of emaciated pavement dwellers languish in living death.

Slogans hailing her rising son Sanjay Gandhi as "the helmsman of our new India" abound in New Delhi, where Muslims resisting forced sterilization or eviction from their hovels have been massacred by special police under the direction of "the helmsman."

Exhortations to "work hard, produce more, maintain discipline" bombard the destitute masses of India, where unemployment has become so acute that 200,000 people recently applied for a *single* menial job opening at a bank.

Despite the official façade of "order and progress" in "new India" the Congress Party government of Indira Gandhi has become increasingly isolated and unpopular since its imposition of the draconian "emergency" 18 months ago. Since that time, when Indira Gandhi invoked sweeping dictatorial powers to quell massive anti-government unrest across India and to cling to office following her conviction on charges of corrupt electoral practices, the Congress government has jailed without trial some 100,000 to 200,000 political opponents of both the left and right, gagged the press with a rigid censorship, banned all so-called "anti-national" (i.e., anti-Gandhi) political activities and suppressed dozens of opposition parties, dissolved the two remaining non-Congress state governments (in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu), and launched its notorious forced sterilization campaign.

The Economist

Sanjay Gandhi, center

Several months ago Indira Gandhi took further steps toward unfettered police-state rule in an attempt to find a stable footing for her increasingly bonapartist regime. On November 2 the Lok Sabha (lower house of parliament) passed an omnibus package of constitutional amendments which in effect institutionalize the "emergency" powers wielded by Gandhi and the Congress-dominated parliament.

The following day parliament passed a proposal introduced by Gandhi to once again postpone the national elections, which were first postponed last February. Apparently Indira Gandhi was advised that at best Congress could hope to win only a razor-thin majority with 220-270 seats, more than a hundred less than its landslide majority of 1971. In fact, in the few local elections which have not been cancelled under the "emergency," Congress Party candidates have usually suffered stinging defeats.

At the same time, Gandhi recognizes that although severely crippled, the opposition has not been completely defeated. With the illness of populist leader Jaya Prakash Narayan and the collapse of his petty-bourgeois anti-corruption reform movement last year, the right-wing Hindu-communalist Jana Sangh (People's Party) has emerged as the leading force in the opposition. Unlike the smaller parliamentary parties, whose hopes were doused when the elections were postponed, the Jana Sangh has been able to organize its opposition on the basis of its extra-parliamentary, paramilitary wing (the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh)

Recently Gandhi has for the first time felt compelled to make at least gestures of accommodation toward the bourgeois opposition. Over the past several weeks the government has released from detention several prominent leaders of the Jana Sangh, the conservative Bharatiya Lok Dal (Indian People's Party), the Tamil-separatist Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Federation), and the Congress Organization (the Congress bosses who split with Gandhi in 1969). In addition, Gandhi recently has released a number of Congress Party dissidents, notably former cabinet member Mohan Dharia and member of parliament Chandra Sekhar.

Gorgoni/Gamma

Gandhi supporters cheer the prime minister at Congress Party rally in New Delhi.

In late December leaders of these opposition parties held a three-day palaver to discuss opening a "dialogue" with Gandhi. Signaling their willingness to accomodate Gandhi these opposition parties coupled the call for an end to the "emergency" with a pledge to recognize certain government "restraints." In response, on December 23 Gandhi wrote to Congress Organization leader Ashok Mehta, released from jail last May after more than ten months detention, and stated that "it would not be impossible to find solutions to the problems between opposition and Government" (quoted in *New York Times*, 6 January 1977).

While holding the door of reconciliation ajar for its bourgeois opponents, the Gandhi regime meanwhile has intensified its repression against less pliant political opponents and the working-class movement. At the same time that prominent bourgeois politicians have been released the Gandhi regime began staging a show trial of George Fernandes, the head of the million-strong All-India Railwaymen's Federation and leader of the small reformist Socialist Party, who had organized underground opposition to Gandhi among the working class. Captured after a year-long manhunt by special police with shoot-to-kill orders, Fernandes along with 21 others has been charged with organizing a "deep-rooted criminal conspiracy having widespread ramifications to overawe" (!) the government (UPI dispatch, 24 September 1976).

Even more significant, however, the Gandhi regime has begun to lash out at the reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), which has been its only significant political ally since the imposition of the emergency. Early on the CPI stated, "The Communist Party of India has welcomed the declaration of Emergency and the firm measures taken by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi" (*World Marxist Review*, October 1975). Since then the CPI has staunchly supported the "emergency," even though the "firm measures" of Gandhi have included the banning of strikes and work actions, slashing by half the minimum annual bonus for workers, imposition of a general wage freeze, massive "slum clearance" which has driven workers from the hovels that were their only shelter, and torture of working-class militants under detention.

But as mass disillusionment and discontent with Gandhi's so-called "socio-economic revolution" increased, and especially after the constitutional amendment and postponement of national elections reduced Gandhi's need for parliamentary allies, the CPI last month finally ventured beyond its past occasional soft-spoken "criticism" of the government. In early December the CPI called for "more bold initiatives in order to mobilize the masses and democratic forces," while still supporting Gandhi and the "emergency" (*Daily World*, 4 December 1976). In particular, the CPI has directed most of its fire at the incompetent and venal Sanjay Gandhi, who has acted as the mouthpiece for sharp criticism of the CPI.

In response, on December 23 Indira Gandhi for the first time publicly attacked the CPI, lashing the Stalinists for criticizing Sanjay and for good measure raking up their betrayal of the Indian independence struggle during World War II. (Following the Kremlin dictate of allying with "democratic" Anglo-American imperialism against Japan and fascist Germany, the CPI did indeed treacherously collaborate with the British colonial rulers to sabotage and even suppress the mass upheaval which erupted in India in August 1942.) In addition, the Gandhi regime clamped a tight censorship on the pro-CPI journal *Mainstream*, a clear warning to the Stalinists.

When the Communist Party called for demonstrations on January 1 to protest inflation, the government gave the CPI a taste of its "firm measures": on the eve of the scheduled "Anti-Price Rise Day" some 70 CPI organizers were arrested in Uttar Pradesh. Although protesting the arrests of the CPI cadres (but not of the many thousands of other opponents of Gandhi), the CPI nevertheless rushed to reaffirm its so-called "critical [sic] support" for the "emergency" and the allegedly "progressive" Gandhi regime.

While the betrayal of the Stalinist CPI has been monumental, the other self-proclaimed socialist tendencies in India have also remained mired in abject reformism. The Socialist Party of George Fernandes has consistently played the role of fifth wheel for the opposition front led by the reactionary Jana Sangh, while the "left" Stalinist Communist Party of India (Marxist) has called for a multi-class "Democratic People's Front" limited to simpering pleas for the restoration of parliamentary "democracy."

The "emergency" in India has also put to the test the revolutionary pretensions of the Communist League of India (CLI), section of the factionally polarized fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec). Although condemning the more draconian "emergency" measures (jailings, censorship, banning of left parties) and the role of the Stalinist CPI as left prop to the government, the centrist CLI took a dive on Gandhi's demagogic "20-point program," initially differentiating between the so-called "progressive" and "reactionary" demands. Last year the Hindi-language central organ of the CLI carried a three-part article on the "20-point program" which not only failed to raise the Transitional Program but also fostered the illusion that the working class could simply appropriate the "progressive" aspects of the program raised by Gandhi (in *Mazdūr Kisān Krānti* [Workers and Peasants Revolution] Nos. 3-5, February-March 1976).

However, at its fourth national conference held last June the CLI

sharply reversed its earlier position, denouncing any such "critical support" to the "20-point program" as "politically disorienting" and "to say the least, unprincipled" ("The Situation in India Since 26 June 1975"). But the revised line of the CLI on the "emergency" is no less reformist, inspired by the USec minority led by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the U.S.

Closely paraphrasing the SWP line on the Indian "emergency" the CLI political resolution adopted at the fourth national conference limits its political perspective and programmatic horizon simply to the call for the restoration of bourgeois-democratic rights in India. Not one anti-capitalist demand—not to mention the full Trotskyist Transitional Program—appears in this CLI tasks and perspectives document. The populist program of Jaya Prakash Narayan and his ill-starred Janata Morcha (People's Front) contained demands formally to the left of the CLI's social-democratic program on the "emergency"!

Nor is this liquidationism any momentary aberration by the League leadership. Following the conference the Kanpur local of the CLI (which publishes *Mazdūr Kisān Krānti*) launched a new English-language press, *Communist Commentary*. The first issue of *Communist Commentary* (1-16 October 1976) contained the first article in a series "The Struggle for Democra-

continued on page 10

Laffont/Sygma

Jaya Prakash Narayan

Camara Press

Asoka Mehta

Der Spiegel

George Fernandes

Immigration Agents Raid ILWU Warehouses

OAKLAND—In a campaign to fan chauvinist hysteria, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has stepped up raids throughout California in search of "illegal aliens." Recently, since the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) leadership sabotaged last June's Bay Area warehouse strike, INS agents have been emboldened in searching ILWU shops, indiscriminately dragging off "suspects" and asking questions later.

Historically the ILWU has resisted attempts by Immigration officials to victimize foreign workers. Strong working-class traditions and a successful fight against the government's repeated attempts to deport Australian-born Harry Bridges (founder and International president of the union) gave the ILWU real backbone. But Bridges long ago made his peace with American capitalism, and in the recent elections gave official endorsement to racist Jimmy Carter without consulting the membership.

Jack Dykinga

INS roundup at Chicago plant

With the union politically prostrate before the capitalist parties and weakened on the industrial front through bureaucratic misleadership and downright giveaways, government/employer attacks are now taking their toll.

Late last year ILWU secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt added to the chorus of anti-foreigner hysteria by appealing to the U.S. International Trade Commission to reinstitute sugar quotas in order to "protect" the jobs of Hawaiian sugar workers in ILWU Local 142. With classical chauvinist arguments, Goldblatt warned November 30 that foreign producers employing cheap labor "endanger the existence of the domestic sugar industry" (*Dispatcher*, 3 December 1976).

In an interview with a spokesman for the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in ILWU Local 6, *WV* learned about recent INS raids in the warehouses. At the January East Bay stewards council meeting, the chief steward at Pabco Fiberboard in Emeryville reported that just that week Immigration agents had come to the plant looking for two of the workers by name. One of the men was not at work and the agents hauled off the other. The arrested union brother, who has legal status, was released only after his fellow workers made vigorous protests to the company and the INS. The well-deserved reputation for militancy earned by these workers during the June strike paid off.

At the meeting another steward, from Rathjen Liquors in Union City, related a similar incident from several weeks previously when INS agents had come to the plant with the names of two women workers. In 1975 Immigration officials arrested a union member on the job at the Folger's Coffee plant in South San Francisco, and two years ago the INS reportedly arrested two Mexican-born workers right in the parking lot of the Local 6 hiring hall!

In light of these dangerous probes by the Immigration Service, the Militant Caucus put forward the following motion at the stewards council meeting:

> "We recognize that the bosses seek to blame foreign-born workers for unemployment in order to prevent a united working-class fight for jobs. We oppose all attempts to deport foreign-born workers and stand ready to mobilize the union against any such raids involving ILWU members including if necessary union defense squads and strikes to stop the raids."

The Caucus correctly argues that if the union fails to protect its members on the job, even more widespread raids will be the next step. When faced with lightning Immigration raids it is urgent that the membership be rapidly and massively mobilized to thwart the INS' Gestapo-like actions. This must include preparations for a union flying squad which could be assembled on a few minutes' notice—particularly important in a Local with numerous small shops—and if necessary a resort to militant strike action.

At the stewards meeting a well-known supporter of Communist Party views, chief steward Joe Lindsay, predictably came to the rescue of the bureaucracy. Lindsay, who in last June's warehouse strike arranged for management to cross the picket lines at Golden Grain, mumbled some platitudes against deportations and then moved to strike out the section of the Militant Caucus motion referring to defense squads and strikes. In a typical Stalinist maneuver he proposed to rip the guts out of the motion and turn it into an empty paper resolution for *People's World* (the West Coast CP weekly). This shoddy trick passed by a narrow margin, but the fight against deportations has by no means stopped.

The INS is clearly gearing up for ever-bigger raids. In December the government announced it will soon start to issue new computerized ID cards for "legal" aliens to replace the traditional green cards. The new cards make use of the latest computer technology and military cryptography to enforce a South African-style passport system on immigrants: along with a photograph, the cards have encoded information about the individual which is stored in a central INS computer bank. The Immigration Service is also advertising a special telephone number in San Francisco which anyone can call to fink on supposedly "illegal aliens."

A new law, the Eilberg bill, signed by President Ford in October has widened the INS' legal powers to conduct raids. The bill significantly reduces the number of legal immigrants from Mexico and abolishes previous preferential treatment for parents of children born in the U.S. The Immigration Service is also attempting to hamstring various activists engaged in legal counseling on immigration laws, as in last April's INS raid on the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Arizona. Four of the counselors at this community agency located in a Chicano ghetto were indicted on federal charges in October and others have been harassed. All union militants and defenders of democratic rights must demand that the charges against the Manzo defendants be immediately dropped!

While arresting more than 800,000 "illegal aliens" annually, most of them in California and the Southwest, deporting tens of thousands in air- and bus-lifts without permitting the victims recourse to legal counsel (and frequently expelling U.S. citizens who simply did not have their papers with them), officials of the hated "*mugra*" are also implicated in smuggling rings bringing in "illegal" farm workers from Mexico. In 1972 the Justice Department was forced to mount an "investigation" of these and other charges of "narcotics trafficking, smuggling of guns, sexual abuse of women aliens" and other crimes. But though the inquiry ended in a whitewash, newspaper reports indicate that the widespread corruption continues.

The labor movement must counterattack against the increasing anti-alien chauvinist hysteria. Along with militant defense of their co-workers on the job, class-conscious workers must demand: Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families! Abolish the INS pass system—Stop the deportations! Against all protectionist trade legislation—For international working-class struggle! ■

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From Punta del Este to the Panama Canal

Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente

Of all the myths about Castro's Cuba, the most widespread is that of its supposedly revolutionary foreign policy. "Third World" cheerleaders in the New Left joined cold war liberals and McCarthyite conservatives in agreeing that Havana was exporting guerrilla warfare throughout Latin America. When confronted with evidence of suppression of socialist critics in Cuba, *fidelistas* dismiss this as nitpicking compared to Castro's "titanic" hemispheric battle against Yankee imperialist domination. Just remember "Che" Guevara's noble Bolivian mission! Think how Radio Havana, beaming

PART 1 OF 2

nightly from the "First Free Territory of America," kept up the spirits of thousands of militants facing the most savage repression!

Among ostensible Trotskyists, this belief in a revolutionary internationalist commitment by the Cuban rulers was one of the bases for the formation of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), which proclaimed in its founding document:

> "The Cuban Revolution dealt a blow to the class-collaborationist policy of Stalinism in Latin America and other colonial countries. New currents, developing under the influence of the victory in Cuba, are groping their way to revolutionary socialism...."
>
> "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," March 1963

The orientation of the United Secretariat in Latin America was "the infusion of Troskyist concepts in this new Castroist current" ("Dynamics of World Revolution Today," adopted at the USec's founding congress, June 1963).

In recent years, however, the glitter has begun to wear off the heroic image of the Cuban revolution, and many former Castro enthusiasts have become disillusioned with their "*jefe máximo*." Particularly disturbing has been his penchant for courting nationalist generals, from the Peruvian junta to Panamanian dictator Torrijos, and Castro's explicit support for Brezhnevite policies of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. In the early 1970's it became fashionable in certain "far-left" circles to hold a "private opinion" that something had gone awry in Cuba: bureaucratism was setting in and there had been a "right turn" in Castro's foreign policy.

There was no unanimity over the timing of the alleged turn. Some placed it at the time of Guevara's departure from Cuba, or else his murder in Bolivia, making the "heroic guerrilla" out to be the left conscience of the revolution. Others set the date at Castro's support for the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, an action which deeply shocked many Latin American *fidelistas* who had seen Castroism as a left alternative to Moscow-line Stalinism. What the several explanations of the "right turn" have in common is a desire to avoid taking responsibility for Cuba's latest international gambits while not breaking fundamentally from Castroism.

Then late last year several thousand Cuban troops and army officers were dispatched to Angola to save the besieged MPLA from a South African-led imperialist power play. American president Ford hypocritically branded Castro an "international outlaw." In the U.S. the Marcyites tried to resuscitate a petty-bourgeois antiwar movement around political support for the MPLA and praise of Cuba's "courageous assistance" to liberation struggles the world over (*Workers World*, 30 January 1976). In Europe Livio Maitan, a leader of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," crowed that "Cuba's decisive commitment to a crucial anti-imperialist battle has few precedents in the history of past decades..." (*Inprecor*, 18 March 1976).

Maitan took the occasion to excoriate Castro's detractors and unnamed doubtists:

> "For some time there had been much talk of Cuba's desire to reach a compromise with the United States, and some people, falling into hasty impressionism, had drawn the conclusion that the Cuban leaders were prepared to pay a very high price for such a compromise. It is now clear, however, that they were not prepared to pay the price of renouncing their courageous attitude of internationalist solidarity.... The intervention in Angola confirmed it brilliantly.... whatever the particular tactical reasons for the intervention may have been, it remains exemplary testimony to revolutionary internationalism."

But this "revolutionary internationalism" was subordinate to the Kremlin's foreign policy aims, which in no way

Cheddi Jagan — Daily World

ceased to be for global détente. In fact, at the same time as Cuban troops were fighting CIA-financed forces in Angola, Havana voters were approving a new constitution which wrote "peaceful coexistence" into the basic law of the country!

There have, of course, been some zigs and zags in Cuban foreign policy. In the early 1960's, Castro concentrated on a hapless search for diplomatic support from bourgeois nationalist Latin American regimes while from time to time offering to strike a modus vivendi with Uncle Sam. In the "heroic" period of 1964-67, *fidelista* policy in Latin America concentrated on promoting guerrillaism and castigating certain Latin American Communist parties for their illusions in a "peaceful road." Since then Havana has hewed more closely to the Moscow line. But despite periodic quantitative shifts, from the consolidation of a deformed workers state in late 1960 onwards, the Castro regime has followed a nationalist course based on the Stalinist illusion of building socialism on one island while courting at least the toleration of the imperialists.

Punta del Este

All those who yearn for the days when Guevara was riding high in Havana should be reminded that it was none other than "Che" who led the Cuban delegation to the 1961 Punta del Este (Uruguay) conference where the Castro regime made its first offer of hemispheric peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism. The conference itself had been set up to launch American president Kennedy's brainstorm of an "Alliance for Progress," whose aim was to isolate Cuba and thwart the chances of revolution in Latin America with a few million dollars in crumbs from the imperialist table.

It is well remembered that Guevara made a fiery two-hour speech at the August 1961 meetings, warning that American aid would not come without strings attached. What is not so frequently recalled is that he ended with an offer of détente:

> "We cannot promise that we will not export our example, as the United States asks us to because an example is a matter of spirit and a spiritual element can cross frontiers. But we will give our guarantee that no arms will be transported from Cuba to be used for fighting in any Latin American country."
>
> —quoted in John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (1965)

Right, Che Guevara at March 1964 press conference in Geneva

There is no doubt that the offer was sincere. After the conference, at an "unplanned social gathering" with top Kennedy aide Richard Goodwin in Montevideo, Guevara proposed a Cuba-U.S. parley on reimbursing American interests for expropriated properties, in exchange for calling off the trade embargo.

Trotskyists do not oppose Cuba's efforts to break the U.S.-imposed economic blockade. On the contrary, we defend Cuba's right to trade with all nations, from the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states to reactionary bourgeois dictatorships such as Franco's Spain in order to prevent economic strangulation. Revolutionary Russia under Lenin concluded trade agreements with England and Germany without in any way restricting the activities of the Communist International. As Trotsky wrote:

> "The fundamental line of the international policy of the Soviets rested on the fact that this or that commercial, diplomatic or military bargain of the Soviet government with the imperialists, inevitable in the nature of the case, should in no case limit or weaken the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist country, for in the last analysis, the safety of the workers state itself could be guaranteed only by the growth of the world revolution."
>
> —*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

But Castro's Cuba has built no Communist International, and it has on numerous occasions called on the proletariat to limit its struggle against those bourgeois regimes which maintain diplomatic relations with Havana.

During the early 1960's, this policy was reflected in Cuban support for Brazilian president Jânio Quadros and his successor João Goulart. As the pro-Cuban U.S. academic James Petras wrote:

> "Between 1959 and 1962 the Cuban leadership basically supported a broad spectrum of Latin political forces ranging from left-wing to moderate nationalist forces, including personages like Quadros of Brazil."
>
> in *Latin America: Reform or Revolution?* (1968)

In the spring of 1961 Cuban newspapers praised the Brazilian president for condemning the U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion and in August, when Guevara was on his way home from the Punta del Este conference, Quadros awarded the Cuban leader Brazil's highest decoration, the Southern Cross. This produced an uproar in which pro-American politicians and military leaders threatened to depose Quadros, who thereupon fled the country. Castro

Castro with Nikita Khrushchev at 1964 Kremlin reception.

Prensa Latina

Former Brazilian presidents Goulart, left, and Quadros.

hailed Quadros as "one of the staunchest supporters of self-determination."

Just who was this great "progressive"? In actuality Quadros was an eccentric conservative believer in clean government and tight money. Pro-Cuban journalist Gerassi summarized the policies of this "maverick":

> "He thus clamped down hard on unions, sent federal troops to the Northeast hunger dens to squash protest rallies, jailed disobedient students, tightened credit, stopped most federal subsidies, fired government featherbedders, and devalued the cruzeiro almost to its free market level."
> —*Op. cit.*

In this case the Castro regime was unable to develop extensive relations because Quadros was forced to depart under fire so suddenly.

Quadros was succeeded by his vice president, Goulart, who trod a cautious path between left and right by conducting a relatively independent foreign policy while knuckling under to the landowners and industrialists at home. Himself a millionaire latifundista, Goulart headed the bourgeois populist Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) and needed to cultivate a "left" image in order to appear as the ally of the rapidly expanding workers and peasants movements. His reputation as a "firm friend" of Cuba aided this demagogy.

Maintaining state-to-state relations does not require fostering illusions about "progressive" landowners, and the internationalist leadership of a revolutionary workers state would seek to aid the development of protest movements by the exploited into a powerful offensive against capitalist rule. There were certainly revolutionary opportunities at this time in Brazil, where a large and diverse peasant movement was exploding in the Northeast, led by the Communist Party, Catholic clergy and above all by the pro-Cuban Socialist politician Francisco Julião.

Castro was in close touch with this movement through Julião, whose trips to Cuba were so frequent that some of his opponents spoke of a "shuttle" between Havana and Brazil's Northeast. But the politics which Julião infused in the peasants movement were hardly revolutionary. He refused to expand into the coastal plantation zones and link up with agricultural workers and the urban labor movement; and politically his influence rested on an alliance with the PTB state governor of Pernambuco, Miguel Arraes. Significantly, a former organizer of the Northeastern peasant leagues wrote of the frustration of plans for guerrilla activity (which Julião opposed):

> "It appears that in addition to other factors, the existence of friendly diplomatic relations between the Cuban and Brazilian governments was closely related to the failure of the military scheme of the Peasant Leagues. The maintenance of diplomatic relations between the two countries prevented the Cubans from giving open support to the League's guerrilla activities. Some Cuban elements even advised the Leagues to move closer to Presidents Quadros and Goulart."
> Clodomir Moraes, "Peasant Leagues in Brazil," in Rodolfo Stavenhagen, ed., *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America* (1970)

As for Goulart's left-wing reputation—assiduously fostered by the U.S., which (it is now revealed) was preparing a sizable naval/troop intervention in Brazil on the scale carried out in Santo Domingo a year later—his most "radical" measure was a land reform announced two weeks before being ousted as president. This timid decree, never implemented, called only for dividing up large estates "bordering highways, railroads and water reservoirs" (!), to be compensated with government bonds (Goulart speech to a mass workers rally in Rio de Janeiro, 13 January 1964; quoted in *Hispanic-American Report*, May 1964).

Frustrated Search for Détente

Brazil was the most notable of Castro's attempts to form political alliances with left-talking bourgeois-nationalist politicians and governments. Cuba also maintained close relations with Guyanese prime minister Cheddi Jagan, whose East Indian-based Progressive People's Party was thrown out of office following a CIA-engineered strike by black supporters of Jagan's rival, Forbes Burnham. Another bourgeois politician favored by Castro was former Ecuadorian minister Manuel Araujo, who was dropped by aging populist demagogue president Velasco Ibarra after a CIA-instigated campaign of student demonstrations against Araujo's pro-Cuban policies.

A good example of Cuban foreign policy during this period was Castro's reaction to being expelled from the Organization of American States in January 1962. Best remembered is Castro's "Second Declaration of Havana" in which he dismissed the OAS as a veritable "Yankee ministry of colonies," declared that in Latin America "the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle" and denounced those who talk of uprooting the ruling class by legal means.

Less remarked upon is the fact that the Declaration called for unity with "the most progressive layers of the national bourgeoisie." What this meant in practice could be seen in Castro's "challenge" to the OAS: an "Assembly of the Peoples" held concurrently with the Punta del Este meeting and called by ten prominent Latin American "progressive" politicians, including former Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas, future Chilean president Salvador Allende, Julião and Araujo.

The reward Castro reaped for his attempt to curry favor with "the most progressive layers of the national bourgeoisie" was meager indeed. Again Brazil was the archetype: at the time of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, the Goulart government voted in the OAS to *support* the American naval blockade as an act of "legitimate self-defense." Even Goulart's left-posturing brother-in-law, Governor Leonel Brizola of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, condemned the Russian delivery of missiles to the Castro regime as "tak[ing] advantage of the struggle of the Cuban people" and declared his opposition to "Cuba's transformation into a satellite of the Soviet Union" (quoted in *Hispanic-American Report*, January 1963).

On 31 March 1964, Cuba's "firm friend" Goulart was ousted in a military revolt obviously planned and executed in close cooperation with Washington. It took Castro until May Day to issue a public comment on the reactionary Brazil coup, yet only two days after it occurred he renewed offers of U.S.-Cuban détente. The occasion was an interview in which the Cuban prime minister uncritically praised Senator J. W. Fulbright's March 25 speech on "myths and realities of U.S. foreign policy." Castro commented:

> "Senator Fulbright said that Cuba could be tolerated as something unpleasant...but was not a danger to the United States. This is not only essentially true but it could be added that Cuba will be much less unpleasant in the same degree that Cuba is respected and left in peace."
> —*New York Times*, 3 April 1964

Guevara also praised the speech of the

continued on page 10

Prensa Latina

Crowd hears Fidel read "Second Declaration of Havana" in 1962.

London Meeting...

(continued from page 3)

"what *remains* [his emphasis] of the poison of Stalinism today in the working-class movement, in the Communist parties and the trade-union organizations" in Europe. As the Stalinists seek to prove their reliability to the imperialist bourgeoisies, in classic Pabloist fashion Mandel capitulates to their talk of classless "democracy" rather than exposing its pro-capitalist essence. Is he preparing for entrism in the "Eurocommunist" parties?

Workers Democracy or Bureaucratic Suppression?

Any remaining doubts concerning the real purpose of the meeting were dispelled after the scheduled speakers had finished. As chairman Tariq Ali was announcing the end of the proceedings, Gerry Healy rose from the audience and demanded speaking time to answer the chorus of attackers. All serious defenders of workers democracy—purportedly the central theme of the meeting—would have wanted Healy to speak, but Ali, with the practised sleight-of-hand of union bureaucrats and shell game operators, called for an immediate vote amidst the uproar, then declared that "workers democracy" had upheld him. As Healy continued to protest, with considerable support among the audience, the chair demagogically silenced him by bursting into the *Internationale* to close the meeting.

This outrageous violation of elementary workers democracy—at a meeting allegedly called precisely in order to defend it—again exposes the USec's rotten bureaucratic maneuvers. Moreover, it is only because the decomposition of the "United" Secretariat has reached such a point that it barely exists that this meeting was held at all. Today Mandel and Lambert exchange compliments on the podium and defend the integrity of Hansen and Novack; but when the SWP first sought statements denouncing Healy's slanders a year and a half ago, it took Mandel & Co. quite a while before coming up with a statement.

None of the organizers of this meeting are true defenders of workers democracy or of the Fourth International. The OCI systematically uses thug violence against its ostensibly Trotskyist opponents on the left. Pablo and his acolytes (today the Mandelite USec majority) refused to defend the Chinese Trotskyists jailed by Mao in 1949-51, slandering them as "refugees from a revolution" for their courageous defense of proletarian democracy against the bureaucratic Stalinist regime. As for the SWP, it responded to Castro's jailing of the Cuban Trotskyists by remarking, in the words of Barry Sheppard, now SWP national secretary, "There are Trotskyists and there are Trotskyists. But if I were in Cuba, I wouldn't be arrested."

While the USec and OCI use Healy's despicable slanders as a convenient excuse for a reunion of the "family" of ex-Trotskyists, the international Spartacist tendency insisted that a genuine and principled programmatic regroupment of authentic Trotskyists can come about only through hard, open debate. A leaflet distributed at the meeting by the London Spartacist Group co-signed by the iSt, the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile and the Trotskyist Fraction (expelled) of the German Spartacusbund pointed out that "The real political issues which place all these squabbling slander-mongering, violence-prone elements at one pole and the iSt at the other are currently posed by two decisive considerations: the popular front and the Fourth International."

Exposing the speakers' false pretensions to defending workers democracy, the leaflet explained that behind this lay their capitulation to reformist programs of class collaboration. It concluded, "without the struggle to create a programmatically united and disciplined Fourth International the workers are left to wander into the new traps of capital...with the assistance of their revisionist would-be 'leaders'." Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

FORUM—

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International

Speaker: James Robertson
Central Committee,
Spartacist League/U.S

Date: Sat., 29 January 1977

Time: 7:30 p.m

Place: Barnard College
Lehman Auditorium,
Altschul Hall

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NEW YORK

State Butchers Gilmore...

(continued from page 1)

utterance. But the bourgeois press was not so eager to publicize the words of Bartolomeo Vanzetti: "I am and will remain to the death for the emancipation of the working class." It did not find so titillating the political opinions of this class-war martyr who faced his judge saying, "You are the one that is afraid. You are the one that is shrinking with fear, because you are the one that is guilty of attempt to murder."

Gary Gilmore is far from the first corpse claimed by U.S. capitalism in the last decade. On the contrary, U.S. imperialism is accustomed to killing its perceived enemies with numbing regularity on a scale never before imagined. The same year in which capital punishment was temporarily halted, 1967, marked a dramatic escalation of U.S. "saturation" bombing in Vietnam. The mad killings of a Gary Gilmore pale in comparison to the calculated holocaust unleashed by a Nixon, Johnson or Kissinger.

The reinstitution of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life. And the bourgeois "public opinion" which today approves of the death penalty out of fear of spreading crime will soon find that state executions result in more crime and not less.

With Gilmore dead and buried the cops, courts and capitalist politicians hope it will be easier the next time. It need not be so. But the hangmen and firing squads will not be eliminated through civil libertarian reforms. Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism.

As we wrote last year:

> "In the epoch of imperialist decay, the bourgeoisie and its institutions cannot protect society. They have passed over into the camp of naked reaction and must be smashed by the revolutionary proletariat, the only social force which can establish a world social system based on order, peace and justice."
>
> "Abolish the Death Penalty!" WV No. 117, 9 July 1976

Milt Rosen's Latest "Self-Criticism"

PL: Zigging and Zagging on the Reformist Road

The 14 October issue of *Challenge* carried a lengthy report from the National Committee of Progressive Labor Party (PL) which effectively discredits the entire history of PL's political work, particularly within the trade unions. "To avoid adventurism," the incredible "soul-baring" self-criticism runs, "we opted for opportunism and downplaying the open Party role at the expense of avoiding sectarianism (and getting fired immediately)." Although the report, entitled "Reform and Revolution," attempts to excuse past betrayals as a question of mistaken *emphasis*—i.e., too much emphasis on reform, too little on revolution—it is clear that these betrayals have flowed and will continue to flow from PL's program and that, despite periodic self-criticism purification rituals, it has learned nothing from the past.

In the absence of the Trotskyist transitional program—bridging the gap between the immediate needs of the working class and the proletarian revolution which alone can meet those needs—PL can only vacillate between reformist belly-crawling and empty revolutionary slogans, between left turns and right turns, between minimum program and maximum program, between opportunism and adventurism. The article's attempt to explain the connection between reform and revolution is confused and contradictory, claiming at one point that they are counterposed, at another that they are united and finally, in traditional Maoist doubletalk, that, as in every contradiction, "there is a primary aspect and a secondary aspect" and PL should pay a little more attention to the former.

PL's history has been marked by dramatic turns and line changes, each promising instant success. Starting out as a left-Stalinist movement in 1963, the organization went through a Maoist period, then broke empirically to the left over the national question and the stages "theory" of revolution. Subsequently, as we noted in "PL: Road to Oblivion" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 16, February 1973): "PL elaborated its break from Maoism into a full-scale flight from Leninism toward syndicalism and sterile ultra-leftism," represented by the appearance of "Road to Revolution III" in 1972. Then, demoralized by the failure of this leftist phase, it engaged in a deep plunge to the right with the building of the reformist Workers Action Movement (WAM), which lifted the demand of 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay from the Transitional Program and advanced it, out of its revolutionary context, as a reformist panacea (even trying to vote it in through local referenda).

In 1973 the Spartacist League predicted that "a right turn of such proportions is bound to result in demoralization when it fails to bring the expected masses of recruits." And, indeed, it is the profound demoralization within PL's ranks which appears to have motivated the appearance of this latest and most severe of PL's numerous self-criticisms. A recent article in *Challenge* ("Lenin's April Theses," 25 November 1976) begins:

> "Many *Challenge* readers, PL members, and friends do not believe in the possibility of revolution in our lifetime. Since state power resides in the claws of the bosses today, many of us believe that is how it will always remain."

But PL's leadership is no less demoralized than its rank and file. Fifteen years of spaghetti dinners and softball games; ordering its members to marry and have babies "because the workers do"; "uniting the many" on the most sub-reformist demands (rubber mats in campus cafeterias); and obsequiously tailing after reformist trade-union bureaucrats have failed to "build a base in the working class." However, it seems they have succeeded in recruiting a number of members on a reformist basis—members who now want to quit. Too late, PL's leadership has discovered that:

> "The further danger of recruiting people on a militant reform line is that once the ruling class succeeds in reversing the gains won through the militant reform, once the first dip in the reform struggle comes along, this new recruit winds up leaving the Party.... But, if we have already recruited people on a reform basis, we shouldn't now ask them to leave; we should attempt to *consolidate them on the basis of revolutionary ideas and struggle.*"

Lacking a revolutionary program around which to consolidate its demoralized reformist members, the PL leadership is desperately attempting to halt the exodus and infuse life into the moribund organization through left-sounding rhetoric combined with crisis-mongering about the imminence of fascism and nuclear war.

The report ends with warnings against its misinterpretation, the first being: "thinking...that this report represents no change at all from our previous line." It's easy to see how a seasoned PLer might conclude that the latest fillip is just "more of the same" from Milt Rosen's bag of petty-bourgeois moralizing and guilt-tripping. An identical earlier attempt to boost sagging morale was Rosen's 1972 speech ("The Struggle for Socialism—A Matter of Life and Death," *PL*, January 1973) in which he accused PL members of thinking such thoughts as "I'm bored," "workers are rotten," "we can't win" and "it is possible that we will not live to see socialism in our country." After concluding that they were defeatist and hated the workers, PL members were expected to go right on zigging and zagging down the road to oblivion. After a period of agonized centrist contradictions and a headlong reformist plunge, PL is very near to the end. ■

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Class for former generals of the U.S.-led puppet army at a "re-education" center in South Vietnam.

Liberal Peaceniks Fuel Reactionary Anti-Vietnam Campaign

Late last month a group of 110 "peace movement leaders" made public a "confidential" letter to the government of Vietnam. "More in sorrow than in anger," as the Rev. Richard Neuhaus (a founder of Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam) put it, the letter criticized "grievous and systematic violations of human rights" and cited reports that some 300,000 Vietnamese are still being held in "re-education" camps.

For Trotskyists the repressive nature of the Stalinist regime in Hanoi comes as no surprise; nevertheless we greeted the overthrow of capitalist rule when NLF/DRV troops toppled the puppet Thieu dictatorship in the South. In contrast, behind the "confidential" letter's talk of "human rights" is the concern of the right wing of the defunct peace movement to demonstrate its "responsiblity"—i.e., its fundamental loyalty to "democratic" U.S imperialism.

In a language of soul-searching religious "witness," the authors of the letter pose as naive individuals who have suddenly discovered that the Vietnamese government is not based on love:

> "... the actions of your government constitute a great disappointment to all those who expected not the 'bloodbath' so eagerly predicted by the American White House but rather an example of reconciliation built on tolerance.
> "We voice our protest in the hope that your government can avoid repetition of the tragic historical pattern in which liberators gain power only to impose a new oppression."

Who are these "concerned friends of the Vietnamese people" so piously bemoaning their disenchantment? A look at the list of signatories reveals some key liberal anti-communist brain-trusters, like Roger Baldwin, listed as honorary chairman of the "International League for Human Rights" which called the December 29 press conference. Baldwin achieved fame by his behind-the-scenes engineering of the late 1930's anti-Communist purge of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) board of directors.

Other notables included Sanford Gottlieb, the executive director of SANE, notorious for its anti-communist machinations at the October 1965 New York "peace" parade and its demand of "all foreign troops" out of South Vietnam, which accepted LBJ's contention that the North Vietnamese were aggressors invading the South. A host of clergymen and "personalities" also signed the appeal, including the Berrigan brothers, Daniel Ellsberg, Joan Baez and Allen Ginsberg, along with liberal politicians Paul O'Dwyer and Donald Fraser.

Using "I was a commie dupe" rhetoric with a familiar cold-war ring, James Forest, chairman of the Catholic Peace Fellowship during the Vietnam War years and one of the initiators of the "confidential" letter, claimed at the press conference that his experiences with the Hanoi bureaucracy had left him "sadder but wiser." He earlier told a reporter from the *Washington Star* (16 December) that those who still defended Vietnam were acting out of "militant naiveté" and had been sadly misled because of their "almost religious faith in wanting something they can respect ... and the farther away it is the more they can admire it."

Another of the participants in the press conference, former State Department official Theodore Jacqueney, was the source of a 17 September *New York Times* article alleging extensive "violations of human rights" in Vietnam. Jacqueney had worked in the CIA-directed "pacification" program and acted as an adviser to the mayor of Danang, South Vietnam's second-largest city. His tactical falling out with the U.S. military command was based on his belief that Thieu was doomed and more reputable anti-communists could have maintained capitalism in Indochina.

In the midst of the massive imperialist carnage of the 1960's it was difficult for the liberal cold-warriors to mount an anti-communist mobilization. Students for a Democratic Society slipped from social-democratic control and SANE was quickly displaced from the leadership of the "antiwar community." However, following the demise of the "peace movement," "doves" among the bourgeois intelligentsia are seeking to use the bourgeois-defeatist common denominator of the "peace movement" (expressed in the McCarthy/McGovern presidential campaigns) to reaffirm their "free world" credentials.

In this effort they have been greatly aided by the classless, civil-libertarian defense activities of reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who call for freeing "all political prisoners." In fact, at the December 29 press conference Rep. Edward Koch, the Manhattan reform Democrat, proposed a prisoner exchange such as the Corvalán-Bukovsky swap currently being hailed by liberals in order to equate Chile and the Soviet Union as "totalitarian dictatorships."

To their credit, several of the initial

continued on page 11

London Spartacist Forum on Women's Liberation

Nearly forty people including representatives of at least five ostensibly revolutionary organizations attended a London Spartacist Group forum on December 3 entitled "Marxism Against Feminism—Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." The speaker was Helene Brosius, editorial board member of the Spartacist League/U.S. journal *Women and Revolution*, and a leading spokesman of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt).

Comrade Brosius began with an analysis of the emergence of the contemporary feminist movement as an outgrowth of petty-bourgeois New Leftism and presented the fundamental premises of Leninism with regard to the woman question: on the one hand, recognition of the special oppression of women and the need for special forms of work among women and special bodies *within the revolutionary organization* to carry out this work; on the other, the insistence that there is only *one* solution to this oppression—the seizure of power by the working class. "The revolutionary program on the woman question," said Brosius, "encompasses the revolutionary program of Leninism itself and is not separate from that and cannot be separate from that. The program is therefore the program of the whole party; the task is therefore the task of the whole party."

The speaker also discussed the historical development of the conflict between Marxism and feminism. Feminism, because it takes sex as the dividing line in society, is class-collaborationist in essence, she explained. She went on to illustrate the class-struggle approach to women's liberation with the experiences of principled oppositional caucuses within the American telephone and automobile unions. These caucuses, which the Spartacist League politically supports, have consistently intervened around immediate questions of women's oppression, such as discrimination in hiring, training and promotion, and broader trade-union issues such as impending layoffs. But where various opportunists pander to feminism with such schemes as "super-seniority" for women workers (meaning "preferential *layoffs*" [redundancies] for their male co-workers), these caucuses have fought for a program of united class struggle to achieve jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and strikes against layoffs. In contrast to reformists of various stripes, they have always explicitly linked these immediate struggles with the need to smash the capitalist system.

In the discussion period, the points of view argued for by speakers from the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), Workers Power (a recent split from the International-Communist League) and the International Marxist Group (IMG) contrasted sharply with that of the speaker. While differing among themselves to a degree, these groups all denied that it was the task of revolutionaries to *split* the women's movement along class lines by intervening with a revolutionary program, and they all asserted that the Bolshevik approach of the iSt was "sectarian," "ultimatistic" or "brushing aside the special oppression of women."

A leading member of the RCG, which has recently undergone a deep split, confirmed once more what the London Spartacist Group has insisted for some time—that behind the "orthodox" phrases of the RCG's occasional theoretical journal lurks an appetite to tail after struggles in the most unoriginal opportunist fashion. Thus, she insisted that women could not be organized around a revolutionary program but only "a part of the main program," and that there is a problem specific to women "*as opposed to* the question facing the working class as a whole—the seizure of state power." Comrade Brosius replied curtly that "there is only one program."

The intervention of the comrade from the equally opportunist IMG emphasized the need to "help along" the women's movement so that it could be an "objectively revolutionary force." He counterposed to the "sectarian purism" of the iSt the IMG's strategy of trying to lead struggles *without* changing reformist consciousness.

An unaffiliated British leftist answered the RCG and IMG criticisms by saying, "It seems to me that what the SL are being accused of doing is actually going to women on the basis of the transitional program. Now if that is the accusation that's being made—great!... That's what it's all about: it's a struggle for program, comrades."

The spokesmen for Workers Power insisted that groups like the British Working Women's Charter and various "rank-and-file" formations were, in fact, united fronts in which revolutionists should slowly and over time raise aspects of the transitional program.

Supporters of the iSt pointed out that in reality these "united fronts" were long-term, on-going blocs for propaganda in which fake-revolutionists pretended to be "just folks" in order to give the impression of mass influence. This has been well illustrated in the U.S. by the example of the now defunct Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The example of CLUW was also cited by a member of the audience who had recently left the International Socialists in the U.S. and who was sharply critical of the illusions which various left groups (other than the Spartacist League) had built in CLUW.

Spartacist supporters emphasized that revolutionists seek to participate actively in struggles against oppression and to intervene with a revolutionary perspective even in these fake mass formations. But we do not believe that consciousness can be changed on the sly, nor do we try to substitute these propaganda blocs for the tasks of the party, as Workers Power proposes. Why, asked one Spartacist speaker, should revolutionaries want to organize around a "minimum" program which will so easily be inherited by other class forces?

The vigorous debate provided vivid examples of how fake-Trotskyists recoil from the struggle for the full transitional program. The London Spartacist Group looks forward to further such debates as a valuable part of the creation of the British section of the iSt. And the Spartacist tendency will continue to fight those who adapt to feminism, because, in the words of the Communist International, such "non-sectarian" methods as the revisionists propose succeed only in "delaying thereby the triumph of the social revolution and the advent of Communism, and thus also postponing the great hour of women's ultimate liberation." ■

Castro...

(continued from page 7)

"courageous" head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (who during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis had urged invasion of the island).

Just what did Fulbright say that so shocked his colleagues and warmed the hearts of Castro and Guevara? He called for a "candid re-evaluation of our Cuban policy," declaring that "the boycott policy is a failure" and urging that the trade embargo be abandoned. However, the senator added

> "Cuban Communism does pose a grave threat to other Latin American countries, but this threat can be dealt with, by the prompt and vigorous use of the established procedures of the inter-American system against any act of aggression."
>
> *New York Times*, 26 March 1964

Quadros, Goulart, Jagan and Araujo had already had bitter experiences with these "established procedures," but apparently Castro and "Che" hadn't figured them out yet!

In an interview that summer, Castro went even further, reiterating Guevara's offer at Punta del Este to withhold material aid from Latin American revolutionaries in exchange for U.S. agreement to stop trying to overthrow the Cuban government:

> "If they [the United States] are ready to live with us in subjection to norms, then we would feel the same obligation. ..
> "If Cuba should finance a revolution against a government that respects her, it would be a violation of the norm."
>
> *New York Times*, 6 July 1964

The interviewer said Castro was ready to ban both arms supply and economic aid to pro-Cuban insurgents, adding that "European Communist sources here insist that such aid has stopped entirely or almost entirely since the beginning of the year."

And those who seek to contrast the "revolutionary" Guevara to the "compromising" Castro should consult the speech by "Che" at the United Nations General Assembly in December 1964, where he stated that for Cuba the most important problem for the UN to deal with was "peaceful coexistence between states with different economic and social systems." He bemoaned the fact that U.S. imperialism, while seemingly capable of coexisting with the Soviet Union, could not seem to keep its hands off the smaller states in Latin America. "Today, the kind of peaceful coexistence to which we aspire has, in many instances, failed to materialize" (*Che: Selected Works of Ernesto Guevara* [1969]).

Stalinist Guerrillaism versus Workers Insurrection

But Castro's repeated bids for a modus vivendi with Yankee imperialism were curtly rejected. U.S. leaders continued to regard the Caribbean as an American lake and agreed with the professional anti-Communist pundit Theodore Draper that, "if there is one place in the world where Communism can be 'reversible,' it is Cuba" (*Castroism: Theory and Practice* [1965]). Rebuffed by the State Department on every count and seeing its Latin American bourgeois "friends" being toppled one by one in CIA-inspired coups, the Cuban regime made a quarter turn to the left but without altering its fundamental *nationalist* policies, characteristic of all Stalinist-ruled states.

During 1965 Castroite rural guerrilla struggles were initiated in Colombia (January) and Peru (June). In Guatemala, Luis Augusto Turcios Lima split from Yon Sosa's MR-13 (Revolutionary Movement of November 13) guerrilla front to form the FAR (Rebel Armed Forces), which had a Guevarist program and close links to Cuba. Also in 1965 the Venezuelan FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) led by Douglas Bravo rebelled against an attempt by the Communist Party leadership to call off guerrilla actions. Previously, several dozen pro-Cuban groups had sprung up around Latin America, generally without any ties to Havana, while Guevara's advocacy of the Cuban model ("Cuba: Exceptional Case or Vanguard in the Struggle Against Colonialism?", April 1961; and "Guerrilla Warfare: A Method," September 1963) remained largely in the realm of intellectual admonishing. Now, however, in a series of countries there existed more or less official Castroite guerrilla "armies" whose success or failure would directly involve the international standing of the Cuban regime.

In retrospect, various "critical Castroites" have seen 1965 as the beginning of a heroic period in Cuba's international policies. Castroism emerged as a left contender against the pro-Moscow CP's. Regis Débray, an authorized mouthpiece for the Cuban leader's views, denounced the "frank hostility to armed struggle revealed by the leaderships of several Latin American communist parties (Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Brazil)" ("Latin America: The Long March," *New Left Review*, September-October 1965) and explicitly criticized the 20th congress of the CPSU which "led the CPs to take the line of 'national democracy', of 'United Front with the Bourgeoisie'" ("Problems of Revolutionary Strategy in Latin America," *New Left Review*, September-October 1967).

While the period 1965-68 did, to a degree, see a more militant international policy by the Castro regime—the result of its diplomatic isolation in Latin America—there was no fundamental shift of its narrow nationalist orientation. For one thing, Cuba obediently toed the line whenever the Kremlin put its foot down. In January 1964 Castro issued a joint communiqué with Khrushchev in Moscow, hailing the nuclear test ban treaty and condemning "factionalist and sectarian activity in the ranks of the Communist and workers parties"—a clear slap at China. Again in March 1965 Castro obliquely warned the Chinese against "Byzantine battles" (following Cuba's participation in the Moscow meeting called by Khrushchev to read China out of the "socialist camp"); and in January 1966, on the eve of the Tricontinental Congress in Havana, Castro dramatically condemned China for halving its rice deliveries to Cuba.

Moreover, at the beginning at least, a number of pro-Moscow CP's went along with cautious references to (and even limited applications of) "armed struggle." A meeting of Latin American Communist parties in Havana in late 1964 agreed to "actively aid" fighters in Venezuela, Guatemala and elsewhere; many of the participants at the Tricontinental were from Moscow-line Stalinist parties. This should not be so surprising, since Stalin himself was hardly a pacifist. In fact, virtually every one of the pro-Cuban guerrilla groups at one point or another had (or sought) close relations with the "official" CP. The Venezuelan FALN was originally subordinate to a political command dominated by the Communist Party; the Guatemalan FAR was led by a central committee member of the pro-Moscow party and maintained formal ties with it until 1967; and the Colombian ELN (National Liberation Army) during the early months of its existence repeatedly sought to form a unified military command with the CP's guerrilla group (see Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America* [1972]).

Equally important in judging the extent of Castro's "left" phase in the mid-1960's is the fact that the Cuban regime did not lift a finger to aid genuine mass struggles against U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction. A good example was the Panamanian student protest against American control of the Canal Zone which broke out in January 1964. As an anti-communist academic source (who could be expected to discover Castroite subversion behind every leftist demonstration) reported: "[Castro's] reaction to the riots was restricted to an announcement that his government was ready to set up, in conjunction with the other Latin American nations, a common fund to assist the Panamanians" (Andrés Suárez, *Cuba: Castroism and Communism, 1959-1966*).

An even more explosive struggle, where the Cuban regime could have given real content to Guevara's call to create "two, three, many Vietnams" in Latin America, was the Santo Domingo uprising of April-May 1965. Though it was under bourgeois leadership—the PRD (Revolutionary Dominican Party) of Juan Bosch—the "Constitutionalist" forces were made up of thousands of urban workers and a section of the army that had rebelled against the reactionary high command. The masses were seething with desire to do away with every vestige and every accomplice of the hated Trujillo dictatorship (i.e., virtually the entire state apparatus and most of the stunted bourgeoisie); the revolutionary possibilities were obvious.

The imperialist U.S. rulers, of course, in order to justify the Marine invasion alleged that the rising was a Castroite plot. The FBI produced its famous list of "57 leading communists" (many of whom were dead, out of the country or in jail). In fact, the opposite was the case: as we pointed out, "The Cuban leadership, and its main spokesman, Fidel Castro, failed to effectively aid the Dominican uprising" (*Spartacist*, September-October 1966). This is confirmed by Suárez:

> "On April 28 the same 'imperialists' who were bombing Vietnam landed in Santo Domingo. Fortune was giving him [Castro] a chance to show the Soviets and the Chinese how to comply with 'proletarian internationalism.' But he did nothing."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

UPI

"Constitutionalist" forces march during 1965 Santo Domingo uprising against U.S. intervention. Although urban workers rose en masse and armed themselves, Castro did nothing to aid them.

U.S. Steel...

(continued from page 12)

the motion was raised, the union president said he would not allow anyone to be victimized but saw no need for a motion. A prominent member of United Rank and File objected to talk of a strike and counterposed a substitute motion omitting any reference to union action, hailing the NLRB ruling and praising Gary mayor Hatcher for allegedly promising that cops would not be used again to arrest leafletting unionists. However, this pathetic motion, which builds illusions in the "neutrality" of the enforcers of capitalist "law and order" in a company town named after a former head of U.S. Steel, was not voted for lack of a second. The motion offered by the three militants was tabled.

Sadlowski's pro-capitalist platform of "tough" but empty rhetoric, his repeated appeals to the bourgeois courts to interfere in the labor movement and his supporters' blatant disregard of workers democracy expose this union "reformer" as just another bureaucrat on the make. Condemnation of U.S. Steel's recent atrocity and a vigorous defense of those being victimized must be coupled with repudiation of both the Sadlowski and the Abel/McBride brands of class collaboration if a leadership capable of defeating the steel companies and the entire bourgeoisie is to be built. ■

Indira Gandhi...

(continued from page 5)

cy" which not only failed to raise any anti-capitalist demands but even failed to condemn the "emergency"!

The CLI has followed the fake "orthodox Trotskyism" of the SWP to its scandalous conclusion in India. According to SWP guru Joseph Hansen, "capitalism in India would go down if it abided by the norms and rules of democracy" (*Militant*, 15 August 1975). Indeed! For nearly three decades India was the "democratic" showcase of Asia. But after 30 years of formal "independence" under a "democratic" government India remains mired in backwardness, with massive illiteracy, an unchanged caste system, rural feudalism virtually unscathed, and economic underdevelopment which condemns over 300 million Indians to live at, or below, the subsistence level. Yet the social-democratic SWP maintains that the struggle for democracy in India is sufficient to ensure the downfall of capitalism!

The vanguard party that will lead the Indian proletariat to power remains to be forged. Militants of the CLI must break with the reformism of the SWP, which projects the liberation of the oppressed millions of India through the "democratic" institutions bequeathed by British imperialism. No less must Trotskyists in India repudiate the pro-Naxalite guerrillaism of the USec majority, which has capitulated to the populist movement of Jaya Prakash Narayan and has failed to counterpose a Trotskyist program to the "emergency." Only the revolutionary Trotskyist program upheld by the international Spartacist tendency points the way forward to mobilizing the masses of India to smash the Gandhi regime and the class of exploiting parasites her Congress Party represents and place all power in the hands of the victorious Indian proletariat. ■

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Teng...

(continued from page 1)

ly after the arrest of the four in early October, Teng was reportedly escorted back to Peking by the powerful Canton regional commander and political bureau member, Hsu Shih-yu. The "anti-rightist" campaign directed against Teng was in effect abandoned.

If one accepts the current Peking line that the "Gang of Four" were "vile counterrevolutionaries," there would definitely be justice in Teng's elevation to the highest position of authority. After all, it was Teng who was the most consistent, intractable enemy of the Chiang Ching clique; he fought them far longer and harder than did Chou or Hua—not to mention Mao, their sometime ally.

Teng's restoration has been carefully orchestrated. In November, provincial radio broadcasts and newspaper articles denounced Chiang Ching and her cohorts for having "shifted the main orientation" of the campaign against Teng. Communist Party sources began telling foreign newsmen that Mao intended to moderate the criticism of Teng and in a "comradely" manner help him "reform." However, the vicious "Gang of Four" allegedly subverted the Chairman's purpose in order to politically destroy the former deputy prime minister and his so-called "moderate" supporters in the leadership. In an important speech on November 24, Hua neglected the ritual criticism of Teng, obviously a calculated omission.

The first reported pro-Teng wall poster occurred in Canton in late November. Signed by the city's foreign trade department staff, it hailed the man once labeled as the "main unrepentant capitalist roader in the party" as "a warrior who opposed the gang of four" (*New York Times*, 28 November 1976). During the past week's activities commemorating the first anniversary of Chou En-lai's death, pro-Teng "big character" posters (*dazibaos*) proliferated in the capital. Some were calling for him to be made prime minister.

Since the Chinese bureaucracy rules through police state methods, the pro-Teng posters can only exist with the tolerance of the Hua regime. Despite claims by Maoists and their starry-eyed liberal fellow travelers (like British economist Joan Robinson), *dazibaos* are not the Chinese version of freedom of the press. In November Reuters reported that someone who had defaced a pro-Hua wall poster in Changsha was *executed* for this act (*Times* [London], 15 November 1976). If someone today put up *dazibaos* defending Chiang Ching, both the author and his work would meet a swift and sorry fate.

What's It All About?

Intra-bureaucratic clique battles and shifting alliances often are expressed in policy differences. The decade-old fight between Teng and Chiang Ching's "radicals" covered such issues as centralized planning versus economic regionalism; the guerrilla strategy of "people's war" versus the build-up of sophisticated weaponry for the armed forces; the importation of foreign technology versus national "self-sufficiency"; and increased income differentials versus labor allocation through social pressure/state coercion. However, this did not represent a left-right division and *all* wings of the Chinese bureaucracy share an anti-proletarian, anti-internationalist program. None is worthy of support from communist revolutionaries and the working class.

The underlying *unity* of Teng and the Chiang Ching group was highlighted in the summer of 1975 when strikes shut down the major textile center of Hangchow (near Shanghai). First, the regime's most prominent young "radical," Wang Hung-wen, was sent to talk the strikers back to work. When Wang failed in this assignment, deputy prime minister Teng led a Red Army detachment to crush the strike.

The policy questions which have at one time or another separated Teng from the Chiang Ching "radicals" do not express fundamental programmatic differences, but rather their different respective clienteles and power bases within the bureaucracy. Teng supporters come from the administrative/technical apparatus which crystallized during the 1950's and among the party's "old boy" network. The Chiang Ching clique rested on the student-centered youth catapulted to power through the "Cultural Revolution" of the mid-1960's at the expense of the veteran cadre.

Thus a Teng supporter might be a Harvard-educated engineer who returned to China in the 1950's and obtained a materially privileged position in the industrial administration. A characteristic supporter of Chiang Ching would be a former student activist who made it into the bureaucracy by turning his back on fellow Red Guards when they were suppressed after 1968.

There is a widespread notion that there exists a "moderate" or "rightist" faction (represented by Teng) and a "radical" or "leftist" faction (led by Chiang Ching) whose differences can be summed up as "red versus expert." The sometime Maoist accusation that Teng is a "capitalist roader" is based on his supposed overriding concern for economic growth and efficiency. This outlook is encapsulated in Teng's alleged statement: "It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white. Any cat that catches mice is a good cat."

But ex-Red Guards such as Wang Hung-wen are no closer to being revolutionaries than are the technocrats from the First Five Year Plan. An administration of revolutionary communists requires above all thoroughgoing workers democracy, which can be achieved only through a political revolution against all wings of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. For the Chinese working masses, whether Teng or Chiang Ching comes out on top determines nothing save the age, rhetoric and possibly the competence of their bureaucratic oppressors.

As the Maoist World Turns

Teng's restoration is being accompanied by a new version of the Tien An Men incident, suggesting that the "Gang of Four" and not Teng were responsible for the rioting in central Peking last April 5. Once again Maoist groups around the world will have to strain their resources to keep in step with Peking's ever-changing tune. American Maoist groups like the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) dutifully "analyzed" the purge of Teng in April by explaining that he had remained an "enemy of the people" all along and that his 1973 self-criticism was insincere.

The OL's *Call* (1 May 1976) explains:

> "The target of this struggle was Teng Hsiao-ping because he represented the bourgeois class in China.
>
> "Teng launched an open attack on the party and instigated the counterrevolutionary incident in Tien An Men Square. This incident changed the nature of the struggle with Teng into an antagonistic contradiction."

Likewise the RCP hailed Teng's second fall as a "victory for socialism":

> "With the guidance of Mao's line, the Chinese people were able to recognize the line and policies of the capitalist roaders, headed this time by Teng Hsiao-ping, and to beat back their attempts at reversing the achievements of the Cultural Revolution and restoring capitalism."
>
> —*Revolution*, 15 October 1976

The RCP even produced some of Mao's deathless poetry, which was reputedly "one of the big salvos in this battle against Teng's line":

> "Using the form of a dialogue between two birds, with the sparrow in the role of the revisionists, one of these poems describes how 'A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff,' whining that '«This is one hell of a mess!/Oh I want to flit and fly away...To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills...There'll be plenty to eat/Potatoes piping hot/With beef thrown in».' To this the other bird, putting forward the outlook of the proletariat, replies, '«Stop your windy nonsense!/Look you, the world is being turned upside down».'"

Equally if not more dramatically flagrant in the Teng affair was the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, whose December 1976 issue of *New China* carries an "eyewitness account" of the Tien An Men incident complete with full-page glossy color photographs and the explanation that "A small group of counterrevolutionaries manipulate[d] the spontaneous sentiments of grief and respect for the late Premier" in an attempt to "symbolically link the revolutionary Chou with the capitalist-roader Deng Xiao-ping...." The Friendship Association, we suspect, may soon be discovering some "capitalist roaders" in its own midst.

Since Mao's murky poem was penned and the "friends of People's China" saw with their own eyes the "small group of counterrevolutionaries," the bureaucratic in-fighting in the Forbidden Palace has once again "turned the world upside down." Hua is violating the eleventh commandment of Mao. The rehabilitation of Teng will certainly "reverse the verdict" Mao handed down last April. While those committed above all to securing the Peking franchise will dutifully hail yesterday's "capitalist roader" as today's revolutionary leader, the more serious militants within the Maoist movement must look to Trotskyism to pierce through the self-serving mystifications of the Chinese Stalinists. ■

Peaceniks...

(continued from page 9)

signatories of the "appeal" withdrew their names within a matter of hours after it was published. Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Don Luce, Paul Mayer and David Dellinger almost immediately issued an "open letter" charging that the "confidential letter" had "raised charges in an irresponsible manner." They had, said the radical pacifists, "new materials" which "give us confidence that the new government is deeply concerned about human rights."

While these individuals drew back from or refused to be part of the liberal anti-Communist campaign, their defense of Vietnam—based as it is on "humanistic" grounds rather than solid class criteria—leaves them open to being sucked into the cold-warriors' maneuvers at a later date. In a display of liberal credulity that matched the "confidential" letter's "disappointment," they insisted: "We are further reassured by recalling that the government there [Vietnam] was a signatory to the Paris accords" (so was Henry Kissinger)! They were confident that Vietnam would offer the world "a scrupulous example of pro-human conduct."

Without a Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism the pacifist "progressives" are condemned to either naively praise or to take up anti-communist attacks against the bureaucratic regimes. Vietnam must be defended because it is a *workers state*, albeit qualitatively *deformed* by the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy which rules in Hanoi. The overthrow of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie is a historic gain for the entire world proletariat, which must be defended against imperialist attack or home-grown counterrevolution. Yet there are undoubtedly some innocent people in the Vietnamese "relocation" camps, as well as some genuine fighters for proletarian democracy. We have no illusions in the "pro-human" proclivities of the Vietnamese Stalinists, who under Ho Chi Minh were responsible for the slaughter of the Vietnamese Trotskyists that led the heroic workers uprising in Saigon in 1945.

It is also true that a great many of the "political prisoners" in Vietnam today are genuine enemies of the working people—the wretched remnants of the corrupt Thieu regime and its hangers-on, torturers, exploiters and military butchers. Although most of the top criminals—along with their war profits, gold bars, silks and jewels—were evacuated by the U.S., those that were left behind richly deserve to be set to work removing unexploded mines from rice fields, one of the "violations of human rights" discovered by the liberals.

The Spartacist League hails the tremendous victory won by the worker and peasant masses of Vietnam in driving the U.S. and its toadies out of the country and overturning capitalist property relations. At the same time, we have always warned of the bureaucratic and nationalist character of the Stalinist ruling caste—which blocks the international extension of the revolution, and with that the road forward to socialism—while calling for *political revolution* to oust the bureaucracy and establish the proletarian democracy of soviet rule. All Indochina Must Go Communist! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Sadlowski Supporters Reject United Defense

U.S. Steel Orders Union Leafletters Arrested in Gary

CHICAGO—On Tuesday, January 4, three supporters of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski were arrested as they distributed union campaign material at the entrance to a parking lot at U.S Steel's massive Gary Works. The arrested unionists, all members of USWA Local 1014, were Al Samter, Bill Todd and H. Lee Riley. According to the *Gary Post-Tribune* (5 January) the three were "arrested by mill security personnel," who then summoned the Gary police.

However, policemen arriving on the scene decided they lacked authority to make an arrest, as did their supervisor. Not until a force of five squad cars had been amassed—staffed by seven patrolmen, a sergeant, a lieutenant and a police captain—could an officer be found who was willing to arrest the three. Two hours later at Gary police headquarters they were released when the company failed to press charges. However, they may be rearrested at any time if U.S. Steel signs affidavits charging the three with trespassing.

The reluctance of the police to arrest the unionists and the company's unwillingness to press charges no doubt stem from recent rulings by the National Labor Relations Board and a federal circuit court upholding the right of employees to distribute union material in non-work locations on U.S. Steel property. But the steel monopoly's legendary contempt for the labor movement continues as plant guards are reportedly confiscating leaflets from workers entering the Gary Works' Broadway Street gate with more than three copies, as well as subjecting leafletters to systematic harassment.

WV Photo

Ed Sadlowski

U.S. Steel reiterated its arrogant stand in a press statement by its public affairs director for Indiana, who said that despite NLRB and court rulings, "For the time being, we will continue to enforce our long-standing policy banning distribution of literature anywhere within the confines of our private property." In other words, to hell with legal technicalities and the rights of labor be damned!

While the steel barons insist on enforcing their sacrosanct property rights, the response by victimized Sadlowski supporters typified the utter reformism and reliance on the bosses' courts which characterize the campaign of their touted "steel rebel." Although the court decision on leafletting rights grew out of complaints filed with the NLRB by Samter and others, at no time have they ever taken this issue to the Local 1014 membership. Nor has Sadlowski, as head of USWA District 31, ever used the power of his office to initiate a campaign to win and enforce union leafletting rights.

On January 5 a "protest meeting" chaired by Todd (who is ex-vice president of Local 1014 and current president of the Gary branch of the NAACP) was held at the Gary headquarters of Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fightback." Although the meeting was advertised as open to anyone who supported the right to leaflet, Todd and other local Sadlowski supporters managed to disrupt it by spending most of the time trying to bureaucratically expel those union militants who do not support the Sadlowski slate. This sectarian action was instigated by the United Rank and File Committee, a local reformist hodgepodge led by Todd and Samter, which is politically endorsed by the Communist Party (CP) and the International Socialists (IS). It was applauded with equal vigor by the Revolutionary Communist Party-supported Breakout grouping.

The United Rank and File leaders had evidently expected to get rid of "troublemakers" without a fuss so that they could get on with the "real" business of the meeting: not defending the arrested leafletters but beating the drums for "Oil Can Eddy." However, after anti-Sadlowski militants denounced the false advertising for the meeting, condemned Sadlowski's big-business support and reliance on the courts, stated their solidarity in protesting the arrests and criticized the bureaucratic exclusion, a 45-minute discussion ensued. Although several Sadlowski supporters had spoken against exclusion, Todd ruled the militants excluded but said they could stay for the rest of the meeting without the right to participate! It was a dramatic display of what a Sadlowski regime would be like, giving the lie to his demagogic talk of "union democracy" and "getting the members involved." After rejecting a united defense against the company, the meeting voted to continue distributing Sadlowski campaign literature.

Three of the excluded militants published a leaflet for the January 10 union meeting which criticized the exclusion for "undermin[ing] our ability to bring union members together in a common front against company provocation...." The leaflet contained a motion to be presented at the meeting which would commit the Local to defense of members against discipline or charges in connection with the arrests and called for union action to defend workers rights:

> "Be it further resolved, that L.U. 1014 will defend through class-struggle tactics up to and including militant strike action the right of our membership and all members of the workers movement to the free and open discussion and dissemination of their views."

Workers who attended the Local meeting told *WV* salesmen that when

continued on page 10

Sadlowski/McBride

WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM?

CHICAGO—The United Steelworkers presidential elections are down to the wire. Candidates Sadlowski and McBride spend their time in the revolving door of the bosses' courts, flinging court suits back and forth until you can't tell them apart.

The current hot issue between the contenders in the giant steel union is campaign funds: where's the money coming from? McBride says Sadlowski is accepting cash from employers. Sadlowski accuses McBride of libel and charges him with illegal use of union funds for his campaign.

The top "labor statesmen"—so-called because of their notorious "responsibility"...to the companies have sensed Sadlowski's vulnerability on this issue and suddenly jumped to the defense of union independence. Incumbent USWA president I. W. Abel took the "rebel" district director to task for receiving funds from "limousine liberals." AFL-CIO chief George Meany denounced the influence of ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) big shots and "the string of employers and wealthy angels whose treasuries they seek to tap."

So on January 9 Sadlowski made a sweeping gesture of "openness and honesty." Two days prior to a court-ordered deadline for turning over all his campaign sources, he held a press conference to release a select list of his big contributors. The *Wall Street Journal* (10 January) announced: "United Steelworkers rebel Edward Sadlowski opened his campaign finances... "

The next day, however, the *Journal* said, "it was impossible for reporters to determine precisely the total amount of outside contributions to his campaign." And there seems to be some reason to take a look. In the 5 January *Chicago Sun-Times* Sadlowski was admitting to $1,450 from "prominent business figures"; at the press conference the amount was up to $26,000 in "large" gifts by outsiders (but not "one penny of corporate money"); and by mid-January the figure was "about $30,000."

Having ourselves warned of the danger represented by Sadlowski's links to big-money liberals—although from a completely different standpoint than that of the hypocritical Meany Abel labor fakers, who have plenty of ties (financial and otherwise) to the class enemy—*WV* called up "Steelworkers Fightback" headquarters in Chicago to request to see the "open" books. Clem Balanoff (brother of Jim, who is president of USWA Local 1010 and Sadlowski's candidate to succeed him as District 31 director) gave us an unambiguous answer: "No!"

"We're not going to be bothered by any reporter coming tromping into our headquarters and bothering us," he went on. "You'll be here today, then tomorrow it will be *Workers Power*.... Look, you know the game as well as I do now; we're not opening them up to anyone else." So much for open books! Sadlowski runs to the courts at the drop of a hat to get government control of the union elections, government inspection of his opponent's finances, government censorship of the USWA newspaper. But when it comes to leveling with the workers movement, "Oil Can Eddy's" word is: No dice!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 142 28 January 1977

Der Spiegel

AP

Egyptian riot police killed demonstrating workers and students in the streets of Cairo last week after president Sadat announced drastic price increases for essential goods.

Working Masses Rebel Against Burden of Militarism

Egypt Explodes

JANUARY 24—Two days of stormy street battles convulsed Egypt last week. Smoke spiraled above Cairo and Alexandria as police stations, government mansions, sleek limousines, swank shops and nightclubs were sacked and burned. Deaf to the threadbare demagogy of "national unity," workers, students and the slum poor hurled themselves at their oppressors. The military regime was shaken to its foundations.

President Anwar Sadat had piously exhorted the impoverished toilers of the Nile Valley to "struggle, resolution and sacrifice," but drastic price hikes on basic staples (cooking fuel, tea, bread, rice, sugar) goaded them beyond endurance. While oil-rich sheiks slithered from cabaret to brothel, millionaire speculators evaded all taxes and military martinets shrieked for a bigger war budget, Sadat attempted to slash the rations of workers and peasants.

The imperialist usurers of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank had demanded currency devaluation and an end to government subsidies of consumer goods as the price for further loans. But this "made in USA" scheme to "assist" Egypt by starving its people quickly backfired. Cairo, the Calcutta of the Near East, where *one million* out of its eight million inhabitants live in the vast city cemetery, exploded in revolt.

The workers of the Helwan iron and steel complex, ten miles south of the city, touched off the rebellion with a walkout early Tuesday. A UPI dispatch (19 January) reported:

> "Workers congregated at points where they normally commute to work and surged through the streets shaking fists and chanting antigovernment slogans. "One group, systematically smashing shop windows and neon signs, chanted rhyming slogans such as, 'With life and blood we shall bring about the downfall of [premier] Mamdouh Salem'."

Others shouted "Down with Sadat" and

continued on page 11

Teresa Zabala/New York Times

Carter, second from right, with Democratic bigwigs, from left: Humphrey, Mondale, Robert Byrd, James Wright, Al Ullman and Tip O'Neill.

Liberals Claim Betrayal

Carter's Team: Jim Crow, Dr. Strangelove, Daddy Warbucks

Jimmy Carter, the new no. 1 imperialist in all the world, held a $3 million "People's Inauguration" last Thursday, complete with parade floats, fireworks, a giant peanut balloon, prayer services, the biggest square dance ever and plenty of that "down home" rhetoric that won him the primaries (but whose hollowness was so sinister that he almost lost the election to the despised Gerald Ford).

The Carter "transition team" had mailed out inaugural invitations to 300,000 people, but these gold brick "invites" entitled the holders to nothing at all at the "People's Inauguration." It took $25 a head (plus another $25 for a parade seat) to hear the Southern fundamentalist, ethnic purist, ex-naval officer, peanut millionaire and technocrat sermonize on the "renewed search for humility."

Palmed off as the fresh breeze of "the People" blowing out the stale smoke-filled back rooms of Nixon's Washington, Carter now faces the foul winds of criticism coming from the black liberals and trade-union hacks who got out the vote that elected him. They are complaining that his economic policies and cabinet appointments make it more difficult to present the Democratic Party, one of the two traditional parties of American capitalism, as the party of the common man.

There is a false ring to the labor bureaucrats who now bemoan Carter's economic proposals designed to grease the wheels of capital at the expense of the working class, and the black misleaders who assail his appointment of the racist Griffin Bell as attorney general. Today the

continued on page 8

Letter/Reply

Should Revolutionists "Walk with Sadlowski"?

WV Photo

Ed Sadlowski

January 6, 1977

To The Editor:

In a prominent article on the Fight Back campaign headed by Ed Sadlowski in the Steelworkers Union (*WV* [No. 138] December 24, 1976) you attempt to take on the position of the Socialist Workers Party. You write:

> "The 10 December *Militant* ... contains a special six-page insert on the campaign *which is totally uncritical* of Sadlowski. The *Militant* prints a tough statement by Sadlowski in opposition to the ENA ..." but "the article fails to mention, however, ... that Sadlowski has pledged to enforce this rotten agreement ... until 1980." (3 yrs.)

There were, in this supplement, extensive quotes from Sadlowski, and, in addition, there appeared an interview with Ed Heisler, SWP National Committee member, giving the position of the SWP. While it remains true that the quotes from Sadlowski aren't critical of the Fight Back slate, and don't highlight the negative aspects of the slate, it's totally false that the statement of the SWP (the Heisler interview) "is totally uncritical of Sadlowski."

Further on, in your article, you go on to concretize just how "totally uncritical" the supplement was, stating:

> "On the issue of political action, where Sadlowski's support of the Democratic Party stands in sharp contrast to the SWP's formal position of no support to capitalist politicians, the *Militant* maintains total silence."

In fact, the Heisler interview was not only not "totally uncritical," but rather, quite clearly, critical of Sadlowski. In fact, precisely on the crucial question of the necessity for political independence from the capitalist class, and the necessary opposition to the Democratic Party that flows from that need, where you accuse the *Militant* of "total silence," Heisler states:

> "Sadlowski makes an important mistake. He said he was voting for Carter.... And he supported former Sen. Fred Harris back during the Democratic primaries.
> "I think that *any support to either the Democrats or the Republicans is a dead end for labor.* It stands in contradiction to many of the principles Sadlowski speaks for."

Further,

> "*We need a party that's run by workers, accountable only to workers, and that fights for the needs of all working people.*"

Enough?!

I personally welcomed the SWP statement and aided its distribution. I also welcomed the quotes from Sadlowski, though I believe a more rounded set of quotes could've been drawn.

The purpose of the quotes and the supplement is to make our case for critical support. In looking through the quotes and observing the campaign, I believe there to be many issues on which proletarian revolutionists should walk with Sadlowski against the conservative Abel bureaucracy in the same manner that we walked with John L. Lewis against the conservative AFL bureaucracy in organizing the CIO. At the same time, as with Lewis, I see many fundamental questions where revolutionists must draw the line, do battle with, and finally expose the weaknesses of Sadlowski.

The key question, however, is not whether or not to "walk with him" where we agree, but rather how we should do this. The SWP has concluded that there is sufficient political agreement to extend critical support to the Fight Back slate. The purpose of critical support is to work with the caucus to elect Sadlowski, while, at the same time, exposing his weaknesses to the ranks of the caucus, and winning the best militants to a full class-struggle program, and to the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party. And thereby, to lay the basis for developing a class-struggle caucus in the union, and a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement.

For the Spartacist League, however, to extend critical support to anyone running for union office that doesn't agree with the entire transitional program for socialist revolution is to break a class principle. And so, the SL is cut off from working with a whole layer of young militants that are waging a battle to transform their union into a militant, democratic, fighting organization.

If the SWP were a mass organization, I would see this critical support as fundamentally incorrect. But, the whole purpose of extending this "support" is to break out of the present isolation revolutionary workers face in 1977, and to encourage the first steps of the working class, in this period, toward struggle, and to help guide those steps in a revolutionary direction. This campaign represents a grand and not-at-all-unimportant opening. To refuse this opportunity is a mistake.

The fight to construct a mass revolutionary workers party is a process. The test of the truly revolutionary perspective is the ability to creatively apply principles, which are defended with granite hardness, in a thoroughly flexible manner on the level of tactics.

R.C.
Milwaukee

WV replies:

Comrade R.C. is correct on one point—in the 10 December *Militant*'s six-page steel supplement we overlooked the single, mild criticism of United Steelworkers presidential challenger Ed Sadlowski, where SWP spokesman Ed Heisler takes issue with Sadlowski's support for Democratic Party candidates. Perhaps, however, R.C. should have waited before he wrote his letter. A more recent six-page supplement on the USWA elections was published in the 21 January *Militant*. R.C. can satisfy himself that this supplement is totally uncritical of Sadlowski. In particular, it is worth noting that in his article in this supplement Heisler not only fails to mention Sadlowski's support to Democrats, but has the gall to criticize *Abel* for raising money for capitalist politicians!

Far from "exposing his [Sadlowski's] weaknesses to the ranks of the caucus, and winning the best militants to a full class-struggle program," the SWP intervention into the Steelworkers elections has consistently sought to polish up and distort Sadlowski's real program. His opposition to nationalization of industry and workers control, his willingness to enforce Abel's no-strike ENA agreement, his outrageous proposal to cut the basic steel workforce from over 400,000 to 100,000—all are either totally ignored or buried in the *Militant*. Instead, the *Militant* reports to its readers in good faith Sadlowski's statements that he is a follower of Debs, as well as presenting without comment Sadlowski's pseudo-left rhetoric: "'The workers and the bosses have nothing in common,' Sadlowski declares. 'It's a class question'" (*Militant*, 21 January).

The occasional (very occasional, indeed!) criticisms of Sadlowski that appear in the *Militant* are designed to provide a cover for the SWP's gross illusion-mongering in this "rebel" bureaucrat. Moreover, these "criticisms" are as bland as could be imagined. Heisler says Sadlowski makes a "mistake" in supporting the Democratic Party, implying that he can be won to revolutionary politics. And even these gentle chidings are paper criticisms that are not carried into the union. SWP supporters in the USWA do not fight in the union for their ostensible position against capitalist politicians: to do so would embarrass Sadlowski. Far from desiring to produce political clarification through revolutionary criticism, the SWP craves to ingratiate itself with the Sadlowski bureaucrats. Long absent from the industrial working class, it wants to establish a niche for itself as the "best builders" and advisers for a slicker, updated model of a liberal labor bureaucrat.

Although the SWP's support to Sadlowski is essentially *uncritical*, the considerations R.C. raises with respect to critical support merit a response. Essentially he argues that it is permissible for a small left organization to give critical political support to one wing of the trade-union bureaucracy.

For Marxists, however, it is not considerations of size but of *program* that are crucial. (If anything, a small revolutionary organization—having little social weight and organizational muscle, and with only its program to stand behind—should be even more cautious about engaging in tactical maneuvers like critical support.) Leninists are in principle prepared to consider critical support to a candidate running in an election within the labor movement (e.g., for union office) only if on issues fundamental to the campaign he breaks programmatically from the class collaborationism shared by all wings of the bureaucracy. Should such a candidate later refuse to carry out the class-struggle course he promised, the communist pole which extended him critical support is in a position to demand the implementation of the programmatic points he has betrayed and thus win over his base of militant workers.

In the absence of a programmatic break from class collaborationism, however, "critical support" only serves as an excuse to tail popular bureaucrats. This is demonstrated in the case of Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers (UMW), whom the SWP also opportunistically supported. Once in office, Miller enforced Boyle's sellout contract, broke wildcat strikes and purged militants from the union. However, Miller did not betray his program. He only carried his policy of relying on the government to the logical conclusion of collaborating with the strike-breaking courts.

Since the Miller campaign and the soon-disbanded Miners for Democracy had never fought for *any* class-struggle policies in the UMW, the subsequent disillusionment with him largely resulted in a search for alternative "leaders" within the bureaucracy—including, interestingly enough, renewed support in the ranks for elements associated with the notoriously corrupt and discredited Tony Boyle! This was confirmed at the last UMW convention, with the massive outbreak of red-baiting and the emergence of LeRoy Patterson, a Boyle supporter, as an apparently viable candidate for UMW president. Ostensible leftists in the UMW who "critically" supported Miller did not gain authority with advanced workers in the union; they only succeeded in tarring themselves with Miller's class collaboration.

Sadlowski, like Miller, promises higher wages, safer working conditions, more rank-and-file participation, etc., and denounces the obvious betrayals of the Abel administration. But this is no different from what any out-bureaucrat challenging an incumbent ever does. In fact, it is exactly what Abel promised when *he* ran as an "insurgent" against MacDonald's "tuxedo unionism" in 1965—and the SWP supported Abel in that election, too.

Despite his populist rhetoric, it is evident that Sadlowski's actual *program* is not fundamentally different from Abel's. On all the key issues—such as

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trade-union independence from the state, workers control, expropriation of the capitalists, struggle for a workers party—Sadlowski's positions are *counterposed* to a class-struggle course. He calls for court and labor department intervention in the union, has agreed to enforce the ENA until 1980, supports Democratic Party politicians, refuses to call for strikes against layoffs, opposes nationalization of steel, etc. Since Sadlowski's campaign does not break with the bureaucracy's class collaboration, even on a single important issue, since it in no sense intersects class-struggle politics, the SL refuses to give him critical support.

R.C. asserts that the SL will not support anyone who "doesn't agree with the entire transitional program" (which, in effect, rules out *critical* support under any circumstances). This is not true, and we suggest that R.C. consult "Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program," in *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973, for a statement of our long-standing policy on critical support in union elections. The SL will, and has, extended critical support in union elections to elements which campaign on a program which breaks from reformism on key issues, but which may be incomplete, confused or even incorrect on other issues.

In the Steelworkers, the attitude ostensibly left caucuses take toward Sadlowski is an important criterion in considering critical support. In the elections for USWA Local 65 in Chicago last spring, for example, the SL initially gave critical support—despite differences on several issues—to the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, which opposed Sadlowski from the left. However, when this grouping (politically supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League) failed to take a position on the local Sadlowski candidate's suit against the union, which had become a major issue in the campaign and expressed the essence of Sadlowski's class collaborationism, the SL withdrew its critical support (see *WV* No. 108, 7 May 1976).

Class-struggle militants in steel would certainly be willing to unite with the Sadlowski forces around concrete democratic or economic struggles against the companies and incumbent Abel bureaucracy. This has not been possible, however, because the Sadlowski forces do not engage in such struggles. Sadlowski's oppositional activities have been limited to pure electoralism combined with appeals for government intervention. His District 31, the most important in the industry, has engaged in no militant actions against the companies, and is run just as bureaucratically as districts headed by Abel flunkies.

As to principled common actions, it is the Sadlowski forces which have shown themselves to be sectarian. In early January, Sadlowski supporters were arrested for leafletting U.S. Steel's Gary Works. A protest meeting called by the Sadlowski supporters *rejected* a united defense around the right of all unionists to leaflet the work site and *excluded* militant steel workers who refused to support Sadlowski's candidacy. (See "U.S. Steel Orders Union Leafletters Arrested in Gary," *WV* No. 141, 21 January.)

Finally, R.C. is mistaken when he assumes that the SWP's support for Sadlowski is consistent with Trotskyist trade-union work in the 1930's. It is true that the SL does not uncritically accept all of the SWP's earlier trade union work, and *WV* has criticized the SWP's proneness to bloc politically with one or another wing of the bureaucracy. However, this in no way vitiates our claim to the SWP's earlier revolutionary traditions.

In particular, the analogy claimed by R.C. to the question of Lewis vs. Greene in the 1930's is a false one. The SWP was entirely correct to bloc with Lewis on the issue of industrial unionism. But this limited bloc on a particular issue in no way constituted generalized political support, however critical, to the Lewis wing of the bureaucracy.

In fact precisely in the Steelworkers union, which was run by Lewis through his assistant Phillip Murray, SWP supporters waged a principled struggle against Lewis' bureaucratism, his reliance on bourgeois politicians which led to the defeat in Little Steel, his failure to lead a struggle against racism, etc. And certainly the earlier SWP did not compare Lewis to Debs, or pretend that Lewis had the class interests of the proletariat at heart, as the SWP does today with Sadlowski!

The SWP has long since undergone a fundamental degeneration and its place as defender of revolutionary Trotskyism before the working masses has been taken by the Spartacist League.

Trotskyist Faction Expelled by Spartacusbund

Dutifully following the instructions of its new-found guru, comrade Roberto of the Italian Lega Comunista (formerly the Revolutionary Marxist Faction—FMR), the German Spartacusbund bureaucratically expelled the Trotskyist Faction at its Sixth National Conference in early January. But although the chaotic Spartacusbund leadership hoped by this arbitrary action to stem the group's galloping disintegration, it succeeded neither in consolidating a coherent political line nor in imposing rigid order on a squabbling membership (a substantial portion of which voted against the expulsion).

The lashup between the Spartacusbund and the FMR took place in the context of a rightward shift by the "United" Secretariat (USec) that accompanied the current wave of popular frontism, beginning with the Allende Popular Unity (UP) coalition in Chile. As the USec factional struggle heated up, a number of small groups were spun off which saw an opening to the left where they could pose as "orthodox" without definitively breaking with that family of ex-Trotskyists that passes itself off as "the Fourth International." In the period preceding their current marriage of convenience, both the Spartacushund (whose origins date from a 1969 split in the German USec group) and the FMR (which had provoked its expulsion from the Italian USec in early 1975) consciously and explicitly rejected the authentically Trotskyist positions upheld by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) in favor of militant-sounding left-Pabloism.

The Spartacusbund, after foundering in national isolation and having lost half its membership in the past year, sought refuge in instant internationalism to compensate for its own political indecision and endless confusion. In March 1976, representatives of the Spartacushund Central Committee committed the organization to a left-of-the-USec rotten bloc, Roberto's "Necessary International Initiative" (NII), without full discussion in the CC or any discussion at all among the membership.

The NII document declared the need to "reconstruct" not only the Fourth International, but also the Trotskyist program, both of which supposedly were destroyed during World War II. The discussion necessary for this fundamental "reconstruction" was scheduled to be the main point on the agenda of the January Spartacusbund conference. But as the organization tottered, a principled left opposition to its policies emerged to form the Trotskyist Faction (TF) and the remainder of the group split into three more competing tendencies. The Spartacusbund therefore cancelled the "programmatic discussion" in favor of a discussion of tactics.

Protesting against this bureaucratic suppression, the TF presented a motion to the conference noting that:

> "The clarification of principled questions is a precondition for discussion of tactics..., as well as *for politics in general*.... An organization which cannot clarify such principled questions and therefore must resort to bureaucratic measures, such as forbidding discussion at this national conference on the Trotskyist Faction's document on the crisis of the Fourth International, has no political future and can only stagger further down the path of political degeneration."

Rejecting the Spartacusbund's haphazard and opportunist attitude toward international regroupment, the TF stressed the urgent need for discussions leading to principled programmatic agreement (which does not exist among the heterogeneous groups of the NII), that it would be irresponsible to delay such discussions, and that the TF would continue these efforts.

At this point, Roberto moved behind the scenes to "orient" the conference. His interpreter—a *former* member of the Spartacusbund—presented a motion demanding that the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction recant their political views and "recognize completely the authority of the past and future leadership of the Spartacusbund" on pain of expulsion. When the TF comrades refused to capitulate to this Stalinist demand they were summarily expelled. However, in addition to the TF delegate, seven other delegates could not stomach this procedure, five voting against expulsion and two abstaining (against 17 in favor).

An Unnecessary Initiative

The political chaos within the Spartacusbund is matched only by the jungle of confusion which exists among the groupings of the NII. As the TF pointed out in its basic document,

> "What *truly unites* the NII...is: 1) Rejection of the Transitional Program as the program of the imperialist epoch; 2) A defeatist position on the 1952-54 split in the Fourth International; 3) Support for petty bourgeois nationalists (for example in Angola..., Lebanon, Palestine); 4) Electoral support to workers parties in popular fronts (Chile in 1970, France in 1973-74, Pato in Portugal [1976], the 'historic compromise' in Italy)."
>
> —"For an International Regroupment on the Basis of the Program of the Fourth International," *Spartacus*, December 1976

The TF explained that the Spartacusbund's essential capitulation to the positions of Roberto took place over the line to take toward the USec and the history of the Fourth International. In August 1975 the Spartacusbund took a verbal left turn at its fifth conference, claiming to break with its own self-admitted centrism, advocating an aggressive regroupment policy internationally and calling for politically smashing the USec.

But in March 1976 the Spartacusbund with no second thoughts adopted Roberto's position that the United Secretariat is "centrist sui generis" (a meaningless term invented to cover his refusal to take sides in the 1951-54 split in the Fourth International or to admit that Pablo's liquidationism had destroyed the FI): i.e., that the USec can and should be reformed, if not from within then by a "pressure group" one step (but only one) to its left. The report of the November 1976 meeting of the joint commission of the NII makes it clear that Roberto still weeps tears for the late "Third Tendency" of the USec (whose spokesman he was at the "Tenth World Congress" in 1974). In the words of the British International-Communist League (I-CL), he wants to "relate ideologically" (i.e., swim in the same swamp) with the "mainstream" of ostensible Trotskyism, represented for the NII by the USec.

While Roberto would like to pose as a "left conscience" of the United Secretariat—an unlikely role indeed, considering that his own proclivities for unprincipled organizational maneuvering are no less than those of his former *caudillo*, Livio Maitan—the NII position on the Transitional Program stands to the *right* of the USec majority. Both accept the validity only of the "method" of the founding document of the Fourth International, in order to surreptitiously abandon its central conclusions. Roberto goes on to dot the i's and cross the t's by stating that the "destroyed" program must be "reconstructed" from the ground up.

The participants in the NII bloc are, however, unable to agree on when and how the Fourth International was destroyed and by whom. The FMR originally declared that although the FI had been "reorganized" after World War II, Pablo and his followers "destroyed the Trotskyist movement with Stalinist methods" at some later time. Now, however, catering to the Spartacusbund, the NII claims that the Fourth International was destroyed during World War II. The I-CL, on the other hand, still agrees with Roberto's earlier analysis (while remaining otherwise quite hostile to him), stating that the FI was not in need of "regeneration" until 1948 (*Workers Action*, 11 November 1976).

"Serious Disagreements"

In contrast to Roberto and the NII document, the I-CL denies the central responsibility of the Pablo faction in the destruction of Trotsky's International, rejecting the very concept of Pabloism as "meaningless and misleading." The reason is not hard to find: for the I-CL, the USec is not Pabloist but rather "the mainstream that had emerged from the communist tendency personified by Leon Trotsky." In the I-CL's contradictory resolution announcing its adher-

continued on page 9

Killer Bees and Nudes

Hoopla Over Murdoch Press Grab in NYC

Sampling of the Murdoch press empire

The cover of the 17 January issue of *Time* magazine was a cartoon of Rupert Murdoch as King Kong balancing on the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center with NYC newspapers grasped in his hairy paws; a shreaking headline read "EXTRA!!! Aussie Press Lord Terrifies Gotham." But the fake-sensationalist cover was only half in jest.

Coming on the heels of Murdoch's purchase earlier this month of the city's only remaining afternoon daily, the *New York Post*, the sudden acquisition by the Australian newspaper magnate of the New York Magazine Company—whose holdings include *New York* magazine, *New West* and the *Village Voice*—touched off a wave of chauvinist hysteria about the "foreign invader." After years of unsuccessfully trying to break into the American scene, Murdoch's recent acquisitions meant the decisive expansion of his Australian and British publishing empire into the United States.

Reaction to the takeover centered around the attempt of *New York* editor and part-owner Clay Felker to block the sale and a one-day walkout by the magazine's editorial staff January 6 in Felker's support. While Murdoch's vicious anti-working-class policies have sparked bitter strikes and protests by his employees in the past, the *New York* walkout was not over politics; it was a statement of the staff's revulsion at the prospects of changing over from a style once described by ex-staff writer Jimmy Breslin as "boutique journalism" to Murdoch's standard fare of soft-core sex-and-crime sensationalism.

UPI

Clay Felker

The staff walked out because "we didn't want Murdoch to meet with Clay believing he had Clay in the palm of his King Kong hand," explained staff writer Aaron Lathom to the *New York Times*. The *Times* loftily pointed out the absurdity of *New York* being worried about turning into a scandal sheet. The slick East Side swingers' mag was already turning out such pulp as "What Your Bed Sheets Tell About You" and "I Am a Fugitive from the Body Maulers." So what was all the fuss about running Murdoch specials like "Life After Death—10 Amazing Reports" (*National Star*) or the *San Antonio News*' "Army to Poison 350 Puppies," and, of course, "Killer Bees Head North"?

Classy Trash vs. Trash Trash

It was purely a matter of style. "*New York* is not above publishing trash itself, but classy trash as opposed to Murdoch's trash trash," explained staff writer Richard Reeves in *Time* magazine. But even Reeves understood the difficulties of rallying the public around the cause of a higher grade of pulp. So he came up with a better issue for mass consumption and went on TV ruminating about the dangers of having foreigners controlling American newsprint. This also bothered the staff who wrote such chauvinist graffiti on *New York*'s bathroom walls as "Send this Wallaby back, Jack."

New York was a particularly unlikely candidate for leading opposition to Murdoch's press grab. Normally profoundly apolitical, when the magazine occasionally did take a stab at politics, it was rabidly anti-working-class. During the city's default crisis an article—"Forty-four Proposals to Save Our City" (*New York*, 22 March 1976)—came out for axing the city workers' seniority system and lengthening the working day! As a struggle between Murdoch's killer bees and Felker's jet-set drivel, the matter was nothing more than an old-fashioned media war complete with all the traditional skull-duggery and maneuvering.

For a while there was talk of a strike at the *Village Voice*. Although it too was published and partly owned by Felker, and tied to the same left-lib New York socialites, the *Voice* had recently been involved in a number of political controversies. Ex-CBS reporter Dan Schorr chose to leak the report of the Pike Committee investigation of the CIA to the *Voice*, and the paper has sporadically done some fairly serious muckraking around the role of NYC banks in provoking the city's default crisis. An attempt to silence the *Voice* through a financial takeover by banks or others interested in stopping these exposés would have been of concern to the working class.

Bill Ray

Rupert Murdoch

But aside from taking the precaution of going down to the District 65 headquarters and filling out union cards, the *Voice* staff decided to do nothing. The paper's rival, the counter-culture *Soho Weekly News*, wryly remarked that after two years' of Felker's editorship, during which he systematically fired controversial columnists and threw out long-time dedicated staff workers to bring in his own people, the *Voice* writers decided things would probably not get much worse under Murdoch.

Indeed the casting of Felker as some kind of honest journalist brutalized by the expansionist drive of capital was even more far-fetched than the concept of *New York* magazine leading a fight against pulp journalism. One of the city's more tawdry money-grubbing characters, Felker's greatest joy was apparently being seen around town with the beautiful people.

It seems he had originally invited Murdoch to buy out some of the magazine's board of directors who were on his back. Felker had apparently been in trouble with the board for some time because of the magazine's slipping profits, at least partly attributed to his lavish promotional spending for the launching of *New West*, his $300,000 personal debt to the magazine as well as its forced financing of his New York townhouses, Hamptons country homes, chauffered limousines, entertainment tabs at Maxwell's Plum and so forth.

After Murdoch would not stop at buying off a few recalcitrant board members but seemed intent on grabbing control of the magazine, Felker went running to his friend Felix Rohatyn, wealthy financier and board chairman of Big MAC, probably one of the most despised people in New York City. Rohatyn in turn lined up the notorious union-buster, *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham, to try to outbid Murdoch. Graham tried, but she failed.

Felker finally sold out his struggle against the descent of the killer bees for a cool million and a half and the promise of three years' salary at $120,000 yearly. When the staff which had walked out in his support refused to settle, Felker rewarded their loyalty by digging up the galleys they had hidden away and working with Murdoch all night to put out the January 17 scab edition!

Workers Against Press Barons

While the media war at *New York* magazine was a matter of indifference to the working class, when the printers and journalists at Murdoch's Sydney newspapers protested in 1975 against the press magnate's vicious anti-labor lies and suppression of information, revolutionaries stood with them. Murdoch was waging an all-out campaign to topple the Australian Labor Party (ALP) government of Gough Whitlam. He filled the paper with such a barrage of lies and slanders against the ALP leader and the labor movement that the News Limited staff staged angry anti-Murdoch protests. In one dramatic action, an outraged crowd broke into the building and burned large bundles of the lying newspapers.

At demonstrations held in support of the press workers and journalists, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) demanded expropriation of the media barons by a workers government. However, our comrades opposed the demand raised by some fake-leftists for nationalization of Murdoch's press empire by the *present* government. Communists oppose schemes to hand control of the news media, no matter how highly monopolized and anti-labor, to the capitalist state, for this only increases the threat of censorship, endangering freedom of the press. The false information spread by the big business press must be fought by building the working-class press.

Likewise we stood with the workers and journalists of *France Soir* who walked out last summer in protest against the takeover of the Paris daily by right-wing newspaper syndicate head and Nazi collaborator Robert Hersant. While in the United States and Britain, newspapers are generally direct mouthpieces for their owners, in France writers and editors have generally had a measure of journalistic autonomy, stemming from the development of the post-war French press out of the

continued on page 9

British Union Tops Knife Anti-Apartheid Protest

LONDON, January 24—The week of international labour protest against repression of black unions in South Africa fizzled into a few isolated actions. Although the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) had originally called for a campaign including large-scale rallies, educational activities and a labour boycott of South African goods and transport for the week beginning January 17, it was clear from the outset that it had no intention of building this campaign into an effective demonstration of working-class solidarity. The fact that the social-democratic ICFTU leaders could announce that they were "very pleased" with the impact of this impotent campaign reveals the utterly token quality of their protest.

Only very limited sections of the international working class took any active part. Dockers in Canada, Australia, the Netherlands and Belgium refused to work South African goods and shipping. In France, the Force Ouvrière postal workers union boycotted communications with South Africa, but this involved only approximately one third of unionized French postal workers; the other trade-union groups, including the Communist Party-led CGT, refused to take part. The reactionary leadership of the American AFL-CIO flatly refused to participate in the campaign, and essentially no action took place in West Germany, where the trade-union bureaucrats hid behind the threat of fines to excuse their inactivity. In many places the bureaucrats preferred to substitute high decibel (but low risk) "education" campaigns for industrial action.

In Britain, where there is widespread hostility to the apartheid regime in Labour circles, the threat of a postal workers boycott (which never materialized) triggered a major political controversy. But aside from this, the British trade-union leaders, like their counterparts in other countries, were long on rhetoric and short on action.

Trades Union Congress (TUC) leader Jack Jones told his own members in the Transport and General Workers Union, which covers dockers and other vital transport workers, only to "impede and hinder" trade with South Africa. This meant that workers were to "demonstrate their feelings" by refusing to handle certain goods and by slowing shipments but *not* by total boycott. It is not surprising, given Jones' record as the foremost advocate of the "social contract"—a scheme to shore up British capitalism by slashing the living standards of British workers—that workers in his union ignored the call; work continued on South African aircraft at London's Heathrow airport and on South African shipping at Southhampton. The TUC leaflet for the occasion argued that "British business...stands to lose if matters are not put right and quickly!"

The Union of Post Office Workers (UPOW) executive had voted unanimously to boycott all telephone calls, mail and telegrams to South Africa, but before the plan could be implemented a court ruling declared such action illegal. The Post Office Act of 1953 makes it an offense to interfere with the passage of mail or incite others to do so. The injunction was sought by the ultra-rightist National Association for Freedom, a collection of retired Colonel Blimps and anti-trade-union reactionaries who recently campaigned to prevent a postal ban on a mail-order company at which there was a continuing union-recognition strike.

Although a high-court judge at first refused to grant an injunction, the Appeal Court, in an unprecedented Saturday sitting, overturned his ruling. The main intention of the "lord justices" was clear. Lord Benning announced: "Is the Attorney General to be the final arbiter of whether the law should be enforced or not? That is a matter of great constitutional principle." He hastened to add that trade unions must have "no privileged position." His colleague Lord Lawton made the point even clearer: "...for seven days very great harm indeed will he done to the business world of this country who have business dealings in South Africa."

The UPOW general secretary, Tom Jackson, a fervent supporter of the social contract, immediately called off the boycott, lamely remarking that "Britain's part in the [international boycott] action will be limited." And Arthur Latham, a leading MP [Member of Parliament] of the Tribunite group of "Labour lefts," could only urge Attorney General Silkin to stand firm in the exercise of his "discretion for which he can be answerable to Parliament and not to the courts." But behind all the tumult about the rights of the attorney general, the "sovereignty" of Parliament and the role of the "lower lords" stand far more important issues. What was under attack was the principle of the autonomy and independence of the trade unions and the basic right to strike. Not surprisingly, neither these issues nor that of industrial action and solidarity figured in the thinking of the various Labour MPs and trade-union bureaucrats.

The British ostensibly Trotskyist groups have all reacted with their typical confusion and capitulation to social democracy. The International Marxist Group, the Workers Socialist League and the International Communist League all support the call for a complete open-ended boycott of South Africa. Like the reformists they fall back on calls for the "democratic" imperialists to pressure their weaker and crasser allies in the guise of demanding that the Labour government implement the boycott. The WSL even declares that "the Labour government shouldn't be 'negotiating' with the racists, it should be arming the freedom fighters." In other words, an imperialist government ought to become the champion of the oppressed. To be consistent, groups like the WSL, which view the IRA as the vanguard of the struggle for Irish independence, should also demand that the Labour government send aid to the IRA! ■

FORUM—

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International

Speaker: James Robertson
Central Committee,
Spartacist League/U.S.

Date: Sat., 29 January 1977

Time: 7:30 p.m.

Place: Barnard College
Lehman Auditorium,
Altschul Hall

Donation $1
Sponsored by Columbia Spartacus Youth League
For more information call 925-5665

NEW YORK

African National Congress

Apartheid repression in South Africa.

Longshore-Warehouse Militant Leaflet:

Implement Labor Boycott of South Africa!

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has called for a worldwide week of trade union action to protest the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa, beginning today, Jan. 17. The specific purpose of this international action is to focus opposition against the banning or arresting of 24 black and white trade unionists for their activities in organizing black workers into trade unions. The [South African] government is determined to smash all attempts to expand black trade union organizations. It fears the power of the black working class which has engaged in a series of courageous spontaneous general strikes to defend black and "coloured" youth fighting apartheid. The murderous regime is acting with particular vengeance against these 24 activists—most of whom are white—because these initial acts of interracial class solidarity challenge the very purpose of the racist apartheid system. To defend these courageous unionists, the ICFTU is calling on all labor organizations "to take the strongest possible measures" and specifically for "the grounding of South African aircraft and ships, as well as a boycott on the unloading and loading of goods destined for or coming from South Africa." This call for industrial action has been supported by the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Confederation of Labor, and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity. In Britain, the Postal Workers Union has declared a stoppage against all telephone calls, telegrams and mail to South Africa despite threatened parliamentary reprisals for interfering with the mails. While the call does not include the freeing of *all* victims of the racist regime the ILWU must actively join the boycott. The Nedlloyd Kimberley, which regularly carries cargo to and from South Africa, is scheduled to arrive in S.F. today to discharge its load. It will then proceed to ports in the Northwest, returning to San Francisco Jan. 29-31 to onload cargo for South Africa and proceed on to San Pedro. Local 10 must take the lead in refusing to handle any South African cargo already on the ship or dockside and together with Local 34 must refuse to receive any new shipments headed for the docks. To make the boycott really effective, Local 10 must fight to extend the action coastwide for the full three-week duration of the ship's stay on the West Coast. The entire strength of the ILWU including warehouse and Hawaiian sugar and pineapple locals must be mobilized in solidarity actions to prevent the employers victimizing any single port for this boycott through loss of the Pay Guarantee, the grieved ship lockout procedures, etc.

International Sabotages Effective Action

So far no official statement has been made nor has any action been taken to sanction or organize the boycott. Unofficially, Bridges' spokesman Tom Lupher stated repeatedly at last Thursday's Local 10 Executive Board that the International would back the action and that the Regional Directors would be responsible for implementation. Yet, when Gow and Keylor of *Longshore Militant* moved at the Executive Board to implement the boycott locally and coastwide, Williams, Lupher, Dulaney and Co. voted overwhelmingly to table it. The official Local 10 Southern Africa Liberation Support Committee headed by Leo Robinson had prepared no recommendation on the week's proposed actions. Thus the membership has no support from the leadership for the action.

The failure of the local and International officers to prepare the union to boycott is no surprise. They are no more willing to act to defend victimized South African class brothers than they are to mobilize the ILWU to defend itself against the current employer attacks. Ever since Local 10 voted last June to boycott South African and Rhodesian cargo, the officials have been passing the buck. In a display of gross cowardice and political opportunism, on the very eve of the August 24 South African

continued on page 10

Who Killed Ben Barka?

More than a decade ago, many of the agencies which worked hand-in-glove in the recent arrest of Abu Daoud were implicated in another explosive affair: the kidnapping/murder of Moroccan leftist Mehdi Ben Barka. The Ben Barka affair was front-page news for months in France; President de Gaulle fumed that some people evidently thought they could "take me for a fool" and publicly charged Moroccan authorities with responsibility for the crime. Nevertheless, the French secret agents involved were handed light sentences, the gangsters "disappeared" and the Moroccan assassins went free.

* * * * *

Mehdi Ben Barka was at one time tutor to Crown Prince Hassan (now king) and shortly after Morocco's negotiated independence in 1956 he was elected president of the national consultative assembly. Under the impact of the Algerian independence war he moved to the left, and together with the left wing of the traditional nationalist party Istiqlal founded the National Union of People's Forces (UNFP) in 1957.

Time

Mehdi Ben Barka

Ben Barka followed the political path of Algerian leader Ben Bella. At the fourth Afro-Asian conference the UNFP was placed in charge of overseeing the organization of the Tricontinental conference, due to be held in Havana in January 1966. Ben Barka chaired the international preparatory committee for the Tricontinental in September 1965. This meant that Ben Barka now had two bitter enemies: the Alaouite monarchy in Rabat and the CIA.

Forced into exile in 1963 because of alleged participation in a plot to overthrow the king, the UNFP leader took up residence in Switzerland. In the same year he was condemned to death in absentia for denouncing the Moroccan side in the border war with Algeria; in March 1964 a second death sentence was added based on the so-called "July conspiracy." Ben Barka was a marked man.

* * * * *

On 29 October 1965 Mehdi Ben Barka was lured to France with promises of meeting a famous film director interested in shooting a documentary on the "Third World." But just as he is about to enter the Paris restaurant where the meeting is supposed to take place, he is accosted by two French policemen. Thinking he has nothing to hide since his papers are in order, Ben

continued on page 9

Daoud Release Provokes Hypocritical Outcry

The arrest and rapid release in France earlier this month of Abu Daoud, a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) who is closely associated with the Black September terrorist group, set off a storm of imperialist and Zionist hypocrisy. The West German *Bild Zeitung* editorialized: "France lies weak, cowardly and humbled on its knees." The Jerusalem *Ma'ariv* delivered a semi-official verdict: "With cowardice, meanness of spirit and cynicism, the government of France has raised the white flag to the oil suppliers and Mirage purchasers." And in Washington president-elect Carter said he was "deeply disturbed."

This self-righteous indignation from the imperialists was pure grandstanding. Carter made a "particularly cordial" 45-minute telephone call to French president Giscard d'Estaing only two days after Daoud's release, in which the subject was never raised. The West German government was obviously less than enthusiastic about trying the PLO leader in Munich, and even the Israeli regime was not so disappointed. The Zionist rulers in Jerusalem were, of course, more than pleased at the arrest of Daoud—they were behind the whole operation—for the opportunity it gave to tarnish the growing international respectability of the PLO. But to Israel the release was as good as a trial in one respect: it embarrassed France, which has been in the forefront of European governments advocating recognition of the PLO.

Who Killed the Bookseller?

Abu Daoud was part of an official PLO delegation attending the funeral of a slain former PLO representative in France, Mohammed Saleh. Saleh, a well-known activist in the Palestinian exile community of Paris, was cut down by gunfire as he was closing his Left Bank bookstore on the evening of January 3. The American news media have been circulating speculations that he was assassinated because of internecine fighting within the PLO: Saleh allegedly supported the Rejection Front which opposes plans for a Palestinian West Bank/Gaza Strip "mini-state" as a sellout.

More probable is the hypothesis that Saleh was killed at the instigation of the legally sanctioned terror squads of Israel and France: the Mossad (Hebrew acronym for Central Institute for Intelligence and Security) and the French internal secret police, the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST). Ever since the Algerian war, when the DST and SDECE (the French "external" espionage service) received massive information from the Mossad, French spy agencies have worked closely with their Israeli counterparts. Certainly the fact that *four* PLO representatives have now been assassinated on French soil cannot be explained without at least a measure of toleration by local authorities.

Just how the arrest of Daoud came about is the subject of speculation, since the cabinet and President Giscard clearly were not informed in advance. (In fact, Daoud was reportedly detained by DST agents who trailed him from the French foreign ministry, where he had been part of an official PLO delegation that received condolences and promises of a thorough investigation into Saleh's murder from the official in charge of Near Eastern affairs!) One possibility is that the operation was authorized by interior minister Michel Poniatowski, known for his pro-Israeli sympathies and his penchant for scheming. *Le Monde* considered it more likely, however, that the DST acted on its own, without prior authorization.

At whatever level of the police hierarchy the operation was plotted, it is clear that the undertaking was an elaborate one carried out in the knowledge that it would embarrass Giscard's pro-Arab foreign policy. According to the 11 January *New York Times* the arrest of Daoud took place either minutes before or at the exact moment that an official Israeli extradition request was received by Interpol and telexed to French police headquarters. It also appears that French police officials, tipped off by the Mossad about Daoud's trip, had contacted the West German ministry of justice to obtain an international arrest warrant even before the PLO official had arrived in France.

Lichon/Gamma/Liaison

Abu Daoud in Algiers

A. Nogues/Sygma

Funeral of Mahmoud Saleh, former PLO representative assassinated in Paris.

Like the American FBI/CIA, the DST/SDECE and Mossad are bonapartist institutions which make their own laws and execute their own brand of "justice" (including covert "dirty tricks" and gangland-style executions) with impunity. Relatively immune to regulation by other branches of government, which wish to keep a respectable distance from the more sordid activities of these official hitmen, they are nevertheless an integral component of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist secret police are as racist as they are reactionary. Just as in the U.S. black organizations are a preferred target for the FBI's mafioso justice, so in France the DST/SDECE—with the aid of their Zionist colleagues and often in cahoots with fascist gangs—treat the large Arab immigrant community like scum, often assassinating nationalist militants (see adjacent article on the Ben Barka affair).

DST agents in particular wanted to get Daoud as revenge for their humiliating defeat in a June 1975 shoot-out with supposed international terrorist mastermind "Carlos" (the Venezuelan Ilych Ramirez Sanchez). In that fiasco two DST agents and a Lebanese informer were killed while "Carlos" escaped. Since then he is alleged to have taken part in several Palestinian commando operations, including the kidnapping of eleven oil ministers from the December 1975 OPEC conference in Vienna. In addition, the DST and Mossad wanted Daoud arrested in order to distract attention from the cold-blooded murder of Saleh.

Today's Terrorists, Tomorrow's Cabinet Ministers

French authorities were embarrassed into at least going through the formalities of a judicial hearing on the Daoud case partly because they had been pushing for the Common Market countries to adopt a harsh convention denying political asylum to, and allowing rapid extradition of, alleged terrorists. The agreement was approved by European foreign ministers in early November and Daoud would have been its first victim arrested in France. France had also signed a special treaty with Israel in 1975 governing the extradition of terrorists.

However, four days after Daoud's detention a special administrative court ruled that Israel had no claim for extradition, since the kidnapping at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich (which Daoud is accused of planning) was outside Israeli jurisdiction. The international arrest warrant was ruled invalid since a formal West German extradition request had not arrived. So twenty minutes after the hearing began, Daoud was packed off to Orly and placed aboard a waiting airliner bound for Algeria.

No doubt, as the Zionists claim, the French government's haste to rid itself of Daoud is linked to its assiduous courtship of the Arab regimes, both as a purchaser of oil and a seller of arms. The PLO official was arrested in the middle of a five-day visit to Egypt by the French

defense minister, a visit intended to lay the foundation for setting up an Arab arms industry by combining revenues from the oil sheikdoms with French technology. The day after Daoud's release, near agreement was announced on a $1.6 billion arms deal in which Egypt would manufacture 200 Mirage F-1 fighter-bombers under French license.

In addition, the PLO has acquired growing international respectability to the point of having official semi-governmental status in such bodies as the United Nations. The French government is on record favoring an independent Palestinian state and independent Palestinian representation at an eventual Near East peace conference in Geneva. In Paris the PLO already has near diplomatic status. Unlike the Americans, who are forever trying to "make the world safe for democracy" (through such instruments as reactionary dictatorships in South Vietnam, South Korea, Taiwan, etc.), de Gaulle and his successors have prided themselves on being realists.

Having lost two colonial wars in succession (first Indochina, then Algeria), French rulers have learned that today's terrorists may be tomorrow's cabinet ministers, ambassadors and trade representatives. With the trappings of state power comes an amnestying of the acts committed in conquering that power, making the successful overthrow of governments one of two crimes that can never be prosecuted (the other being suicide). As a French foreign ministry official told *Time* magazine (24 January): "The Arabs are the future, and we're honest enough to admit it. We realize Ahu Daoud will probably come back to Paris one day as a Palestinian government Cabinet minister."

The PLO is in the process of acquiring the attributes of state power and the Giscard government is treating it accordingly. Abu Daoud was on a semi-diplomatic mission, with the corresponding privileges that implies. Certainly an Algerian minister visiting France today would not be arrested for having shot French colons during the Algerian war of independence, nor would any other government demand or expect that. (On the other hand, it is because the Irish Republican Army bomb throwers of today are so very far from ever becoming cabinet ministers anywhere that they receive universally brutal treatment from courts and police.)

Zionist Hypocrisy

To the growing international recognition of the PLO, Israel has responded with boundless pious fraud. The Palestinian Liberation Organization is not only becoming a government in exile, but the people it represents was forced into exile by Zionist terror (previously supported by France, including with guns and Mirage jet fighters). Israel was born in the tradition of the Irgun, the right-wing terrorist organization whose most notorious (but by no means exceptional) act was the massacre of 147 unarmed civilians, mainly women and children, at the Arab village of Deir Yassin.

These traditions have been passed on to the Mossad, which has not been reticent about utilizing the organized mass terror of state power to continue the Irgun's vicious and merciless persecution of the Palestinians. The Zionist pharisees remind us of Munich and the eleven Israeli athletes who died there in order to divert attention from Israel's implacable refusal to release Palestinian political prisoners in Zionist jails and the stupidly provocative tactics of the Bavarian police. The revenge which Israel's bloodthirsty rulers exacter for Munich should not be forgotten either. Three days after the Munich events Israeli bombing raids left 126 casualties in Lebanon and 200 in Syria. On 16 September 1972 Israel again raided Lebanon, this time destroying a water filtering plant serving 70 villages, one hospital and two schools, killing 23 civilians in the process.

There are innumerable Zionist terrorist atrocities which could be recounted, with Palestinian refugee camps subjected to murderous air raids almost every time Israel has a bad day in the UN. One appropriate example, since Israeli authorities wax indignant about airplane hijackings: in February 1973 Israeli Phantom jets shot down a Libyan commercial jetliner that had strayed over Israel-occupied Sinai, killing 106 passengers. Yet the officers responsible for that unspeakable atrocity would not be arrested when on an Israeli mission to Europe. And what if the right-wing opposition bloc should win the upcoming Israeli parliamentary elections, and Menachim Begin becomes the next prime minister? Begin was the leader of the Irgun, and thus responsible for the Deir Yassin massacre. We shall see if Begin is arrested for this vicious crime when he next visits the U.S. or West Germany.

Black September

The "Black September" terrorist group was born from the bloody defeats inflicted upon the Palestinian commando groups in 1971 by Jordan's King Hussein. These commando groups threatened the stability of the feudalist Hashemite dynasty, which rested on the Bedouin desert tribes although a majority of its subjects were Palestinians displaced by Israel. Throughout 1971 Hussein sought to expel the commandos, forcing a major battle in July when concerted air and land strikes caused 1,300 casualties among the guerrilla forces. The leader of the resistance to this onslaught, Abu Ali Iyad, was taken prisoner and his corpse was later dragged from village to village behind a Jordanian tank. It is believed that he was personally tortured and killed by the then Jordanian prime minister, Wasfi Tal.

Life

Palestinian terrorist guarding Israeli captives in Munich in 1972.

Following this bloody defeat, the largest commando group, Fatah, held a congress in Damascus during August and September. The congress saw a split into two wings: the "moderates" led by Yasir Arafat and a militant group led by the young commandos who had just gone through the bloody battles and demanded retribution. As the congress closed, Hussein opened another offensive against the Palestinians in Jordan. This time the army did not seek to isolate the commandos but instead indiscriminately attacked villages and refugee camps, killing thousands of civilians.

Black September took its name from this infamous massacre. Its first action was the assassination of the unspeakable Wasfi Tal in November 1971 when he walked through the lush foyer of Cairo's Sheraton Hotel coming from a meeting of the Arab League. Initially Black September did not engage in that indiscriminate terror which draws a national rather than a class line. In December 1971 its supporters shot and slightly wounded the Jordanian ambassador in London. In February 1972 Black September blew up a gas plant in Holland owned by a company said to have close ties with Israel, and on the same day shot five Jordanian secret agents for spying on Palestinian workers in West Germany.

But in May 1972 Black September shifted its tactics and began to attack innocent victims—"guilty" only of being Israelis or Jews—with the kidnapping of a Sabena airliner. Then came the Munich attack, in which Black September commandos seized 11 Israeli athletes as hostages. Two athletes were killed by the commandos in the course of capturing the Israeli compound on the Olympic grounds; the others, plus five commandos, were killed after the kidnappers had been lured into a police ambush at Munich airport.

Black September was not an organization so much as a series of terrorist operations undertaken in that name, mainly by commandos associated with Fatah. However, Fatah and its "moderate" leadership headed by Yasir Arafat are closely associated not only with the Ba'athist colonels in Damascus and Baghdad but also with the feudalist monarchies in Amman and Riyadh. Consequently Fatah would never take direct responsibility for killing a Jordanian prime minister leaving a meeting of the Arab League. Clearly, however, after the September 1971 massacre in Jordan, Arafat's policy of peaceful coexistence with the reactionary Arab regimes was so discredited that he lost control of a section of his own movement.

The relationship between Black September and Fatah was wrapped in relative obscurity until a group of 16 commandos under the leadership of Abu Daoud was captured in Amman in February 1973. They intended to kidnap Jordanian cabinet ministers in order to dramatize the continued vitality of the commando movement after the massacres of 1971. Daoud had been a member of Fatah's leading body since 1970. While in prison he gave an elaborate confession which explicitly linked Fatah and Black September.

Shortly after the capture of Daoud's commando group two operations were carried out to win their release. In March 1973 Black September fighters unsuccessfully laid siege to the Saudi Arabian embassy in the Sudan, during which the U.S. ambassador, his deputy and the Belgian chargé d'affaires were killed. And on the first anniversary of Munich, Black Septembrists attacked the Saudi embassy in Paris, this time seizing five hostages and commandeering a plane to Kuwait. But Daoud was only released as part of the Syrian-Egyptian-Jordanian reconciliation in which Hussein freed all Palestinian commandos imprisoned in Jordan.

Abu Daoud's actual relationship to Black September and to the Munich attack is likewise clothed in ambiguity. In his Amman confessions, while admitting prior knowledge of the operation, Abu Daoud claimed he had only turned over his Iraqi passport to another commando, and that he was in Libya during the Munich events. An extremely hostile account, *Black September* by Christopher Dobson, claims that West German police "are certain" that Abu Daoud was in Munich at the time. However, recent news accounts report that West German legal experts "questioned whether the evidence against Abu Daoud was sufficient to make an extradition request stand up and, at a trial, to obtain a conviction" (*Time*, 24 January). Daoud again denied participation in the Munich events upon arrival in Algiers, but exactly what is his personal responsibility for this indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism may never be known.

At the time of the Munich massacre the professional cheerleaders for "Third World" nationalism were vociferous in their defense of the senseless kidnapping of the Israeli athletes. Most nauseating in this regard was the reaction of the French Ligue Communiste, the leading section of the European majority of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (USec). The Ligue's initial reaction was to disclaim responsibility for Black September and criticize the action as "politically ineffective," while saying that "thousands of disinherited Palestinians...correctly understand this action as an act of war against Zionism and imperialism" (*Rouge*, 9 September 1972).

But this was not enough for the USec armchair commandos. A Ligue political bureau resolution "rectified" this statement, saying: "the action of Black September must be unconditionally supported.... It is an act of legitimate violence of a people to whom international reaction and the treason of the Arab bourgeoisies have left no choice as to terrain or weapons."

In sharp contrast, the Spartacist League *condemned* the Munich attack, while also denouncing the bloody Israeli reprisals which followed and the Zionist expulsion of the Palestinian Arab people from their homeland which gave rise to the commandos' terrorism:

> "The indefensible petty-bourgeois terrorist frenzy manifested at Munich grows out of the evident Israeli consolidation of the victories carved out of the living body of the Arab peoples. Respectable world bourgeois public opinion—such as that emanating from the current butcher of Vietnam, Nixon—against the Arab terrorist violence only obscures the fundamental

continued on page 11

AP

Helicopters blown up during provocative assault by West German military against Palestinian Black September terrorists.

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Carter...

(continued from page 1)

NAACP says it "keenly resents" the appointment of this evil genius of Southern segregationism; today the AFL-CIO piecards whimper that Carter's economic programs are a "wage subsidy for already tax-pampered corporations." But where were they yesterday?

Those who today wail most plaintively about Carter's "broken promises" are precisely those responsible for putting him in office. They are the ones who hustled votes for Carter, lying about his anti-union record, excusing his "ethnic purity" remarks as mere slips and selling his empty platitudes as programs for social reforms. It is reported that the AFL-CIO's COPE spent $10 million on phone calls alone, with 120,000 volunteers manning the switchboards and ringing doorbells to elect this pro-business, anti-busing capitalist politician. Yet now that he is elected, they complain that he is acting like a racist, anti-union president!

"So what else is new?" one is prompted to ask. Beyond the all-sided cynicism characteristic of bourgeois politics generally, there is a reactionary social climate in the U.S. today. At the Senate confirmation hearings on Griffin Bell both aspects were brought out in a revealing exchange between Edward Kennedy and the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell. Mitchell denounced Bell as a segregationist. Kennedy looked at him knowingly and asked Mitchell to please explain why, if Bell's appointment would be so bad for black people, there were not mass demonstrations against it? On the one hand, the "good Senator from Massachusetts" was asking the NAACP how it expected him to "deliver" when it had itself failed to "deliver" the necessary public pressure. But his question, and Mitchell's lack of a good answer, also revealed the sharp change of social climate since the middle and late 1960's, when the outcry against a Griffin Bell would have been enough to prevent his confirmation.

Born-Again Economy?

Carter's propensity for talking out of both sides of his mouth allowed the union bureaucrats and black reformists to advertise him to their ranks as the "lesser evil." While Carter reassured his corporate backers that his first concern was the "business community" and achieving a balanced federal budget, his ambiguous statements in favor of full employment (by 1980) were acclaimed as a pledge for massive public works like the WPA. But Carter had no intention of introducing such programs.

Carter quickly discarded his New Deal talk as soon as he was elected, lest anyone take it seriously. One Midwest businessman was quoted as saying, "We thought we were in for another FDR blitz, a fast cure. But we can live with this guy." Carter's new economic program now anticipates a drop in unemployment of less than one percent this year, delays introduction of even a minuscule job training plan and scuttles the proposed $5-7 billion cuts in defense spending. His policy essentially amounts to a one-shot tax rebate—designed to buy instant popularity on the cheap—and a cut in corporate payroll taxes.

So Carter's proposals turn out to be virtually identical to Ford's conservative policies of maintaining high unemployment for the supposed purpose of holding down inflation. Even Alan Greenspan, Nixon's hapless fiscal advisor, described them as nothing more than the Ford plan "in the short run" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 January). It is, in fact, Nixonomics with a drawl.

Promises and Betrayals

By now it is an all too obvious fact that—"People's Inauguration" or no—the Carter administration looks a lot like a Ford administration, not so much a "lesser" as the *same* evil. So the labor misleaders and black liberals yell "betrayal!" Certainly, those who have sowed the seeds of illusion must reap the whirlwind of betrayal, but it is not Carter who is the betrayer. He is carrying out his appointed job as the helmsman of the capitalist ship of state. It is his bootlickers who have sold out the interests of the workers and blacks, betraying the exploited and oppressed they purport to represent.

The current hullabaloo over Carter's "team" is reminiscent of the controversy surrounding Eisenhower's cabinet appointments. The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized at the time that it was unwise to have such an obvious gallery of Big Business. Carter's more far-sighted liberal friends are giving him a

Gotfryd/Newsweek

Zbigniew Brzezinski

similar message. And, of course, there are those who feel slighted that Carter gave three cabinet seats to members of the board of directors of IBM. Conservative pundit William Safire bitterly complained: "Never in American politics has one corporation so thoroughly dominated the top levels of any administration" (*New York Times*, 17 January). But this is just sour grapes from a former member of the Nixon/ITT team.

It must be understood, however, that virtually all of the criticisms of Carter's appointments and policies are true. After all his campaign bluster about the sinister Washington politicos, he has assembled a most ominous roster of corporate technocrats, Vietnam-era policymakers and trusted cronies from the white Christian clubs and prestigious law firms of the deep South. It is a selection worthy of the all too familiar images of American capitalism: Jim Crow, Dr. Strangelove and Daddy Warbucks.

The IBM Gang

The liberals have feigned surprise over the decidedly "hawkish" tilt of Carter's appointees in foreign affairs and "defense" positions. But this year's Democratic standard-bearer was long a hardliner on Vietnam. At the 1972 governors conference, at a time when the Democratic politicians had overwhelmingly gone over to a defeatist position, Carter sponsored a resolution to not make Vietnam a campaign issue against Nixon.

For secretary of state Carter chose Cyrus Vance, of the IBM board of directors, past general counsel for the Department of Defense, secretary of the army and deputy secretary of defense. He is generally given the "credit" for overseeing the 1965 Marine invasion of Santo Domingo, and like Carter he supported Nixon on Vietnam long after this was no longer popular in many bourgeois circles.

Harold Brown, Carter's nominee for secretary of defense, as air force secretary during the Vietnam war consistently opposed constraints on bombing raids against North Vietnamese population centers. Trained as a physicist working with Edward Teller—the real-life model for Dr. Strangelove and "father of the H-bomb"—he joined the Pentagon at age 23. Brown, too, is a director of IBM.

Kissinger, whose political career was built by his powerful patron Nelson Rockefeller, is being succeeded by Zbigniew Brzezinski, the intellectual mouthpiece of David Rockefeller. Columbia University's most notorious Kremlinologist, Brzezinski is best remembered by antiwar activists as part of the government's notorious "truth squad" that toured college campuses to argue for continuing the butchery in Vietnam. In a February 1968 interview in *U.S. News and World Report* he proclaimed, "we're willing to continue for 30 years in Southeast Asia."

And for all-round token, Carter selected Patricia Harris, a black woman who claims to be so poor she couldn't afford to buy a house in Washington, D.C., several years ago. Of course, this new head of housing and urban development is also a member of IBM's board.

Carter's gang has received kid glove treatment by the overwhelmingly Democratic Congress in this "new era of good feeling between the executive and Capitol Hill"—with the notable exception of Theodore Sorensen, one of Kennedy's white knights of Camelot whom Carter had proposed for head of the CIA. Despite his demonstrated willingness to support the assassination teams of U.S. imperialism under JFK, Sorensen made the fatal error of siding with Daniel Ellsberg on releasing the Pentagon Papers—for which the "intelligence community" will never forgive him.

Griffin Bell: Symbol of "Ethnic Purity"

Most controversial of all Carter's early decisions has been his proposal of Griffin Bell for attorney general with the comment that Bell's civil rights record was "superb." The problem is that Bell's record is that of an unregenerate racist and everybody knows it.

As chief of staff for Georgia governor Vandiver in the 1950's, Bell led the "massive resistance" to integration and authored a bill which would have closed any integrated school. His claim to be a "moderate" is based on the argument that there was a more extreme bill to close down the entire school district when even one school was integrated! When open defiance no longer seemed promising, Bell continued guerrilla warfare with his "voluntary schools" plan. Of course, he favors the death penalty and opposes busing.

By Bell's "moderate stance on civil rights" we are to understand that he did not block the entrances to public buildings axe handle in hand like Lester Maddox or run around in a white sheet. Bell is a bonafide segregationist and no other name will do. That is why as part of a three-judge panel he upheld the Georgia legislature's refusal to seat the duly elected SNCC leader Julian Bond in 1966. (Bell's "defense": it was Bond's opposition to the Vietnam war, not his race!) That is why he supported Nixon's nomination of G. Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court "without reservation," although Carswell had proclaimed segregation as the "only correct way of life in these states."

That is also why he has been a member of "whites only" social clubs in Atlanta and Savannah. Bell has taken his temporary and reluctant resignation from them lightly, saying that he does so because "the Attorney General is a symbol of equality" (*New York Times*, 23 December). He added wryly that he would rejoin them soon enough: after all, "I won't be in Washington forever," said this "symbol of equality" who is really a symbol of "ethnic purity."

Then it turned out that Cyrus Vance had also seen his share of social clubs that exclude blacks, so Jimmy Carter offered his views on membership in such racist groups. "Almost every person in

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Griffin Bell

the past has belonged to some kind of club that doesn't have both women or blacks or Christians or Catholics or Protestants," he said (*New York Times*, 23 December). Almost everyone? This bizarre statement—neither true nor relevant—is in any case a racist apology for the most blatant forms of white supremacy.

Carter's choice of Bell should be no more surprising than his choice of Vietnam hawks to run Defense and State. After all, the attorney general is the top cop. He decides when to enforce capitalist law and when to break it; he presides over the FBI—the armed thugs of bourgeois rule. Nixon's man John Mitchell, a thoroughgoing crook, was the right man for the job of chief judicial thug in charge of "zapping" those on the Watergate president's enemies list. Likewise, Bell is a racist crony whom Carter can trust to loyally carry out his dirty work in preserving and defending the racist capitalist system.

The fact that a Griffin Bell could be nominated as attorney general says a great deal about how far right the social climate has shifted in recent years. If Sorensen committed a supposedly unforgiveable act by using classified information in his book on John Kennedy (what high government official writing his memoirs doesn't?), by the standards of bourgeois liberalism Bell's acts should be far more damning. Yet Sorensen got the axe and Bell's appointment is going through.

The Bell appointment gives a racist stamp to the Carter administration. But it is important to realize that his personal racism is more a reflection of

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the social reaction embodied in the Carter regime than of Bell's person. Carter knew that he could get away with the Bell nomination just as he got away with his remarks about "ethnic purity." And the ones to blame are the people who put the sinister Carter "team" in power: from hidebound conservative "labor statesmen" in the mold of George Meany to "progressives" like Leonard Woodcock or Ed Sadlowski; from the legalistic NAACP to burnt-out liberals like Julian Bond.

Break With the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

Only in the absence of a mass party of the working class can Carter's spurious populism preserve the image of the Democratic Party as the defender of the little man. And it is only by breaking with all wings of the bourgeoisie, their politicians and their agents in the workers movement; by uniting behind an independent, revolutionary workers party, that the working masses and oppressed minorities can rid themselves of the cop terror, massive unemployment and abysmal conditions that are their lot in this period of decaying capitalism. Unfortunately, however, much of the left has spent its time not in mobilizing against the class enemy but in parroting the liberals' laments against the Carter cabinet.

Thus the Communist Party U.S.A., after running a presidential campaign last fall against "no-win lesser evilism" and requiring that all those central committee members who had voted for McGovern in 1972 (guess why) would actually have to vote Communist this year, quickly dropped its "left" mask after the elections. Recalling the days of its "stop Goldwater" (i.e., vote LBJ) campaigns, the CP's *Daily World* has featured weeks of headlines denouncing Griffin Bell which carefully avoid mentioning the fundamental racism of U.S. "justice" and the Democratic Party.

Indignantly they complain that "others are qualified" to be attorney general, citing Patricia Harris and Barbara Jordan, "both black women with eminent qualifications to serve as attorney general" (*Daily World*, 21 December). Making explicit its demand for a "less evil" capitalist attorney general, the CP editorializes: "The people cannot afford to have an Attorney General with Bell's anti-union and racist record as head of the Department of Justice. The U.S. needs enforcement of the Constitution and laws, not a coverup for Big Business and the Adminstration" (*Daily World*, 6 January).

The CP's reformist illusions in capitalist justice are shared by the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party, echoing the outrage of Julian Bond and the NAACP. Willie Mae Reid, the SWP's vice-presidential candidate, asks: "Are Blacks and other minorities to expect evenhanded justice from someone who belonged to racist social clubs that exclude Blacks?" To which we can only respond: can oppressed minorities expect evenhanded treatment from a capitalist top cop who is *not* a member of such clubs? Obviously what the SWP wants to see is an attorney general who will answer its call for federal troops to Boston "to protect Blacks." Unfortunately for such social-democratic illusions, the armies, police forces, courts and attorney generals of the capitalist state are not in the business of combatting racial injustice.

Rather than preaching illusions in "democratic" and "evenhanded" bourgeois politicians, the task of Marxists is to expose the labor fakers and black misleaders who placed Jimmy Carter and his team of sinister technocrats in power. That is the first step in the unfolding of the proletarian revolution that will sweep away all the Jim Crows, Dr. Strangeloves and Daddy Warbucks of the capitalist class. ■

Ben Barka...

(continued from page 6)

Barka climbs into the waiting police car without a struggle.

The car takes him not to police headquarters but to a villa belonging to the small-time hood Boucheseiche in the Paris suburb of Fontenay-le-Vicomte. There he is held by several thugs from a private army obeying the orders of Gaullist deputy Lemarchand. With them is a certain Lopez, an agent of the Service de Documentation Extérieur et de Contre-Espionage (SDECE), France's equivalent to the CIA. That afternoon Lopez telephones the Moroccan interior minister General Mohammed Oufkir to say that "the guest has arrived."

The next day Oufkir arrives secretly by plane, accompanied by the chief of Moroccan intelligence (Chtouki) and a Moroccan lieutenant Dlimi. There is a brief "political conversation" in which Ben Barka angrily confronts his kidnappers. Thereupon the captive is shot and buried on the villa grounds.

* * * * *

The whole affair was wrapped in mystery. Much of what subsequently became known came from the mouth of one of Lemarchand's "tools," Figon, who became nervous and "spilled the beans" to a journalist from *L'Express*. However, as police closed in on his apartment he committed suicide (or was shot).

As the investigation ordered by de Gaulle proceeded it became evident that the SDECE had been informed of the plot at least a month beforehand, including eventual plans to kill Ben Barka ("disappear him"). Lopez had informed his superiors of the success of the kidnapping within a day after it occurred. But the investigation remained largely blocked until after the presidential elections. It never discovered whether cabinet ministers were privy to the plot, nor the extent of the role played by French police and the SDECE.

Of those known to be involved in the kidnapping/murder, all received light sentences or got off free. One of the policemen who detained Ben Barka was sentenced to six years in prison, later commuted to three years; Lopez received eight years. Lemarchand was at first suspended from the bar for life, but reinstated three years later. Lopez' chief, the second-in-command at SDECE, was acquitted although he knew everything yet covered up the crime. Oufkir's aide Dlimi was also acquitted, and while the Moroccan interior minister and intelligence chief were found guilty of "illegal arrest," they were never sent to prison.

Ten years later some additional information from a confidential informant was published by *Time* magazine (29 December 1975). The *Time* account stresses the complicity of Israeli intelligence:

> "Also involved in the case was Israel's CIA equivalent, known as Mossad. Although Morocco later supported Arab confrontation states in the Middle East wars, it had excellent relations with Israel after it became independent in 1956. For example, Morocco arranged, through the French, to have Mossad train its own fledgling secret service. Mossad's chief Moroccan contact was Oufkir. At one point after the Moroccans had decided to get rid of Ben Barka, Oufkir asked Mossad to obtain some poison for him. The agency declined, but later agreed to help tail Ben Barka, who was then living in Geneva."

The Cuban government alleged CIA participation, which seems likely although so far concrete proof has been lacking.

The Ben Barka affair is a classic cloak-and-dagger mystery murder, with plenty of evidence of crimes by numerous intelligence agencies and police forces. Reformists use it to buttress their general explanation of every defeat—from the 1965 massacre of a half million Communist workers and peasants in Indonesia to the 1973 coup that toppled the Allende regime in Chile—as the work of the CIA. The American spy agency is indeed involved in all sorts of murderous activities, but even the Ben Barka affair shows that the "Third World" bourgeoisies are quite capable of hatching their own counterrevolutionary plots and, despite their "nonaligned" rhetoric, remain intimately tied to the imperialists. ■

Murdoch...

(continued from page 4)

resistance journals. In the *France Soir* affair, the writers saw their limited autonomy threatened (as well as both journalists' and printers' jobs) in the cause of creating a major national daily for the Gaullist right wing. While pointing out the utopian character of calls for journalists' control of the news media, for a "better boss" or similar dead ends, revolutionaries stood with the press industry workers and journalists against the reactionary press barons and the state.

Many of these same complex and hotly disputed issues were raised in

Time cover: Murdoch as King Kong

Portugal in 1975, both in the struggle of the Rádio Renascença workers and during the *República* affair (see "Fight MFA Suppression of Left Media in Portugal!" *WV* No. 83, 31 October 1975).

Trotskyists defend freedom of the press against censorship by the capitalist state within the context of bourgeois democracy, recognizing that any attempt to limit this freedom will invariably be turned against the labor and socialist press. As demonstrated by the events in Portugal—where Catholic bishops whipped up counterrevolutionary lynch mobs in defense of Rádio Renascença and the social democrats rallied the petty bourgeoisie against the workers' plant takeovers—the capitalists will seize the issue of freedom of the press as an excuse to attack the working class.

While we oppose attempts to censor the press, at the same time revolutionaries take sides with the printing industry workers against state repression and anti-communist mobilization. But the walkout at *New York* magazine in defense of its "classy trash" against the "trashy trash" of the invading Wallaby, both because of its overtly chauvinist character and its utter triviality, serves only as a negative example of the kind of journalistic struggle which is unsupportable. ■

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Trotskyist Faction...

(continued from page 3)

ence to the NII (September 1976), it pointedly brings up the "serious disagreements" between the I-CL and the Initiative "on the analysis of the crisis of the Fourth International, expressed in our amendments to the International Initiative."

These "serious disagreements" were further expressed by the positions of the various groups composing the NII toward the popular front, and in particular the question of voting for the workers parties of popular-front formations. This is a crucial question on which the Spartacist tendency has uniquely upheld Lenin and Trotsky's categorical opposition to class collaboration. Already in 1970 we warned against giving electoral support, no matter how "critical," to any of the parties of the *bourgeois* Chilean UP coalition, a position the iSt alone has upheld while the USec ex-Trotskyists were falling all over themselves to find excuses for voting for the Stalinist or social-democratic components of popular fronts (actual or in gestation) in France, Portugal, Italy and elsewhere.

In the June 1976 Italian parliamentary elections, the Spartacusbund reprinted without comment Roberto's call for a "red vote"—i.e., indiscriminately voting for the Communist Party and its "historic compromise" or for the centrists of the Democrazia Proletaria, which gave a left cover to the Stalinists. On the other hand, the arguments advanced by the I-CL, if acted upon, would require it to take the principled position of refusing to vote for either the CP or DP (including the Italian USec).

Similarly, in the Portuguese presidential elections a few days later, the Spartacusbund first supported the USec's ill-fated joint candidate and then, after she was withdrawn, followed Roberto's lead in calling for a vote to CP candidate Pato (even though the latter had explicitly stated his support for military domination of the state and had offered to join a popular front government). The I-CL, although it typically failed to draw any conclusions, argued separately against a vote for each of the candidates. Thus the confusion reigning within the NII was no less than that in the USec, where there were at least three different positions on the Portuguese presidential elections.

Program Comes First

But if there are "serious disagreements" within the NII on everything from Roberto's theoretical flourishes to burning questions facing the entire working class, none of the composite elements currently wants to break off their "meaningful relationship." Within the Spartacusbund the "New Course" tendency (loosely linked with the Austrian IKL and the I-CL in opposition to Roberto) explicitly refuses to break with the NII. And the I-CL, after insisting on the gravity of its disagreements with Roberto, was content to raise the possibility that these mere "analytical disagreements" might become "programmatic disagreements...rendering systematic collaboration impossible." "However," it went on, "that possibility is to be determined as the outcome of discussions and collaboration, not erected as a bloc to such discussions." In short, the I-CL decided to join up first and discuss later.

In principled opposition to all the groupings within the NII, the Trotskyist Faction of the Spartacusbund insisted that a principled regroupment policy required firm *prior* programmatic agreement as the basis for a genuine international democratic centralism. The TF declaration began its list of central points for an authentic Trotskyist orientation with: "The Transitional Program is the program of proletarian

Trotskyist Faction...

(continued from page 9)

world revolution in our epoch." On the popular front it wrote: "The program and politics of such a coalition government are never anything but bourgeois through and through.... We explicitly reject every form of electoral support for parties or groups taking part in, or directly working toward, a 'popular front'."

The document reaffirmed the Leninist-Trotskyist understanding of the Stalinist and social-democratic parties as "in their essence simultaneously bourgeois and proletarian...or in Lenin's words, 'bourgeois workers parties'." This contrasts sharply to the Spartacusbund, which considers German social democracy as a bourgeois party (albeit one which the workers support). The I-CL declares outright in its founding document (December 1975) that it "characterises the Labour Party as a CAPITALIST party" (emphasis in original). This did not, however, prevent it from giving "critical" support to "Labour left" Tony Benn in the struggle for party leadership following Wilson's resignation as prime minister last year!

The Trotskyist Faction declared unambiguously that "our entire revolutionary strategy and tactics give the slogan of the workers government only one single concrete meaning, namely, as the popular term for the dictatorship of the proletariat." The Spartacusbund, on the other hand, calls for a CP/SP "workers government" in Spain to set up a constituent assembly—i.e., to renounce soviet organs of working-class power and instead preserve or reconstitute the bourgeois state.

The programmatic declaration of the Trotskyist Faction goes on to reject the Spartacusbund's tailing after petty-bourgeois nationalist movements; to insist on democratic centralism as meaning "the most complete freedom of discussion internally, along with a complete unity of action externally"; to assert that an embryonic party organization in its early stages must be a "fighting propaganda group," whose role in mass struggles must necessarily be exemplary rather than pretending to lead the masses; and to reject the Spartacusbund's perversion of the Leninist tactic of a united front for common action into opportunist propaganda blocs.

The groups of the "Necessary International Initiative" justify their wildly divergent positions by pointing to the need for discussion. Yet, in contrast to the NII, this discussion must come *before* and not after forging organizational ties. (The only half-way honest defense for this "Initiative" is that their ties don't bind them to anything anyway!) The NII is nothing but an unprincipled conglomerate of study circles based on more or less primitive workerism, capitulation to the present level of consciousness of the masses, and theoretical dilettantism.

The comrades of the Trotskyist Faction have fought a principled struggle for revolutionary regroupment based on solid programmatic foundations, the key to the arduous process of reforging the Fourth International. Toward this end, the TF co-signed, together with the iSt and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile, a leaflet distributed at the January 14 London meeting to defend SWP leaders Hansen and Novack against Healyite slanders, and held joint forums with the London Spartacist Group and the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the iSt. At the Berlin forum spokesmen for the TF and TLD announced that discussions were underway between their two groups. ■

Longshore Leaflet...

(continued from page 5)

general strike, Robinson moved to put off the boycott indefinitely by tabling it to the International for "action." Robinson's action prevented a membership vote on implementation and has allowed the International to prevent the boycott for the past 6 months despite the massacre of hundreds and hundreds of blacks. The International's sabotage comes despite its own vote in November in favor of the boycott and despite the decisively favorable response from locals in every division of the Union to a poll conducted by the International on whether to take boycott action. To ensure effective action, a strike committee elected from all boards, gangs, etc. must organize the boycott and send delegations up and down the coast to stop South African cargo.

By failing to lay the groundwork for any but the most token action, the ex-"socialists" Bridges and Goldhlatt place themselves side by side with the arch-reactionary head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany. Meany has refused outright to support the South African boycott. This vicious anti-communist labor faker accuses the ICFTU of "currying favor" with "certain repressive regimes" apparently because the boycott isn't directed at the Soviet Union as well! A faithful servant of U.S. business interests who have extensive investments in South Africa, Meany's stance is a repeat of the pro-imperialist stance he took during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Anxious for Zionist victory in a war between the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisies in which the workers on neither side had any interest, he and Gleason called for a reactionary boycott to prevent grain shipments to the Soviet Union which was supplying the Arab regimes. The founders of the Militant Caucus called then for the ILWU, ILA and all maritime workers to oppose Meany's reactionary pro-Israel scheme.

We also called on brother maritime workers in the USSR to oppose Russian aid to reactionary Arab states as we opposed aid to Israel and urged them to struggle against their false leaders for the institution of a working class soviet international policy of aid to the struggles of workers, not their bosses. Today, the ILWU, ILA and all AFL-CIO maritime unions should decisively repudiate Meany's reactionary position by solidly implementing the Jan. 17 South African boycott call.

The class collaborationist misleaders of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the various Communist Parties seem to be only nominally supporting the ICFTU call, de-emphasizing the industrial action aspect in favor of an open-ended economic boycott of all South African products. In the U.S., this week's *People's World* does not even mention the boycott call and none of the Communist Party sympathizers in either longshore or warehouse have done anything to mobilize the union. The CP's and WFTU are always eager to prevent working class struggle in order to preserve the illusory "detente" between the USSR and U.S. imperialism.

The ICFTU and WFTU demand for a total economic boycott of South Africa is primarily only a token "moral" position, which by avoiding specific industrial action by organized labor will not upset the ruling classes of the industrial world. However it is also a *dangerous* proposal. In the unlikely event that it should become effective, causing a serious cutback in South African foreign trade, the result would be widespread unemployment among the black workers and the resultant weakening of the capacity of the workers to struggle. With the exception of standing boycotts of all arms shipments to the racist regimes, boycotts should in general be limited to strikes, hot cargoing and other labor action organized to back up specific demands and concretely demonstrate international labor solidarity with the victims of apartheid terror. Furthermore, if the WFTU and ICFTU were really interested in aiding our black South African brothers they would initiate industrial action against companies with South African subsidiaries, demanding to force them to recognize black unions. Workers at the British Leyland auto works have already made such a demand.

South Africa is the most heavily industrialized country on the continent. From 1973 to 1975 a mass strike wave swept the country, uniting black and Indian workers for the first time. The government is determined to crush any acts of solidarity by white workers towards blacks since such acts open the possibility of class struggle across color lines which would not only smash apartheid but open the road towards a workers government. Establishment of a workers government through the expropriation of all major industry, mines and banks would mean the elimination of the major bastion of imperialism on the African continent. A workers government would have a profound influence on all African liberation movements which until now have been led by petty bourgeois nationalists. While they have struggled for national independence, their goal is black capitalism. A workers government in South Africa would inspire workers from Angola to Zambia to Mozambique to sweep aside their petty exploiters and establish working class rule throughout the continent.

As an important act of international working class solidarity, the ILWU and all labor must act decisively to defeat the hanning of the 24 trade unionists and to win freedom for all anti-apartheid fighters held in Vorster's jails. This week's boycott must be made 100% effective worldwide and a permanent boycott must be imposed against all military arms shipments to the racist regime. ■

Sentenced to Life At Hard Labor

PDC Demands, Free Gary Tyler!

Governor Edwin W. Edwards
State Capitol Building
Baton Rouge, LA 70804

Frustrated in its attempt to execute Gary Tyler on the electric chair, the Louisiana Supreme Court has now vindictively sentenced this innocent young black man to imprisonment for life at hard labor. Those who fought to save the life of Tyler against this racist frame-up will continue the struggle against the state's plan for his slow torture on the chain gangs of Louisiana. Stop the victimization of Gary Tyler! We demand his immediate and unconditional release! Drop all charges!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

S.F. South Africa Demo...

(continued from page 12)

on its pretensions to uphold international labor solidarity. At a Local 10 executive board meeting last Thursday, board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor (publishers of the oppositionist "Longshore Militant") moved to implement the boycott of South African cargo locally and to extend it coastwide, but this motion was tabled. After the SL-initiated demonstration on Tuesday, the Local 10 leadership felt constrained to put out a leaflet entitled "Work the Ships But Not the Cargo!" aimed at giving a militant face to its refusal to boycott the *Kimberley* as a protest action. Not only does this reduce the call for "hot cargoing" to mere tokenism, but it is evident that the bureaucrats intend to offload the South African cargo when the ship returns to S.F. later this month after visiting other West Coast ports.

Similarly last October, after South African black demonstrators had been slaughtered daily in Soweto by Vorster's stormtroopers, the ILWU Local 10 leadership backed down on implementation of its own resolution, passed in mid-July, for a "boycott of all cargo, dock or ship side, bound for or from South Africa or Rhodesia." On that occasion as well, the SL had organized a protest demonstration at Pier 27 where the *Kimberley* was arriving. Local 10 officials ordered the gang to work the ship even though the longshoremen were willing to boycott it.

ILWU president Harry Bridges and the rest of the International bureaucracy claim they are 100 percent behind the international labor protest. However, they also say it is "up to each local" up and down the coast to decide whether to handle cargo on the *Kimberley*, thus sabotaging what could be an effective demonstration of union strength and working-class solidarity. Bridges and the rest of the hack bureaucrats can sign all the protest resolutions they want, but if they don't take their words off the paper and put them onto the picket lines it's just a lot of hot air.

The liberals and Stalinists are fond of calling for on-going economic and cultural boycotts of South Africa, Rhodesia, Spain, Chile and other reactionary regimes. The Spartacist League opposes such calls as empty moralistic gestures which, if successful, would tend to isolate the oppressed workers and drive down their living standards. But there are effective tactics of labor action that the dock unions and others could use to strike a blow against the white supremacist regime. For one thing, all military cargo to South Africa should be hot-cargoed: Not one gun, not one bullet must reach the enslavers and butchers of the black masses in southern Africa.

Also, workers at "multi-national" corporations in Europe and the U.S. can and should demand that companies with South African subsidiaries recognize unions supported by their non-white workers. And class-conscious workers must seek to turn token labor protests, like the January 17-24 campaign called by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, into powerful industrial actions in support of their South African class brothers and sisters. Once again, it is the Stalinist, social-democratic and business unionist misleaders who stand in the way. ■

Egypt ...

(continued from page 1)

denounced the price increases. Long marching columns from the factories, universities and slums converged in downtown Cairo.

Although the government rescinded the increases within four hours of the first demonstration, the strikes and protests spread to Alexandria and five other cities. As the struggle heightened, Sadat closed all schools and imposed the first curfew since the bloody uprising of Black Friday in January 1952 which led to the fall of the monarchy. Police charged with riot batons, then barraged the crowds with tear-gas cannisters and finally opened fire point-blank.

For the first time in a quarter century, the Nasserite army was unleashed not against Israel but against Egyptian workers and poor. By the weekend, the official tally of the carnage was 79 dead and 566 wounded. Another 1,500 had been arrested, and the interior ministry launched a full-scale witchhunt against the left.

Claude Salhani/Sygma

Anwar Sadat

The two days of bloody street fighting show that the impoverished masses are no longer willing to suffer for Egypt's military aggrandizement. The immediate impact of the price riots is to seriously weaken Egypt as a local military power, so that Sadat's role in the upcoming Near East "peace" negotiations in Geneva is likely to be a passive one.

After three decades on the front line of the Arab bourgeoisies' "holy war" against Israel, the Egyptian masses have begun to grasp the most elementary lesson of the class struggle—*the main enemy is at home*. It is not Israeli workers and farmers, themselves oppressed by the Zionist state, who have yoked Egyptian workers and peasants to a bloated war machine, 20 percent inflation, unemployment, land scarcity, malnutrition and endemic disease. Rather, it is the strutting colonels and "new pashas," inheritors of the bonapartist military regime built by Nasser, and their imperialist overlords.

The Nasser Myth

Many in the crowds carried Nasser's portrait and chanted his name like an incantation, a sign of the widespread illusion that Sadat has betrayed the "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" program of his predecessor. But nothing could be further from the truth. The essence of Nasser's "Arab socialism" was despotic military rule, bolstered by "pan-Arab" demagogy. While its land reform struck at the landed aristocracy (excepting some big landlords associated with the nationalist Wafd party), the purpose was to generate a "national" bourgeoisie through the state sector.

Nasser, like Sadat, attempted to deflect the grievances of the oppressed with military adventures while brutally repressing the workers movement. The parasitical military which eats up over a third of the country's resources each year and the mountainous foreign debt of $14 billion are the legacy of this "Arab socialism." Sadat himself was so loyal to his mentor that he was once widely known as "Nasser's poodle," and many of the repulsive Cairene *nouveaux riches* are former members of the Free Officers who deposed King Farouk in July 1952.

Just as Nasser went begging to the Kremlin gates after being rebuffed by John Foster Dulles in the 1950's, Sadat crawled back to the U.S. when Soviet credit got tight and arms shipments fell off in the early 1970's. However, Egypt's new economic advisors, from David Rockefeller to Ford's treasury secretary William Simon, demanded not only a break with Moscow (creating shortages of spare parts for Soviet weaponry) but substantial dismantling of the state sector of the economy, lowering of an already abysmal level of existence and an "open door" to foreign capital.

In the past the country's rulers bartered the blood of the masses in return for military subsidies from the oil-rich Arab states. But with the U.S.-engineered Sinai pact of 1975, Arab "honor" no longer requires the oil sheiks to dole out financial infusions to Egypt. Last August, when Sadat requested $12 billion in development funds from Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states, the aid was pared down to $2 billion. This winter the oil sheiks delivered another blow to the myth of Arab unity by joining the imperialists in demanding that Cairo enact an austerity program. Now Sadat is reduced to the humiliating position of begging alms, not to drive the Jews into the sea but merely to insulate his shaky regime from domestic turmoil.

A rising tide of class struggle has been apparent since the strike wave of 1972. Egypt's military successes in the 1973 war only postponed the inevitable class confrontations at home. In January 1975 thousands of workers surged through the streets and threw Sadat's victory back in his face. "Hero of the Crossing [into the Sinai]," they shouted, "where is our breakfast?" In March of that year, while Kissinger shuttled through the Near East, 48,000 textile workers in the Nile delta town of Mahalla struck for a week to win a 30 percent pay hike. This September Cairo bus drivers staged a militant strike against discrimination in the award of bonuses.

Star and Crescent or Hammer and Sickle

The government routinely explains these struggles with references to leftist "agitators," blaming the January 1975 upsurge on "Trotskyists." When the interior ministry issued shoot-to-kill orders this week, it added: "It has been noted that demonstrations have taken a serious turn in sabotaging installations, utilities and public and private property under the leadership of communists." Although charges centered on a group called the Egyptian Communist Workers Party, the crackdown that followed the revolt also netted members of the pro-Moscow Egyptian Communist Party.

The line of the Moscow Stalinists, expressed in a *Pravda* article on Saturday, is that the riots are the result of a shift from Soviet to American patronage. This is, of course, consistent with the Stalinists' long seamy history of capitulation to Nasserism, which it once hailed as the embodiment of the "non-capitalist road." The Egyptian CP was disbanded in 1965 (after years of repression), and its remnants were absorbed in Nasser's Arab Socialist Union (ASU) as the quid pro quo for the Soviet-Egyptian alliance.

Following Sadat's break with Moscow, the party was reorganized, not to fight for a government of the workers and peasants but to act as a pressure group in the diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet Union. Its program was limited to Arab nationalism, and the public letter announcing its reorganization listed among the party's main tasks: "Struggle for an Arab unity possessing progressive national democratic content and based on democratic foundations" (quoted in *Daily World*, 13 December 1975).

Another *Daily World* article (20 February 1976), analyzing what it called the "polarization" of "class forces" within the ASU, hailed the "Nasserite Forum" group which wished "to maintain the progressive policies of the 1950's and 1960's. They want to keep the character of the ASU as an 'alliance of people's forces'...." But the "Socialist Union," like the Ba'athist parties of Syria and Iraq, is neither an "alliance of people's forces" nor a political party. It is the political vehicle of bonapartism which hides rule by decree behind a "democratic" facade of rallies, referenda and stage-managed elections.

While the Stalinists capitulate to bourgeois nationalist demagogy, Nasser clearly stated, "nationalism and communism are incompatible"—and arrested the Communists. If the workers' struggles are to break from the reactionary chauvinism of the Sadats and Nassers, paving the way for class unity with the working people of Israel against all the petty despotisms and murderous nationalisms of the Near East, a Trotskyist party must be built. Such a Trotskyist party must draw the lesson which both Stalinists and Arab nationalists seek to obscure: that the endless cycle of nationalist wars can be broken only by sweeping away all the sheiks, emirs, kings, colonels and generals through proletarian revolution and establishing a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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Daoud ...

(continued from page 7)

> violence of the continued denial of the rights of the Palestinian Arab population victimized by the State of Israel. Moreover, the bourgeois outcry passes lightly over the vastly bloodier retaliation by the Israeli state...."
>
> —*WV* No. 12, October 1972

We emphasized the important distinction between terrorism directed at the class enemy and random terror which is essentially racist in character:

> "Individual terror directed against the class enemy, no matter how inevitably counterproductive and substitutionist, is still an act of class hatred against oppression, and its perpetrators must be defended against bourgeois repression. But while one can understand how the plight of the Palestinian people drives groups like the PFLP and Black September to desperate and frenzied acts, nonetheless indiscriminate mass terror such as Munich or Lydda is completely indefensible. The Irgun at Deir Yassin also claimed to fight in the name of the oppressed."
>
> —*WV* No. 13, November 1972

While the seizing of innocent victims as hostages at Munich or in the hijacking of the Sabena airliner constitutes an indefensible act, this is in no way comparable in scope to the mass organized terror of the Zionist state, which wantonly and without cause shot a passenger airplane out of the sky and indiscriminately bombs Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps. It is the Zionists' forcible dispossession of the Palestinian people which has spawned the suicidal desperation of groups like Black September.

The Zionist and U.S./German imperialist outcry against France is nothing but a hypocritical cover for their own terrorist actions. Nor will these butchers dispense justice to the victims of Munich. We are unalterably opposed to Daoud or any other Palestinian militant falling into the clutches of the Mossad gangsters, the DST thugs or the West German jails and courts which have framed, murdered and driven to their deaths members of the Red Army Faction (the so-called Baader-Meinhof gang).

China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Faces 15 Years in Frame-Up Conviction

All Honor to Wendy Yoshimura!

OAKLAND, January 21—Wendy Yoshimura was convicted yesterday of illegal possession of explosives, bomb parts and an automatic rifle. The victim of nearly five years of hounding and persecution by a bourgeoisie seeking belated revenge against all who opposed its savage imperialist war in Vietnam, Yoshimura now faces the grim prospect of up to 15 years in prison.

From beginning to end Yoshimura's trial was a travesty of justice. Arrested in September 1975 in the company of Patricia Hearst and held on charges stemming from an alleged "conspiracy" to bomb an ROTC building at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, Yoshimura has been subjected to maximal legal persecution by the bourgeois state.

While Patty Hearst, prodigal daughter of wealthy capitalist Randolph Hearst, has been offered every courtesy and consideration money can buy, Yoshimura, the daughter of a Japanese-American gardener from Fresno, who was born while her parents were imprisoned in one of the U.S. concentration camps for Japanese-Americans during World War II, has received the kind of "justice" the capitalist class daily metes out to the working masses, especially minorities.

Wendy Yoshimura is being railroaded to jail despite the prosecution's inability to come up with a *single* piece of hard evidence linking her to *any* crime. Prosecuting attorney Jeffrey Horner instead sought to inflame the jury by portraying Yoshimura as a sinister and inscrutable conspirator bent on a war against "society."

Horner snowed the jury with the testimony of 59 witnesses, mostly cops, and a massive show of over 350 "exhibits." However, all these served to establish was that Yoshimura's fingerprints were found on some artists' supplies, a copy of *Selected Quotes of Mao* and several books on guerrilla warfare and weapons.

During his cross-examination of Yoshimura, Horner directed all his questions at the period *after* Yoshimura's companions were arrested—i.e., at a period that had nothing to do with the matters under prosecution.

Indicative of the mentality of this inquisitor was his contention that the following passages from a letter confiscated at the time of Yoshimura's arrest establish her criminality. "I am an adult, a woman who knows exactly what she is doing. My life is totally committed to the struggle for human justice" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 January).

Just to make sure that Yoshimura would serve some time and in order to continue the witchhunt, Horner demanded Yoshimura detail her activities during her flight. When she courageously refused to become an informer and betray those who had helped her, the judge charged her with five counts of contempt of court carrying a maximum 2-1/2 year sentence and ordered that all her testimony be struck from the record and disregarded by the jury.

It took the jury six days to arrive at its verdict, but not before at least one of the jurors was browbeaten into submission. According to the 21 January *San Francisco Chronicle*, Lucille Mitchell, a 61-year-old retired hospital housekeeper, changed her vote to guilty after other jurors "called me stupid, and I just wanted to get it over with."

In a breaking voice, Mitchell explained, "I didn't have no choice. I never did hold my head up when I went into the courtroom...if someone held out with me I could, but when everyone went against me, well...you can't hold off an army by yourself.... I got tired. I couldn't hold out no more. I hated it. I couldn't look at the girl (Yoshimura)." According to the article Lucille Mitchell was not the only juror with a troubled conscience:

> "The jurors did not look at Yoshimura as they confirmed the verdicts. One juror, a woman and the only black on the panel, looked as though she were going to cry.
>
> "When the excused jurors filed out at 9:10, Yoshimura again looked at each of them closely, and again, not one of them met the sullen look of the small, thin woman they had found guilty of three felonies, one carrying a maximum 15-year-sentence."

UPI

Wendy Yoshimura

Yet even this pliable jury was unwilling to buy prosecutor Horner's charge of possession of explosives and destructive devices with intent to injure, terrify and intimidate and to destroy property. This charge carries a possible maximum life sentence. The judge declared a mistrial on this count, allowing the prosecution the option of seeking retrial at some later date.

After the guilty verdict, Horner gloated: "This proves that the criminal justice system can work and can achieve justice." No doubt Horner and his ilk, along with their imperialist masters, the mass murderers of millions of workers and peasants in Vietnam and around the world, will sleep better tonight content with the knowledge that Yoshimura is being railroaded into prison.

For our part Wendy Yoshimura is not a criminal but deserves to be honored, not only for her militant opposition to U.S. imperialism's brutal colonial war in Vietnam, but also and especially for her courageous refusal to become an informer and betray those who helped her in her fight to evade the clutches of the bourgeoisie's cops.

Yoshimura's conviction proves the "criminal justice system" works, all right, but works for the bourgeoisie. It proves this system, resting as it does upon the cornerstones of racism, class bias and anti-communism, is rotten to the core. It cannot be reformed—it is an instrument of class oppression in the hands of the capitalists which must be smashed by the working class.

Wendy Yoshimura has been found guilty, but she has vowed to fight in every way to overturn this unjust verdict. It is critical that the workers movement mobilize to protest and expose the capitalist frame-up of this courageous militant.

All honor to Wendy Yoshimura—Free her now! Drop all charges against Yoshimura, Brandt, Bortin and Rubinstein!

S.F. Demo Against South African Transport

Week of International Labor Protest

SAN FRANCISCO—Responding to calls by international labor bodies for a week of protests against South African victimization of black unions, the Bay Area Spartacist League initiated a demonstration at Pier 27 here when South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* was due to be unloaded.

On the morning of January 18, 45 people, including representatives from the Liberation Support Movement, the Namibian Action Group, the Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition and the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) along with several trade-union militants demonstrated their solidarity with jailed black and white labor organizers in South Africa.

Demonstrators carried banners and chanted "No Dirty Deals, Make the Boycott Real!" and "Support the Labor Boycott—Stop the *Kimberley* Now!" After marching for 30 minutes, they were told by an ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) representative at the pier that no South African cargo would be unloaded that day.

Nevertheless, in a blatant mockery of the calls for international industrial action against the apartheid regime and the decision of the Local 10 membership to support the week-long labor boycott, ILWU Local 34 president Jimmy Herman was on hand to instruct longshoremen to work *all other cargo* aboard the *Kimberley*, a ship which makes a regular run between South Africa and West Coast ports. To underscore this bureaucrat's refusal to lift a finger in defense of anti-apartheid prisoners languishing in Vorster's jails, when asked if he would join the protest demonstration, Herman replied, "There's no point in joining."

The ILWU leadership has been under pressure from the ranks to make good

continued on page 10

WV Photo

Demonstration on San Francisco pier called by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in solidarity with January 17 International labor boycott of South African transport.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 143 4 February 1977

Francoist Clerical-Fascists Gun Down Leftists

Spanish Workers Will Avenge Their Dead!

JANUARY 31—Last Monday night two right-wing gunmen burst in through the door of an apartment building office on Madrid's Antocha Street and opened fire. Those in the apartment were left-wing labor lawyers known for their defense of militants of the illegal Workers Commissions; only minutes before, a delegation of a hundred transport workers had left the office. The assassins ordered the occupants to lie on the floor and then blazed away with their machine guns. Five were killed instantly and four more lay seriously wounded on a floor that was bathed with blood.

As news of this cold-blooded murder spread through Madrid and reverberated throughout Spain it provoked an immediate and massive outpouring of anger. Every politician and public figure from conservative Christian Democrats to the extreme left saw that he could be next; many went into hiding. From around the world telegrams of condolence poured in as socialists, Communists and leftists of every persuasion denounced this vile act. They all understood: it could have been them.

In the capital the working class gave its response in the streets. Over 200,000 people marched in a funeral procession for three of the slain leftists, members of the Communist Party (PCE). Periodically there would be bitter cries of "assassins!" and the crowds would strike up the "Internationale," but PCE marshals would quickly enforce silence. Barcelona was paralyzed as 200,000 workers went on strike, including a sit-down strike that took over the giant SEAT auto plant.

In the Basque country, industry and shipyards at Bilbao were brought to a standstill and barricades were erected in Pamplona to defend the workers quarters from a police onslaught. Asturian miners struck, universities closed and even the new Ford Motor Co. plant near Valencia—built away from the militant industrial belts of Madrid and Barcelona precisely in order to avoid "labor troubles"—was shut down by its newly hired "select" workforce in protest over the murders.

Europa Press

200,000 people marched in funeral procession last Wednesday for three Communist lawyers assassinated by right-wing terrorists.

These massive strikes and angry demonstrations expressed the seething hatred of the Spanish proletariat for the fascist scum who had brutally assassinated their class brothers. From the remote mining regions to the industrial belts and the university campuses there was a clear realization that this had been an attack upon all the working people. Even backward and relatively apolitical regions participated in this somber outpouring of the workers' anguish and grim determination to avenge their martyred dead.

Fascist Provocations

The Antocha attack was universally understood as a provocation by Franco-

continued on page 10

PART 1 OF 2

On the Class Nature of the USSR

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism": From Kautsky to Mao 6

LCR Begs State Crush Fascists

Fake-Trotskyists Embrace Francoist "Democracy"

FEBRUARY 1—The current crisis in Spain, growing out of a wave of rightist provocation, poses fundamental tests to all those who speak in the name of the working class. If the Antocha murders showed the mortal danger of fascist terrorists who would drown the left in a sea of blood, the angry response by hundreds of thousands of protesters demonstrates the tremendous combativity of the Spanish proletariat.

The Stalinists and social democrats join Francoist prime minister Suárez in calling on the working people to remain "serene"—i.e., to allow fascist butchers and their police protectors to command the streets. This is only the continuation of their treacherous popular-front policy during the civil war when the reformists paved the way to Franco's victory by tying the masses to "republican [i.e., bourgeois] legality."

Who, then, will lead the proletariat to crush the blue-shirted Falangist thugs and fascist gunmen, by overthrowing the capitalist state which nurtures and protects them? The crisis of revolutionary leadership is posed point-blank in Spain today.

In the last few days the police have responded to the campaign of provocation by arresting upwards of 200 *leftists* in Madrid alone. The detentions have reportedly fallen heavily on Maoist and syndicalist groups. The response of authentic communists must be to mobilize the workers in militant action—especially in the factories, where their strength as a class is concentrated—to demand the rightist repression be halted and the left-wingers

continued on page 11

Boycott "Ipi Tombi"?

"Happiness is an African musical called Ipi Tombi" beams the marquee of New York's Harkness Theatre. But there hasn't been much happiness at the theater since the South African production opened on Broadway last month. Instead there has been raging controversy surrounding the boycott organized by the Communist Party-led Patrice Lumumba Coalition, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and sundry cheerleaders for "Third Worldist" causes. The demonstrations, which began with the show's previews in late December, crested on opening night, January 12, when a thousand protesters congregated outside the theater.

Ticket-holders on their way in are barraged with pleas to boycott the production. On their way out they are handed a Lumumba Coalition leaflet filled with unalloyed moralistic outrage the likes of which have not been seen since New Leftists threatened to napalm puppies in order to force people to take a stand against the Vietnam War. The headline reads: "CONGRATULATIONS, YOU'VE JUST HELPED TO MURDER AFRICAN CHILDREN!!!!!!!!" It goes on to assail the theater-goers for complicity with the racist terror of the apartheid regime: "While you were in the Harkness Theatre, enjoying yourself.... you never thought that you'd be an accomplice to the next group of murders in South Africa did you? Think of that—you participating in genocide. How thrilling."

The show's producers have been worried by the flagging attendance, at least partly the result of boycott publicity, and in the lobby they distribute a handbill proclaiming, "What They're Saying About 'Ipi Tombi' is a Lie." The Madison Avenue ad writers who obviously composed it state that the South African government "has nothing whatever to do with this show," and assert that, while it is "an entertainment," it also deals with "menial work and lack of opportunity for the Blacks in South Africa." Plaintively, the flyer asks: "How did we become the victims of this attack when we share the same hopes for liberation."

The furor spread to the entertainment pages of NYC newspapers as well. The *New York Post* panned the show, likening it to a Yiddish folk troupe touring out of Nazi Germany; the *Wall Street Journal*, on the other hand, lauded "a rousing African musical" for its "beautifully conceived, well performed, downright invigorating representation of something that has been happening in much of black Africa in this century—that is, the acceptance of new ideas without the surrender of old ones." The *New York Times'* Clive Barnes found the controversy regarding the presentation "more interesting than the show itself," which he termed "a genial bore."

What is all the uproar about? Is "Ipi Tombi" an apolitical frolicking musical or a vehicle for soft-core apartheid propaganda from the murderous Vorster regime? Is the audience merely engaging in harmless entertainment, or are they really "accomplices in genocide"? Should the show be boycotted, protested or ignored? In answering these questions, both the *content* and *context* of the production must be considered, and above all the question of a generalized, permanent boycott of all things South African as advocated by various liberals and reformists.

Entertainment or Apartheid Propaganda?

The boycott literature calls "Ipi Tombi" the "latest propaganda project to hit the U.S. from South Africa." The SWP's *Militant* (14 January) says the boycotters "blasted the show for its exploitation of Black African artists and culture as well as its false portrayal of what life for Black people is like under apartheid." In response the flyer put out by the producers says that two of the songs in the production are banned in South Africa, and supporters of the show cite lyrics about "starvation in the city of gold."

WV Photo

Demonstrators call for a boycott of South African musical "Ipi Tombi."

We do not know the political views of the musical's white South African creator, Bertha Egnos, and what, if any, message she intended to convey in "Ipi Tombi." The show's "happiness" theme certainly presents a false portrayal of the miserable conditions on the dirt-poor tribal "bantustans." In the opening scene the narrator recalls life in "my village," remarking "It was a busy time because we always seemed to be singing and dancing." Even the more somber scenes of life in the mines don't go beyond vague hints at the unrelieved brutalization and exploitation in the labor compounds. The song "Workday in the Mine" concludes with a lament: "A man can stand strong, but still things go wrong; tell me, who is to blame?" This question—the most political point in the entire production—never receives a direct answer, but the Zulu warrior beckoning from the horizon suggests one: the miner should never have left his village.

The boycotters say "Ipi Tombi" is racist and distorts African culture. But it should not be surprising that a show of this genre is filled with racist stereotypes; it is hard to think of a popular entertainment about blacks in America that is not, from "Superfly" films glorifying ghetto drug pushers to TV shows about "happy" middle-class black families. As for cultural distortion, "South Pacific" with its "happy talking" islanders is probably a good deal worse than the up-beat renditions of Zulu and Xhosa folk acts in "Ipi Tombi," choreographed and arranged to appeal to popular Western taste.

"Ipi Tombi" is a musical, and like most musicals it sentimentalizes its subject matter. It is a collection of dances and songs around the theme of the uprooting of villagers, the corruption of urban life and longing to return to traditional tribal life. However, these motifs are common to folk culture in just about every area of the world that is undergoing industrialization. The supposed purity of village life is a favorite theme of African nationalists in particular, and most of the dances in "Ipi Tombi" could have been performed by any number of black African dance troupes. It appears, in fact, that the show played in Nigeria as well, under the auspices of the National Theatre, a point made by the defenders of "Ipi Tombi" which the boycotters never answer.

But South Africa is not Nigeria or Guinea. "Ipi Tombi" can be accused of support for apartheid, but mainly for what it omits rather than what it actually says. To portray life in the "tribal homelands" without once mentioning the word "bantustan" is a distortion of reality; to talk of returning to the village without even hinting at the fact that more than *six million* black South Africans have been forcibly returned to the "homelands" by police round-ups is to prettify the white supremacist terror. The implicit political content of "Ipi Tombi" particularly stands out now after the Soweto massacre when the heroic struggles of the black and "coloured" masses shook the apartheid state to its foundations.

Any work of popular entertainment that portrays the inhabitants of Vorster's bantustans as living in a state of Garden of Eden innocence is at least tacit apologetics for the racist status quo. But even so, "Ipi Tombi" remains primarily a cultural event rather than pro-apartheid propaganda. It is significant that until the show opened in New York, although it had toured extensively outside South Africa it was not attacked for its *content*. There are plenty of better targets for anti-apartheid protest.

Protest or Boycott?

A work of art or popular entertainment can, of course, have reactionary political content and as such be a suitable focus for mass protest. John Wayne's "Green Berets" movie was as much an apology for U.S. imperialism's Vietnam war as a Lyndon Johnson press conference. A militant demonstration on the opening night of "Green Berets" would have been legitimate, effective and highly desirable. However, to organize a general boycott of the film, to demand that people not see it, would have been an act of stupid, liberal, totalitarian moralism. Those who went to see "Green Berets" were not by that act any more or less supporters of the Vietnam war than those who watched LBJ speeches on television or read the editorials in the New York *Daily News* or *Chicago Tribune*. They were not thereby "accomplices in genocide."

It would be wrong and unfair to equate "Ipi Tombi" with "Green Berets." John Wayne's film was produced deliberately and purely as chauvinist pro-war agitation, while this musical's tacit support for apartheid is primarily by omission. But even where the reactionary content is quite explicit and deliberate, the context is crucial in determining the appropriateness of protest action. Thus, for example, the American musical comedy "Pajama Game" is the most disgusting sentimentalization of labor struggles in the garment industry. In song, dance and dialogue it presents falling in love with the boss as the solution to a strike. When "Pajama Game" played on Broadway it was, of course, not primarily political propaganda for the garment bosses; but in the unlikely event that during a real-life strike it were played as a political demonstration against the strikers, then it might be a suitable target for protest.

Context is even important when dealing with a work of intentional political propaganda presented in a cultural medium. For example, Leni Reifenstahl's classic "Triumph of the Will" is both a piece of Nazi propaganda and an important film for its innovations in documentary technique. If it were shown at a campus film society there would be no reason to protest it, but if the same movie were shown at a meeting of the American Nazi Party it would not only be appropriate to demonstrate but even to bust up the event.

Labor Dispute in London

The boycott question has been clouded by a labor dispute in the London production of "Ipi Tombi." Last November on-stage demonstrations over wages and working conditions led to the suspension of four cast members. According to the 4 December *News Line* (the British Healyite newspaper), one of the suspended leaders of the protest, Trusty Ntuli, returned to South Africa where he was arrested. This sparked a December 3 demonstration in London outside South Africa House. And when the rest of the cast was

ordered to return to South Africa to "begin rehearsals" for the New York run, a number understandably refused to do so. They were then dropped from the cast and new performers were hired to replace them.

As a result of these anti-labor actions, some cast members wrote to the American black-oriented women's magazine *Essence*, suggesting a *protest* on the New York opening night. This would have been supportable, but it is not what happened. No signs at the demonstrations appeared demanding the rehiring of the London actors (who have since gone on to form their own separate company). Nor were any of the victimized cast members mentioned in signs or chants. The New Left *Guardian* coverage and support of the boycott failed to mention the labor question at all, and most telling, the Lumumba Coalition wrote in its leaflet that the group had plans to boycott the show for a month prior to learning about the London dispute, adding: "The issue we are raising here is not the wage scale or differential of the cast in this production."

This boycott has nothing to do with the London labor dispute. At most the boycotting groups use it as a cynical fallback argument to appeal to trade unionists.

Against a Cultural Boycott of South Africa!

The present action against "Ipi Tombi" is part of a general policy of boycotting everything South African, from diamonds to dance—a policy advocated by the Stalinists and certain left liberals. This is a completely utopian scheme reflecting, at bottom, liberal moralism. To the extent that it is successful, such an economic boycott would foster unemployment for the oppressed non-white working people and thereby indirectly *strengthen* the apartheid system. We do not begrudge the 25 black South African actors and actresses of the "Ipi Tombi" company the opportunity to get out of the white supremacist hellhole, to earn several hundred dollars a week to take back with them or, if they choose, to refuse to go back. It is certainly anomalous for the *left* to tell them to go home.

South Africa's black masses need broad international contact, not cultural isolation. In this regard, it will help put the "Ipi Tombi" controversy in perspective to recall the Stalinists' response to the South African play "Sizwe Banzi Is Dead." The Stalinist-led African National Congress attacked the actors of "Sizwe," John Kani and Winston Ntshona, for failing to respect the ANC's call for a "complete, total economic, athletic, cultural boycott of South Africa."

What had the actors done to deserve this criticism? They performed a moving dramatic statement against apartheid and the bantustan system in the Transkei bantustan itself. Although they were arrested for their defiant performance, they earned the wrath of the ANC because the Transkei was on their boycott list.

In an article in defense of Kani and Ntshona when they were jailed by Vorster's regime we wrote:

> "It is not only a good thing that anti-apartheid plays be performed on Broadway.... They must also be performed before the victims of apartheid who are systematically deprived of cultural (or any other) means of expressing their outrage at their condition. For their courageous choice to perform their work under trying and dangerous conditions imposed by the vicious Vorster regime, Kani and Ntshona deserve the applause, not the criticism, of foes of apartheid."
> —*WV* No. 130, 22 October 1976

The advocates of boycotting South Africa take the same line against the anti-apartheid work "Sizwe Banzi Is Dead" as they do against "Ipi Tombi." The difference is that it is easier to rally support for boycotting "Ipi Tombi" because of its implicit acceptance of the racist status quo. While it does prettify the bantustan system, "Ipi Tombi" is *not* a deliberate and important statement in favor of apartheid. This fact, combined with our opposition to a general boycott of South Africa and to political censorship of culture, is why we do not involve ourselves in the campaign against "Ipi Tombi."

A contrast to the "Ipi Tombi" boycott was provided by the principled and effective protest action last March by the Spartacist League and others (notably Communist Party-led Chile committees) against the Chilean singing group, Los Huasos Quincheros. These scum had gone on Chilean national television immediately after the bloody 1973 coup to swear allegiance to the reactionary Pinochet junta. They were officially sponsored in a propaganda effort to counteract the popularity of other Chilean folksinging groups, notably the Inti Illimani, that had toured worldwide in benefits and concerts protesting the junta. Tickets were distributed by the Chilean embassy and consulate, and it was reactionaries who came to express their support for Pinochet.

WV Photo

Militant pickets jeer junta-supporters outside concert sponsored by the Chilean junta in New York last year.

The *momios* (mummies), as they are called in Chile, were jeered by the demonstrators. We did not care that some of these reactionary junta backers could not get through the line of fist-waving demonstrators to see their "cultural event." This was no cultural event. It was not the musical content but the understood political purpose of the performance that made a one-time protest action, not a boycott, effective as a statement of outrage and an exposure of the terror policies of the Pinochet regime.

It is possible that another cultural event will serve as a demonstration of solidarity with the bloody Vorster regime in South Africa. In that case, we will again be in the front line of protesters against any celebration of apartheid terror. But "Ipi Tombi" is not that, and by attending it theater-goers do not become scabs or supporters of white supremacy. They just waste their money. ■

WL/SL Exchange on Workers Democracy

Look Who's Calling Us Comrade

New York, N.Y.
January 23, 1977

Dear Cde. Robertson:

I wish to call to your attention that in recent weeks members of your organization have sought to disrupt both the political work and public meetings of the Workers League and Young Socialists.

On Saturday, December 4, 1976, your organization staged a provocative demonstration outside the election headquarters of the Workers League in Los Angeles. One of our members was physically attacked and thrown through a pane-glass window. The actions of your organization resulted in bringing the police to the scene. As you know, the police raided these election headquarters over the summer, and your demonstration gave them still another opportunity to harass our members.

Less than a week later, in Toronto, two members of the Canadian Workers League were physically attacked by 12 Spartacist members—some of them Americans—as they attempted to distribute leaflets on the university campus to advertise a public meeting.

On Wednesday, January 19, 1977, 13 members of Spartacist physically threatened members of the Young Socialists and prevented them from holding a meeting at California State University in Los Angeles.

Such provocations and use of violence play into the hands of the police and the most reactionary class forces. They can only damage the socialist movement. I urge you to abandon this provocative policy and call your members to order.

Fraternally,
David North,
National Secretary, Workers League

New York, N.Y.
27 January 1977

D. North,
Workers League.

Dear Comrade,

We have received your letter of 23 January. It is evidently either (a) itself a provocation designed to facilitate frame-up attempts by you in connivance with bourgeois police authorities, and/or (b) a tacit announcement, possibly as a result of the current relationship of forces between us, that your organization is contemplating some change in your years-long standard practice against us (as well as other socialists). Both in the U.S. and abroad this has consisted of the eager use of your own violence, limitless slander, and where possible, the employment of the police to do your dirty work. These are facts which can, for example, be testified to first hand by sellers of any other socialist newspaper at your meetings over the years.

WV Photo

In L.A., December 4, WL goon screams: "Get that camera!"

We have commented as appropriate in our public press on the motives and purposes behind your long and unbroken record of all-sided attempts to suppress and destroy the processes of workers democracy and we see no reason to pursue these matters here.

As for the particulars which you presently allege, our *Workers Vanguard* has already noted the very different reality of such incidents (and many others).

Especially significant is the fact that the last two major assaults by your people that we know of were centrally against cameramen in front of Healyite meetings. These comrades were attempting to deter or failing that docu-

continued on page 10

WV Photo

WL thug (holding club) threatens WV salesman and SL supporters in L.A.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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New York Spartacist Forum

Reforge the Fourth International!

Close to 200 Spartacist supporters and a scattering of opponents attended a New York City forum last Saturday to hear James Robertson, national chairman of the Spartacist League/U.S., speak on the topic, "Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International."

Evaluating the state of the class struggle in different regions of the world, the speaker began by noting a reported breaking down of traditional paternalistic relations which have bound the Japanese proletariat to its industrial masters. While noting the historic failure of Trotskyism to root itself in this nation, the economic pivot of Asia, he predicted the opening of a period of intensified class confrontation.

Comrade Robertson characterized the revolutionary turbulence in the Mediterranean region of Greece, Italy and Iberia "which are historically impoverished, undercapitalized...and unstable from the standpoint of a revolutionary proletarian assault. Therefore this is right now the region *par excellence* of the popular front. An old-fashioned stable coalition of social-democratic labourites and liberal bourgeoisie isn't good enough," he added. "You've got to have revolutionary slogans in order to deceive the masses, because the conditions of life are qualitatively less tolerable. So you find popular frontism: into the rest of the sellout broth you drop a hammer and sickle."

"In Italy, the great hope is that the Pope and the Communist Party will make a deal. It's called the Historic Compromise."

The speaker described the safety valve mechanisms which have tended to deflect the impact of the economic contradictions in Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries where powerful social-democratic and Stalinist parties have kept the organized workers under control while the problem of unemployment is solved by deporting immigrant workers back to the villages of the Mediterranean basin. Britain, however, hovers on the edge of economic collapse, with all the objective preconditions for a working-class upheaval.

The British left, historically accustomed to the political hegemony of the fossilized British Labour Party, cannot conceive of the possibility which we seek—the polarization and destruction of this reformist obstacle. The international bankers are more far-sighted: the speaker quoted a *New York Times* editorial page article of 6 December 1976 which envisaged just this possibility.

> "The response of foreign lenders has to be finely calibrated: Massive austerity could produce a violent reaction that would be harmful to both major parties.... A return of the Tories with mounting unemployment could well turn the hope of social peace to the certainty of social conflict. The Labor Party might finally split; a new socialist party, with a Trotskyist core and its class anger, would constitute the most radical party in Europe."

On the U.S., the speaker commented: "The very nakedness of this government's lying and hypocrisy, the greed of the bourgeoisie and the inability to do anything about it in any apparent way have created an enormous amount of explosive social material in America looking for an outlet." While this also leaves open the possibility for the growth of fascism, Robertson observed that, unlike its European counterparts, the American fascist movement is "happily one of the smallest and most pitiful, rotten and disgusting fascist movements of any of the major imperialist countries."

Contrasting the American AFL-CIO with the French Stalinist labor bureaucracy—a sophisticated apparatus with roots going back to the Paris Commune and quite competent at rescuing the bourgeoisie from revolutionary crises such as that posed by the 1968 general strike—the speaker remarked on the brittleness and rigidity of the U.S. union bureaucracy. "Can you imagine the AFL-CIO dealing with general strikes?"

He added, "The principal grievance we have with organizations in this country such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party is that they're all geared up to play the role of rendering it less brittle, more elastic, more flexible." The SWP has used its Young Socialist Alliance to prepare "one thousand youth instantly to be hired as assistant educational directors and assistant editors of union newspapers" in its ambitions to serve as social-democratic handmaiden to the labor bureaucracy.

WV Photo

Discussion period at Spartacist League public forum held January 29.

Comrade Robertson reported on the most recent developments in the faction-ridden "United" Secretariat (USec). He noted with particular interest the "Self-Criticism on Latin America" by the steering committee of the International Majority Tendency led by Ernest Mandel et al., whose vicarious guerrillaism the speaker described as "catering to the impressionism of South American and European youth who thought that you go out and pick up the gun and a bit of plastique and preferably some stereotyped peasants, and away you go. Lenin and Trotsky were really old hat, if they weren't crypto-opportunist." In their self-critique, the IMT honchos renounce their previous tailing of Guevarist adventurers and proclaim that the SWP-led reformist minority had been right all along on Latin America. In response the minority has now proposed to dissolve its own faction!

Concerning this latter tendency the speaker remarked: "The Socialist Workers Party—write them off. Simply, unconditionally, totally; as an organization, write them off. They are reformists. They are locked hopelessly into bourgeois democracy, constitutional processes and a touching faith in all capitalist cops, courts and judges." He pointed out their actual motive for offering peace to the IMT: they lost all hope of acquiring a majority themselves when their bloc with the Argentine PST fell apart.

The PST has now gone on to found the "Bolshevik Tendency" with much of the Spanish-speaking component of the splintered USec. Because of the bloody repression which the Argentine left now faces, "the PST cannot swallow the pure legalism, constitutionalism, passivity, pacifism of the would-be social-democratic SWP. How can you believe in pure legality when agents of that legality are killing you?"

Observing that the Bolshevik Tendency has positions on Angola, Portugal and elsewhere which formally parallel those of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), the speaker recounted PST leader Nahuel Moreno's sordid past: how he for several years put out a newspaper whose masthead proclaimed it was published "under the revolutionary discipline of General Perón"; how the PST pledged its support to the "continuity" and "institutionalization" of the second Peronist regime. It is the record of an inveterate reformist. The fact that the PST can sound like Marxists on Angola or Portugal (just like Moreno's earlier, very orthodox-sounding polemic against Guillermo Lora on the Bolivian Popular Assembly) shows not that they are misguided but rather the opposite: that they are fully *conscious* renegades from Trotskyism.

While excoriating all three wings of competing revisionism, Robertson pointed out that "the USec is the principal ostensible international repository of what claims to be Trotskyism. And therefore we have the not overly happy task of pointing out that this is not Trotskyism." If, he added, under the pressure of revolutionary events such as might have developed in Portugal, a wing of the USec were to polarize around genuine opposition to popular frontism and in favor of dual power and a Leninist party, our tendency would welcome the opportunity to join with such elements in common opposition to the reformist and centrist USec leadership.

As a model for the principled programmatic basis necessary for such a regroupment, the speaker outlined the key points of a draft declaration by Trotskyists expelled and driven out of the USec who now adhere to or support the iSt:

- No political or electoral support to popular fronts; for conditional opposition to workers parties in open or implicit class-collaborationist coalitions;
- Uphold the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution; for proletarian leadership of the national/social struggle;
- For military support to petty-bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism, but absolutely no political support to such forces; for Trotskyist parties in every country;
- For unconditional defense of all the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism; for political revolution against the bureaucracies; no political support to competing Stalinist cliques and factions;
- Against violence within the workers movement;
- For communist fractions in the unions, based on the Transitional Program;
- For the communist tactic of the united front from above; for the tactic of regroupment to unite subjective revolutionists in the vanguard party; for intransigent exposure of centrism;
- Rejection of the claims of ostensibly Trotskyist Internationals to speak for the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism in 1951-1953;
- For the reforging of a democratic-centralist Fourth International which will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Robertson noted the rich opportunities open to the iSt as a result of the decomposition of the USec and of the evident disorientation of much of the Maoist movement, but observed that most of these opportunities present themselves where our forces are qualitatively weaker, outside of North America. "In the U.S. we regrouped ourselves out of chances to have fusions with forces that are close to us."

Unlike the SL/U.S.'s opponents, which have undergone considerable fragmentation in the last, relatively unfruitful period, the Spartacist League has demonstrated its political and programmatic cohesion. "Mercifully, for a number of years we have had no significant forces in our organization that want to insurrect against either the party program or the party administration." The speaker cited the recent trade union Active Workers Conference as evidence that "It's clear that particularly over the last five years of intensive industrialization, proletarianization, that we have already acquired a significant, effective and strong cadre of communist trade-union militants who can act as a corrective in this organization."

In his presentation, Robertson had noted the replication within the ostensibly Trotskyist movement of all those revisions and mutilations of the revolutionary program which have plagued the workers movement for over a century. Today especially, "Trotskyism has become an 'in' word" among those who would adopt a radical posture free from the taint of Stalinist betrayals, but whose politics are in fact quite remote from those of Trotsky and his heirs. As if to illustrate this point, the discussion period was punctuated by an indignant hue and cry from two such groupings, who—despite diametrically opposed differences with the essential core of Trotskyism—united for the occasion to condemn the SL from the standpoint of cheerleaders for petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Unable to respond to the revolutionary proletarian program of the iSt, these charlatans charged the SL with "racism" because the speaker referred to anti-Semitic prejudices of many ghetto blacks and the prevalent tendency for lumpen blacks to identify Jewish shopkeepers as the class enemy. The League

continued on page 9

Bandaranaike Breaks Island-Wide Strikes in Sri Lanka

by Edmund Samarakkody

COLOMBO, January 16—The railway workers strike which paralysed the railway services for nearly 30 days, and the strikes in other government departments and workplaces—involving in all over 75,000 employees on the issues of loans, wage increases, etc.—ended in the face of severe repression by the SLFP/CP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party/Communist Party] coalition regime, facilitated by the treachery of the CP and SLFP trade-union leaders, and the failure of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party] to sustain and develop the strike movement.

However, what was dramatically manifest in these strikes was that the ever-rising cost of living in conditions of virtual wage freeze had reached the breaking point for workers and wage earners, both in the government and private sectors, and that large sections of the workers in the trade unions had taken the first steps to bypass their reformist leaders, to take the road of struggle as the means of winning their pressing demands.

What commenced as agitation by a group of workers in the major railway workshops (Ratmalana) on the issue of a loan of Rs. 500 to meet especially the high costs of school books for their children, and also the rising costs of food and other essential consumer goods, soon became a strike of all workers in the workshops at this factory on December 15, involving over 5,000 workers.

Within a week, this strike spread to the other railway workshops in Colombo and the out-lying stations; simultaneously, engine drivers, railway guards, station masters and other sections of railway workers—in all, over 26,000 workers—brought the railway services to a complete standstill on December 21.

The strike at this stage was sponsored by the United Front of the Railway Trade Unions, and the issue was not the single demand of a loan. Eight other demands, including wage demands, were raised by the striking unions.

That the issue of increased wages was a burning question for all government workers soon became manifest by the escalation of the strike movement to include workers of numerous government departments and workplaces: the port of Colombo, two government-owned machine tool factories, telecommunications and government clerical services—including such services in the local governments, the municipal councils, town councils, etc.—involving over 30,000 hands, and also a partial strike of 'bus' workers of the Ceylon Transport Board.

While workers and employees of other government workplaces were readying themselves for strike action, both in sympathy with railway workers and also on their own demands, wide sections of workers in the private sector were pressuring their respective leaderships to take strike decisions.

The significant feature of the railway strike as well as the other strikes that followed was that it was propelled by a rank and file movement. The several union leaderships which included the LSSP, CP, SLFP, and UNP moved to sponsor the railway strike only after the strike had taken place.

What was specially noteworthy was the high degree of militancy displayed by the strikers. Striking workers in all strikebound places defied the government's "essential service order," in terms of which they were to lose their jobs through participation in strikes declared illegal by this order. They were also exposed by the same order to court charges, imprisonment and confiscation of property.

Nor was there any doubt in regard to the strength of the strike movement and the impact of the strikes on the government-organised public services. Here is what Prime Minister Bandaranaike had to say in her message to the nation on December 29, even before the strikes spread to the government clerical services, etc.:

> "The public have already suffered as a result of the railway strike. The crippling of the railway services does not only mean inconvenience to passengers, especially office workers, but it also seriously affects the movement of food, fuel and other vital commodities, such as fertiliser, which are all so essential to the life of the community. Already, shortages of rice and serious shortages of kerosene have been reported from various areas of the country as a result of the dislocation of the railway services.... Added to all this, the strike has affected refuelling at B.I.A. (Bandaranaike International Airport) and the provision of bunkers to ships resulting in loss of foreign exchange at this critical time...."

In this context, there was a real possibility of the strikes being developed into a general strike against the government on economic as well as political issues, such as ending of the State of Emergency and the restoration of democratic rights, and the release of all political prisoners, which were the subject matter of previous agitation especially by the LSSP and other left parties and groups outside the coalition alliance.

The reaction of the Bandaranaike government to the strikes was not difficult to guess. Far from being ready to grant any wage concessions to the workers, the government was categorical in its denunciation of the strikes as unreasonable and unjustified, and that they were politically motivated. On the other hand, as the smashing of the trade unions and the left movement was the government's perspective, these strikes could well be an opportunity to take some meaningful steps in that regard.

For the government there were two possible ways of seeing an end to the strikes: one through the fizzling out of the strikes and the other through government repression.

Far from showing any signs of fizzling out, even after 15 days the strike movement was growing and widening, with newer sections joining it. It soon became obvious to the government that repression was the only means to end the strikes. However, the government understood that sometimes repressive measures could well escalate strikes, leading to real confrontations with the organised working-class movement.

But the government had sufficient knowledge in regard to the quality of the trade-union leaderships in this strike, not to entertain unnecessary fear concerning the resort to repression. The truth about these strikes was that they were leaderless. In such a context, government repression would very probably lead not to confrontation but to disintegration of the strike movement. And that was precisely what happened.

In regard to the SLFP trade-union leaderships, they were in the strikes only because their workers were participating in a real way in the strikes, but these leaderships were out to break these strikes both from within and from outside the unions. The SLFP trade-union bureaucrats did not hesitate to denounce the strikes and called upon their members not to remain in the strike which was "politically motivated." But it was by no means easy to get their workers out of the strikes.

The reaction of the SLFP workers to the directions from their trade-union bureaucrats to become black legs [scabs] was significant. They not only openly rejected this treacherous call, but they also brought home to these leaders graphically what they thought of their leaders. SLFP strikers put up posters in Colombo offering a reward to anyone who succeeded in arresting their leader, Alavi Moulana, who was the chief organiser of black legs for the government!

The CP adopted a more shameful but more treacherous tactic. After observing deliberate silence during the first few days of the railway strike, the CP paper *Attha* began to give screaming headlines indicating their support for the strikes. What is more, this paper sought to impress that it was the CP that was in the leadership in this strike movement!

continued on page 9

20 Years After Serving Sentence

"Tokyo Rose" Pardoned

As Gerald Ford left office he pardoned Iva Toguri d'Aquino. One among at least a dozen radio announcers broadcasting to U.S. servicemen from Japan during World War II who were known collectively as "Tokyo Rose," Iva d'Aquino was singled out for prosecution after the war when she refused to renounce her U.S. citizenship. Though the Allied POW officers who ran the program she broadcast were not prosecuted, she was convicted of treason in 1949.

AP

Iva Toguri d'Aquino

The racist U.S. imperialist war machine wasn't satisfied by dropping atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and herding the entire West Coast citizenry of Japanese descent into concentration camps; it couldn't resist the petty and vindictive prosecution of the one accessible Tokyo Rose to symbolize the defeat of Japanese imperialism. Caught in a trap, Iva Toguri d'Aquino found her life torn to shreds in the storm of racist and chauvinist hysteria. She and her husband were permanently separated as he was banned from entering the country and she was banned from leaving; she was deprived of her U.S. citizenship and handed a ten-year prison sentence along with a $10,000 fine (see "In Defense of Tokyo Rose," *WV* No. 139, 7 January).

Her trial was a farce. She was behind bars for two years before even coming to trial before an all-white jury; Japanese witnesses could be subpoenaed only by the prosecution. Among those who have recently spoken out in defense of d'Aquino is the jury foreman at her trial. He has admitted that the jury convicted her on the one count of treason out of the eight she was charged with only because of pressure from the judge and the pervasive climate of anti-Japanese sentiment, saying he wished he had "had a little more guts to stick with my vote for acquittal" (*New York Post*, 18 January).

So now everyone from the Japanese American Citizens League (which was afraid to defend her in 1948) to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to the Los Angeles city council (which has rescinded its 1948 resolution opposing her re-entry into the U.S.) thinks Tokyo Rose should be pardoned. This token gesture which will restore her citizenship is an insulting piece of liberal hypocrisy, coming as it does after she had already spent six-and-a-half years of her life behind bars until her release in 1956. Working as a clerk in an import firm, it took her until 1975 to pay off the fine—yet it is only now that she is pardoned.

The smug liberals feel they have washed their hands of an embarrassing affair and justice has been done. Iva Toguri d'Aquino says she bears no grudge. But if justice had really been done, those who framed her up would now be standing in the dock. Though it seems small compared to the imperialist war crimes, the 30-year persecution of this innocent victim of circumstances, like the vicious injustice done to the Scottsboro Boys (the last one of whom was pardoned in November), is one more proof that bourgeois "democracy" is but a mask for inhuman oppression. ■

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism"

The following is the introduction of a forthcoming Spartacus Youth League pamphlet which brings together several recent articles from Workers Vanguard *and* Young Spartacus *on Maoist economics, attempts by apologists for the Chinese bureaucracy to explain a supposed "restoration of capitalism" in the post-Stalin USSR and theories of "state capitalism" generally.*

Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution, differences over the nature of the Soviet Union have been the single most important question underlying the principal divisions within the international workers movement. Almost

PART 1 OF 2

immediately after October the social democrats condemned Lenin's soviet government as a historic step *backwards* from bourgeois democracy. As early as 1919, Kautsky declared the USSR to be "state capitalist," ruled by a "new class" of bureaucrats.

A few years later disillusion set in among the anarchists, particularly over Kronstadt. They denounced Lenin's centralist regime as a "dictatorship of the party" and repeated the Bakuninist dictum that the state is the fundamental source of all social oppression. Then, after the institution of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921 and with the emerging Stalinist bureaucratization,

Karl Kautsky — Archiv

ultra-left tendencies in the Third International, notably Gorter/Pannekoek in Holland and the German KAPD, concluded that capitalism had been restored in Russia.

During the 1930's Leon Trotsky developed the position that the USSR was a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. The maintenance of a collectivized planned economy indicated the proletarian, anti-capitalist nature of the state. Stalin's totalitarian terror rested on a parasitic bureaucratic caste, which had to be ousted by the working class in order to open the road to socialism. Of all the opponents of Stalinism within the workers movement, only the Trotskyists regarded the Soviet Union as a continuing, albeit qualitatively deformed, expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

By the eve of World War II the basic political divisions over "the Russian question," each with its characteristic theories, had attained a more-or-less stable alignment. Newly formed groups were inexorably drawn into one of the fundamental historic tendencies. For example, those factions which split to the right from the Trotskyist Fourth International over the Russian question (e.g., Max Shachtman and Tony Cliff) drifted into the camp of social democracy: others who split to the left (e.g., J.R. Johnson and Grandizo Munis) became anarcho-syndicalists in all but name.

The political/theoretical alignment on the Russian question which was established in the 1930's has now been disturbed by new fanatical converts to the doctrine that the USSR is "state capitalist"—the Maoists. China's post-1971 de facto alliance with U.S. imperialism against Brezhnev's Russia is justified by the contention that the latter has become a "social-imperialist superpower," which is "more dangerous" than the older capitalist states. Today the most aggressive, shrill campaigners for the view that the Soviet Union is an exploitative class society are no longer the social democrats or anarcho-syndicalists; rather, they are the Maoists, acting in the name of orthodox Stalinism.

The Maoist diatribes against Soviet "state capitalism" have their ironies. Those tendencies on the left which considered themselves the most implacable enemies of Stalinism, which accused the Trotskyists of being soft on Stalinism, now hear their arguments from the mouths of the most unregenerate, hard-line Stalin cultists. In turn, the Maotsts could have lifted their denunciations of Brezhnev's Russia almost word-for-word from Kautskyan and libertarian polemics against Stalin's regime.

In fact, some of the more eclectic New Left Maoist intellectuals are even willing to turn to social-democratic revisionists to beef up their poor theoretical armory. An Italian sympathizer of the "Chinese road tn socialism," Antonio Carlo, maintains that Russia under Stalin was "bureaucratic collectivist" ("The Socio-Economic Nature of the USSR," *Telos*, Fall 1974). One supporter of the academic mao-oid *Monthly Review* agrees with its editor Paul Sweezy that the Soviet bureaucracy is a ruling class, but finds the notion that the USSR is capitalist unconvincing. He suggests that the analyses of Shachtman and Rudolf Hilferding are more germane:

> "The socially stratified, bureaucratically planned societies of the Soviet bloc are class systems, and if we could raise Marx from the grave he would say so. Marxists have defined these planned societies in various ways: bureaucratic collectivism (Shachtman), totalitarian states (Hilferding), state socialism (Naville). Whatever the correct name for these societies, one feature is clear—the bureaucracy is a class."
>
> —Ross Gandy, "More on the Nature of Soviet Society," *Monthly Review*, March 1976

We will not comment on the scientific merit of an author who claims the Soviet Union is a class society but does not know what kind of class society it is.

The intellectual convergence between the traditional social-democratic and anarcho-syndicalist attitude toward the USSR and the Maoist-Stalinists comes as no surprise to Trotskyists. In his many polemics on the Russian question, Trotsky on numerous occasions pointed out the *methodological parallelism* between Stalin and those who condemned him as the ruler of an exploitative class society. For example, in one of Trotsky's last polemics on the question he wrote:

> "Shachtman revises not only the present policy of the Fourth International but also the past. Since we are against Stalin we must therefore be against the USSR too. Stalin has long held this opinion. Shachtman arrived at it only recently. From his rejection of the Kremlin's politics flows complete and indivisible defeatism."
>
> —"From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene," 1940

Stalin and Shachtman shared a common identification of the *political* character of the ruling party or group with the *dominant social class* represented by the state.

Despite individual variation and overlapping argumentation, there remain three distinct ideological approaches to "state capitalism," each corresponding to the major political tendencies upholding this position: social democracy, anarcho-syndicalism and now Mao-Stalinism.

Novosti Press

The Dnieper hydroelectric station planned under the 1920 "Plan for the Electrification of Russia" and completed in 1932.

Social-Democratic Liberalism and Economism

Predictably, the first exponents of the view that Soviet Russia was "state capitalist" were the social democrats. This followed logically from the Kautskyan/Menshevik dogma that Russia was too backward to support an economic system more advanced than capitalism. The assertion that Lenin's Russia was capitalist was a necessary component of the Second International's reformist worldview.

Karl Kautsky's 1919 polemic *Terrorism and Communism* lays out all the basic arguments which social democracy subsequently employed to denounce the USSR as more distant from socialism than bourgeois democracy. Kautsky identifies democracy with parliamentarianism and condemns the rule of workers councils (soviets) as itself a violation of socialist principle. He defines Lenin's Russia as "state capitalist," a condition which was worse for the workers than tsarist rule!

> "In order to save industry, therefore, a new class of officials had to be formed and put in authority over the workers. This new class gradually appropriated to itself all actual and virtual control, and transformed the freedom of the workers into a mere illusory freedom....
>
> "The absolutism of the old bureaucracy has come again to life in a new but... by no means improved form; and alongside of this absolutism are being formed

": From Kautsky to Mao

the seeds of a new capitalism ... which in reality stands on a much lower level than the industrial capitalism of former days. It is only the ancient feudal land estate which exists no more. For its abolition conditions in Russia were ripe. But they were not ripe for the abolition of capitalism. This latter system is now undergoing resuscitation, nevertheless in forms which, for the proletariat, are more oppressing and more harmful than those of yore.... Industrial capitalism, from being a private system, has now become State capitalism. Formerly the bureaucrats of the State and those of private capital were often very critical, if not directly hostile, towards one another.... Today, however, both State and capitalist bureaucracy have merged into one system. That is the final result of the great Socialist upheaval which the Bolsheviks have introduced. It represents the *most oppressive* of all forms of despotism that Russia has *ever* had." [our emphasis]

All later theories of state capitalism are built on foundations anticipated by "the renegade Kautsky" less than two years after the Bolsheviks had come to power. This fact in itself points to the reformist ideological premises inherent in the notion of "state capitalism."

With the onset of Stalin's industrialization drive in 1929, social-democratic ideologues added another argument to their basic "parliamentary democracy is the road to socialism" position. Stalin's unbalanced concentration on producer goods and break-neck industrialization tempo led to a drastic fall in the living standards of the Russian masses. This enabled social-democratic spokesmen to declare Russia "capitalist" because it maximized accumulation at the expense of workers' wages.

ISR

Max Shachtman

Socialist Worker

Tony Cliff

The most prominent—but by no means earliest—exponent of the "Stalinist industrialization equals capitalism" school is Tony Cliff, a renegade from Trotskyism who heads the British International Socialists group. For a comprehensive exposition of the fraudulent and economistic Cliffite theory of state capitalism, see "The Anti-Marxist Theory of 'State Capitalism'—A Trotskyist Critique," in *Young Spartacus* Nos. 51 and 52, February and March 1977.

At bottom the "accumulation equals capitalism" argument is a workerist and/or demagogic identification of the physical means of production with capital (the means of production as privately owned commodities). Marx's classic exposition on the nature and organization of a workers state, the "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875), contained a polemic against the Lasallean notion that "every worker must receive the 'undiminished proceeds of labour'." In it he clearly stated that part of the surplus over consumption would be devoted to accumulating additional means of production:

"Let us take first of all the words 'proceeds of labour' in the sense of the product of labour; then the co-operative proceeds of labour are the total social product.

"From this must now be *deducted*:

"First, cover for replacement of the means of production used up.

"Secondly, *additional portion for expansion of production*." [our emphasis]

If accumulation of the means of production is the programmatic norm for a *model* workers state, how much more important and rapid must accumulation be in a *backward* workers state facing *imperialist encirclement*?

Stalin's purges in the late 1930's provoked a new class of theories which focused on the rise of the "totalitarian state," an ideological tradition culminating in the unrelieved historic pessimism of George Orwell's *1984*. Stalin's purges seemed to represent the existence of an omnipotent, arbitrary state power unconcerned with rational economic purpose; Russia was a giant Gulag.

Rudolf Hilferding, the most talented theorist of inter-war social democracy, argued that Stalin's Russia represented a new historical phenomenon, totally unanticipated by traditional Marxist theory and categories. In a 1940 essay he put forth a brilliant criticism of the concept of "state capitalism" as applied to the USSR. He also rejected the notion that the bureaucracy was a ruling class with a sound argument that the individuals comprising the bureaucracy had no institutional means for appropriating a definite share of the surplus product, or even maintaining their positions in the social hierarchy. He correctly observed that the Soviet bureaucracy, "is in fact subordinate to the government to the same extent as are the rest of the people" ("State Capitalism or Totalitarian State Economy," in Irving Howe, ed., *Essential Works of Socialism* [1970]).

Hilferding reverted to an essentially anarchist conception of the state as the dominant and autonomous institution in society, rejecting the Marxist position that the state power defends the property interests of a distinct group (i.e., class) central to economic life. He was both knowledgeable enough and honest enough to make this revision of Marx explicit:

"The Marxist sectarian cannot grasp the idea that present-day state power, having achieved independence, is unfolding its enormous strength according to its own laws, subjecting social forces and compelling them to serve its ends for a short or long period of time.

"Therefore neither the Russian nor the totalitarian system in general is determined by the character of the economy. On the contrary, it is the economy that is determined by the policy of the ruling power and subjected to the aims and purposes of this power. The totalitarian power lives by the economy, but not for the economy or even for the class ruling the economy—as is the case of the bourgeois state...."

—*Ibid.*

The theory of "bureaucratic collectivism," which also arose at this time, is very close in spirit to Hilferding's "totalitarian state." The seminal expression was by Bruno Rizzi, an Italian ex-Trotskyist who in 1939 wrote *The Bureaucratization of the World*. Like Hilferding, Rizzi identified Stalin's regime with the rise of fascism and (unlike the social democrat Hilferding) with Roosevelt's New Deal. "Bureaucratic collectivism" was seen as a world-historic phenomenon, the rational solution to the anarchy of capitalist production.

The concept of "bureaucratic collectivism" was taken over and popularized by the American renegade from Trotskyism, Max Shachtman. With the defeat of the fascist powers in World War II, Shachtman drew the conclusions of his growing conviction that "bureaucratic collectivism" (i.e., Stalinism) was a greater threat to a socialist future than bourgeois democracy, and was therefore inexorably drawn into the fanatical anti-communism of official American social democracy.

The totalitarian state theories which burgeoned in the late 1930's all stand in the social-democratic tradition in that they imply (even when they don't explicitly assert) that Stalinist Russia, like Nazi Germany, is a historical retrogression from the most advanced capitalist democracy.

The Reactionary Utopias of Anarcho-Syndicalism

In discussing the anarcho-syndicalist attitude toward the USSR it is useful to distinguish between those claiming the classic Bakuninite tradition and the ultra-left communists who supported Lenin's Third International and claim to be Marxists.

The traditional anarcho-syndicalists condemned the Bolsheviks for carrying out the Marxist policy of state ownership of the means of production and economic centralism. A recent effective restatement of the classic anarcho-syndicalist case against Lenin's Russia is Maurice Brinton's *The Bolsheviks and Workers Control. 1917 to 1921* (1970). In this well researched and fairly objective historical essay, Brinton correctly asserts that the Bolsheviks were always committed to centralized management and that their guarded acceptance of workers' self-management in 1917-18 had a conjunctural tactical purpose.

Brinton's essentially pre-Marxian outlook makes him indifferent to the concrete, particular nature of Soviet society and its evolution from Lenin to Stalin, or from Stalin to Brezhnev. He and his fellow anarcho-syndicalists have a simple-minded definition of class as any distinct group of political or economic administrators. In other words, for them the basic division in society is between the order-givers and the order-takers:

"We also hold that the means of production may change hands (passing for instance from private hands into those of a bureaucracy, which collectively owns them) without this revolutionising the relations of production. Under such circumstances... the society is still a class society, for production is still managed by an agency other than the producers themselves."

For Brinton and his co-thinkers the ultimate goal is not liberating mankind from economic scarcity and arduous toil, but the relatively trivial one of eliminating hierarchical relations at the point of production:

"Workers' management of production—implying as it does the total domination of the producer over the productive process—is not for us a marginal matter. It is the core of our politics. It is the only means whereby authoritarian (order-giving, order-taking) relations in production can be transcended and a free, communist or anarchist, society introduced."

At bottom, this type of simplistic libertarianism is a utopian desire to return to the "free" artisan status of pre-industrial society. Brinton's polemic against Bolshevism was fully answered over a hundred years ago by Engels in his classic anti-anarchist tract *On Authority* (1873), where he pointed out:

"Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel."

We really have nothing new to add.

The Bolshevik Revolution gave rise to a current of ultra-left communists who shared many of the premises of the traditional anarcho-syndicalists. Partly in response to the capitalist features of NEP and partly reacting against the emerging Stalinist bureaucratization, these ultra-left tendencies split from the Third International, denouncing Russia as capitalist. The most important figures in this tendency were the Italian Amadeo Bordiga and the German Hugo Urbahns.

Bordiga mocked the demagogic workerist view that Stalin's Russia was capitalist because factory directors drove big cars. But his own theory is no less simplistic:

"It [the bureaucracy] obtains these commodities in exchange for rectangular pieces of paper which it folds up into wads that are held close to its heart in small leather purses called billfolds. These paper rectangles are money, rubles in Russian: therefore, this is a bureaucracy of a capitalist mode of production."

—"Le trotskysme," in *Programme Communiste*, October-December 1972

Bordiga demonstrates that socialism, the lower stage of communism, does not exist in the USSR: classes continue to exist, as do commodity production, money and wage labor. It is not a socialist mode of production, he concludes; therefore it is capitalist.

As the foremost opponent of ever participating in bourgeois parliaments,

continued on page 8

100 in U.S. Jails Face Tonton Macoute Torturers

No Deportations of Haitian Refugees!

A week of protest dramatizing the plight of Haitian refugees in the U.S. was held in Washington, D.C., last week under the auspices of the Haitian (Catholic) Fathers and the National Council of Churches. Over 1,500 refugees from the blood-drenched Caribbean dictatorship who arrived in Miami within the last three years have been denied political asylum by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The State Department has the gall to claim that Haiti is no longer a "totalitarian state" since the 1971 death of right-wing despot François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier and the succession of his son Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier. Thus Haitians arriving in the U.S. are refused classification as political refugees. Like the thousands of migrant Mexican workers who enter the U.S. each year, they are considered "illegal aliens."

At the January 28 rally concluding the week of protests, spokesmen for the refugees described how thousands have fled Haiti for their lives. Many bear the scars from blows of the Tontons Macoutes (the Duvaliers' private army) on their backs; others have seen their families dragged off before their eyes. Far from simple "job seekers," almost all of the Haitian refugees who have been denied asylum are either members of underground opposition groups, innocent victims of the Tontons' whims who protested too loudly, or friends and relatives of someone in the first two categories who are threatened because of that relationship.

The speakers described the odyssey of refugees who sail more than 800 miles to Miami, many in leaky fishing boats so primitive and poorly stocked that new arrivals often have to be immediately hospitalized. Once in Miami—usually unable to read, write or speak English—they are easy prey for the Immigration agents and a network of parasites who live off the plight of the "illegals" by providing small but crucial "favors." When interrogated by the INS the real facts of the refugees' situations are further concealed because, according to the speakers, the INS translator in Miami is notorious for his family's close connections to the Duvalier regime! The long arm of the Tontons Macoutes reaches into the sizeable Haitian community in the U.S., so that new arrivals would risk kidnapping and death (not to mention victimization of their friends and relatives at home) if they reveal to U.S. authorities their oppositionist activities against the Duvalierist dictatorship.

Over 95 Haitian refugees are presently being held in jails in Immokalle, Florida, and El Paso, Texas. Some spend up to 16 months in prison until bail is raised by the Council of Churches and release is arranged. On the outside without working papers, some get jobs as maids or field hands while others live on handouts from relief organizations. Many have deportation proceedings hanging over their heads.

Contrary to the smug insistance by the Haitian ambassador to the U.S. that those returning to Haiti will not be penalized, Amnesty International (AI) reports that Haitians who acted on reports in the American press that the Duvalier regime had liberalized are sometimes taken to prison minutes after they touch down at the Port-au-Prince airport (*Guardian* [London], 6 June 1976). Moreover, in the past year AI has documented a wave of arrests of returned exiles whom the regime suspects of opposition activities. Exiles sometimes prefer death to returning to Haiti, as was horribly demonstrated by the 1974 suicide of Turenne De Ville in his Miami jail cell only hours before he was to be deported. Since then two other prison suicides have been reported.

Haiti under the Duvaliers is one of the world's most backward, corrupt and barbaric regimes. It is reported that "Papa Doc" once had the skull of a rival brought to his office where he interrogated it for several hours. Perhaps after the token cosmetic facelifting instituted by "Baby Doc" to please his American mentors, they no longer behead corpses in Haiti. But the population still lives in terror of the Tontons—now euphemistically called "Volunteers for National Security"—and the still more elite squad, the Leopards (formerly headed by Jean-Claude himself). The most elementary signs of political opposition are still mercilessly wiped out through beatings, imprisonment and murder.

Since 1954 when the Duvaliers came to power, 40,000 people have been assassinated. Trade unions are still outlawed and immediate death is still the penalty for anyone found associated with any sort of "communist activity." Today the cycle of life in Haiti remains one of famine, corruption, theft, rape and traffic in blood, drugs and corpses. The poorest country in the Western hemisphere, it has an average per capita income of $70 a year. Ninety percent of the population is illiterate, life expectancy is 35 years and half the children die before the age of four. Despite claims that industry is picking up under the new regime, sales of human blood (for which Haitians are paid $4/liter as opposed to the going rate of $20/pint in

continued on page 10

Democratie Nouvelle

Haitian refugees escaping the terror and repression of the Duvalier dictatorship.

Daniel Laine

The hated "tontons macoutes," the national police force

From Kautsky to Mao...

(continued from page 7)

Bordiga fancied himself the most ferocious defender of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But he denied any economic content to this class dictatorship; it was simply and exclusively a question of who held state power. *Economically* there was no transition period between capitalism and socialism in his view; the revolutionary party of the proletariat may rule but capitalism remains until money, wage labor and commodity production are eliminated. "In Russia," he wrote, "...*capital was never destroyed*, because it could not be: it was simply controlled for an instant [during the period of so-called 'war communism'] by the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party; then it destroyed this party" (our emphasis).

This thesis is a frontal assault on the Marxist theory of the state, by denying that it has any economic content, that state power is based on armed bodies of men defending certain property forms. The collectivist economy (abolition of private ownership of the means of production, planned production) count for nothing. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bordiga not only rejected Trotsky's theory of a degenerated workers state under Stalin, but expressed his distaste for the term *workers state*. Although his argumentation was complex, the reason was straightforward: he wanted to deny that there was anything for the workers to defend in the Soviet Union.

There are no significant anarcho-syndicalist or ultra-left communist groups in the English-speaking world. In marked contrast to Latin Europe and also Japan, in the U.S. the notion of Soviet "state capitalism" is generally associated with social-democratic and now Maoist reformism, and with support to American imperialism as the lesser evil as against the USSR.

One articulate exponent of the left version of "state capitalism" in the U.S. is Raya Dunayevskaya. Of Russian origin, Dunayevskaya entered the Trot-

Sadlowski...

(continued from page 12)

ENA but has already committed himself to enforcing it until it expires three years from now. He rants against the power of Big Steel but opposes its nationalization. He moans about unemployment but has not lifted a finger to fight sizable layoffs in his own district, while calling for reducing the steel workforce by three quarters. He says that the union must be controlled by the ranks yet gives the green light to the government to directly police USWA affairs.

On not one single issue does Sadlowski break from the class collaborationism of the mainstream labor bureaucracy. He is nothing but a 1970's version of the Reutherite liberal bureaucrats who have so firmly subordinated the once-militant UAW to the auto companies. Only by forging an independent opposition within the union that consistently defends working-class independence and fights for militant class-struggle policies—both on immediate trade-union questions and in the fundamental political questions which affect all workers—can steel workers take the struggle forward to victory.

Remember: in 1965 I.W. Abel campaigned against McDonald on the slogan of dumping "tuxedo unionism." It was tough talk, but there was no program to back it up. This year Sadlowski—another labor faker on the make—blasts Abel for sipping martinis with the bosses, but his *program* is no better than McBride's. Don't be fooled! ■

skyist movement in the 1930's. She split from the Fourth International in the late 1940's as part of an essentially syndicalist faction led by the West Indian J.R. Johnson and loosely tied to the Spaniard Grandizo Munis.

An early, brief and cogent statement of Dunayevskaya's position is "A New Revision of Marxian Economics" published in (of all places) the *American Economic Review* (September 1944). (She is polemicizing here against a Russian Stalinist economist who maintains that the law of value prevails under "socialism"—whence the title.) This is the heart of Dunayevskaya's position:

> "There is incontrovertible evidence that there exists in Russia at present a sharp class differentiation based upon a division of function between the workers, on the one hand, and the managers of industry, millionaire *kolkhozniki* [collective farmers], political leaders and the intelligentsia in general, on the other.... This distinction between the intelligentsia and the mass of the workers has found its economic expression in the formula: 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor.' This formula should be compared with the traditional Marxist formula: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' 'Each according to his need' has always been considered a repudiation of the law of value. The document, however, states that 'distribution according to labor' is to be effected through the instrumentality of money. This money is not script notes or some bookkeeping term but money as the price expression of value."

What Dunayevskaya neglected to mention is that "to each according to his need" is the capsule description of *full communism*. As Marx clearly stated in the "Critique of the Gotha Program," the transitional epoch is characterized by economic scarcity and therefore by differential wage labor. Wage labor in a workers state serves to allocate different types of labor, ration scarce consumables and ensure an external compulsion to work.

If the economy is based on wage labor, then the money cost of production must be the key *index* of economic accounting and calculation. The money cost of production is the only common denominator (though a highly imperfect one) which allows comparison of different kinds of resources expended on physically heterogeneous goods and services. Contrary to Dunayevskaya, economic calculation based on labor costs in terms of money outlay does not mean the predominance of the law of value in the economy.

What is the positive program implied by the anarcho-syndicalist and left communist contention that the USSR is state capitalist? For the former, it is producer cooperatives necessarily linked through market relations; for the latter, it is a purely administrative economy, an idealized version of the "war communism" of 1918-21. Both these programs are reactionary utopias. They *cannot* exist as stable economic systems, and attempts to implement such programs will lead to economic collapse.

A system of producer cooperatives would in short order degenerate into capitalist exploitation. In the absence of state restriction, the more profitable cooperatives would buy out bankrupt ones and exploit the former cooperative members as wage labor. The immanent tendency of workers management under market conditions to transform unprofitable enterprises into spheres of capitalist exploitation is generally recognized in Yugoslavia. The leading Titoist theoretician, Eduard Kardelj, explains that only strict government control prevents profitable enterprises from taking over financially weak ones and exploiting the latter's labor in a fully capitalist manner (see his "Toward Higher Forms of Integration," *Socialist Thought and Practice*, April-June 1967).

If producer cooperatives are a road to capitalist restoration, then the idea of a moneyless, marketless, totally administrative economy under conditions of scarcity is a reactionary utopia pure and simple. The Soviet masses, who suffered the militarization of labor under Stalin, who still wait in line hours every week for goods in short supply, will not take kindly to programs for allocating labor by administrative fiat and rationing consumables in physical units. While the ultra-left communist program will never be a serious contender for power against the Stalinist regime, such utopian fantasies may seduce idealistic radical youth, the potential cadre of a revolutionary Marxist vanguard.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Reforge the Fourth International!...

(continued from page 5)

for a Revolutionary Party, Sy Landy's latest clique spinoff from the Shachtmanite RSL, writhing with what Robertson termed its "vicarious closet black nationalism," was horrified by the SL's recognition of the need to fight lumpenism as an obstacle to the attainment of revolutionary consciousness by the black masses.

To its glorification of lumpen rage, the speaker responded: "This is a racist country. You've got to speak the truth about what it's like in this country. The blacks and whites don't trust each other. They don't like each other. The vanguard, if it refuses to face this, can never build an interracial Leninist party." Other SL speakers exposed the true appetites of these Shachtmanites' petty-bourgeois moralism in their refusal to defend busing (the defeat of which can only embolden forces of racist reaction), their support for "reform" trade-union bureaucrats like Arnold Miller and their consistent refusal to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution which, despite qualitative degeneration under Stalinist bureaucratic rule, have survived in the collectivized property forms.

Derisively a Communist Cadre spokesman remarked, "Your glorification of the SWP tradition really shows where you're at. You're the real Cannonites and the SWP has betrayed Cannonism. Well, Trotsky was stuck with Cannon...." On being accused of Cannonism, Spartacist supporters in the audience broke into applause.

The forum was concluded with a defense of Cannonism by the speaker. Tracing the development of the post-Leninist Comintern in various countries, where repression, splits, capitulations and revisionism destroyed or crippled those movements, he pointed out: "Only in the United States...was there a continuous Leninist-Trotskyist tradition embodied in an organization and a cadre. And however critically we look at the history of the American section, for 30 years before us we have had the privilege, if we use it well, of the only continuous revolutionary Marxist experience on the face of the planet. That's what Cannonism means." ■

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

However, while the CP leader and Housing Minister Keuneman gave full support to the Bandaranaike cabinet to smash the strike through severe repressive measures, CP leaders in the strike committees did everything possible to contain, weaken the strikes and discourage the workers from continuing the strikes. This treacherous role of the CP could not be concealed from the workers and several leading CPers in the strike committees suffered physical assaults at the hands of the strikers.

While the LSSP had a need to strengthen its trade-union base, especially since its sacking from the coalition alliance in September 1975, the leadership of this party (like that of the CP and other reformist parties and trade unions) was only ready to countenance limited strikes and not at all any strike movement that had potentialities of leading to anything like a confrontation with the bourgeois state. The real problem for the LSSP in this strike movement was to create the impression that it was in the leadership while doing nothing to sustain or widen it.

It was pressure from the ranks of the government clerical services that pushed the LSSP-led Government Clerical Services Union, jointly with other clerical unions, to launch strike action on January 6. It was in order to launch this strike that the LSSP-led trade union federations—the Ceylon Federation of Labour, the Government Clerical Services Union, and the Government Workers Trade Union Federation—held the only workers rally in support of the strikes.

Nor was it just sectarianism on its part that prevented the LSSP from taking steps to win the participation of other big trade unions and federations under different leaderships in this struggle. The truth is that the LSSP did not want to broaden this strike. It had no perspectives of a general strike although its paper *Janadina* frequently referred to the need for a general strike in the situation. The LSSP long ago lost all perspective of mass struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist state. That is why the LSSP failed even to make a pretense of calling together the unions and federations of the JCTUO (Joint Council of Trade Union Organisations—the coalition trade-union centre) which was disrupted by Sirima Bandaranaike after the 20 February 1976 token general strike.

The government also took note that the unions and federations under other leaderships—Bala Tampoe, Thondaman, Shanmugadasan (CP-Peking) and others—would not go beyond giving lip-service to this strike movement.

Of course, the "revolutionary leader" of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (Tampoe), Thondaman and the rest did something in this regard. Through their coordinating committee, the TUCC (Trade Union Coordinating Committee) these leaders wrote a letter to the prime minister! In this letter, these leaders called upon the "government to settle the strike democratically"!

It was in this context, that the government decided to break the strike.

On January 4, the government clamped on the "essential services order" by which the strikes became illegal. It is true that the workers on strike defied this order. But the leaderships of the striking unions did nothing to mobilise the strikers and other sections of the workers not involved in the strike to meet the government repression that had begun. While the CP was in the coalition alliance and was giving Sirima Bandaranaike full support to launch repression (thus making it part of the forces of repression), the LSSP which was reputed to be in "the opposition" totally failed to do anything to counter governmental measures to break the strike.

Taking account of the green light given by the trade-union leaders, by the LSSP and all other trade-union leaderships not in the strike, the government took the necessary follow-up actions. Thus on January 6 the government refused to allow the use of loudspeakers for the rally of the LSSP-led federations in support of the strikes. The LSSP leaders meekly conformed to police orders, and their workers rally was virtually disrupted without the use of loudspeakers.

Other repressive measures followed swiftly. Following cabinet directions the police drove out strikers when they gathered, even in small groups, in the vicinity of strikebound places. Police also arrested hundreds of strikers even in private premises if these places were close to the workplaces where strikes had occurred.

In order to expedite the disruption of the railway and 'bus' workers strike, the police visited the homes of strikers who were dragged out and compelled at bayonet-point to resume work under the supervision of the armed forces personnel.

When the government said that its repression was being carried out according to plan, and that the trade-union leaders were not ready for any counter-measures through the mobilisation of the workers, it hastened to give the 'coup de grace' to the strike by finally clamping a press censorship of all news regarding the strike.

It was obvious to the strikers that under these conditions, their strike movement could not continue. About January 15 the strikers, who had shown great courage and determination in regard to their struggle, understood that the wisest course of action was to end the strike. The leaders of the trade unions who had played a treacherous role, including the leaders of the LSSP-led unions, were relieved that the strikers were ready to have the strikes called off. These leaders could well say that the strikers were not ready to continue their strikes, and that it was not they who called off the strikes, but the workers themselves!

Thus a powerful government workers strike movement which could well have been developed into a general strike against the capitalist SLFP-CP government and the capitalist class, was broken up without the workers winning any of their demands, by the unprecedented repression of the SLFP-CP regime, the treachery of the SLFP-CP trade union leaders and the virtual abandonment of the strikes by the LSSP.

If indeed even a section of the working class has understood that what basically led to the collapse of the strike movement was the treachery and the do-nothing policy of their reformist leaders, then it could well be said that the working class has made important gains in this strike. This would mean that the unpostponable task of driving out their reformist leaders and the forging of the new revolutionary leadership has already been sharply posed for the workers of Sri Lanka. ■

China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

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Spanish Workers...

(continued from page 1)

ist ultras to force military intervention against what they perceive to be the government's drift into the arms of "godless Communism." It came only half a day after the kidnapping of General Emilio Villaescusa, the head of the Supreme Council of Military Justice and a reputed "Bunker" hardliner within the army. Credit for the kidnapping was claimed by an obscure terrorist group, the GRAPO ("First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Group"), which claims to be leftist. However, left groups disclaim any knowledge of the GRAPO and many insist that it is merely a cover for fascist provocateurs bent on carrying out a "strategy of tension."

Immediately following the killings there were comparisons to 1936 and widespread talk of an "Argentinization" of Spain. The clerical-fascist gunmen who carried out the Antocha massacre styled themselves the Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance (AAA—recalling the notorious Argentine death squads); they threatened to unleash a "night of the long knives" to wipe out the left should anything happen to Villaescusa or to Antonio María Oriol (the president of the state council and a close friend of King Juan Carlos), also kidnapped by the "GRAPO."

Meanwhile, the more familiar fascist groups were also running wild, as were the police. In addition to the five victims gunned down by the AAA, two students were also murdered last week. A 19-year-old was fatally shot in the back at Madrid University during a demonstration for amnesty of political prisoners and refugees; before pulling the trigger, the assailant cried out "Long live Christ the king," the battle cry of the Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey. A vicious police assault against the demonstrators followed, during which a woman student was hit in the face by a tear gas cannister; she died the next day.

Since coming to office last July, the government of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez has sought to give the impression of gradual democratic reform of the encrusted Francoist state apparatus while maintaining political "stability" based on forcible repression of the left. Suárez' phony "constitutional" referendum in December was a qualified success, and early last month West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the first social-democratic head of state to visit Spain since the civil war, expressed the "confidence of democratic

AFP

Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo

Europe in the Madrid government" (*Le Monde*, 8 January 1977). As proof of this confidence and to buttress the shaky Suárez regime, he invited the Spanish bourgeoisie to join its imperialist brethren in NATO and the Common Market.

Internally the government has sought to balance between the Francoist Bunker and the center/left "democratic opposition." Having pushed through a reform of the Cortes (parliament) to break the hold of appointed notables of the Falangist National Movement, Suárez scheduled legislative elections for some time in the spring. There was talk that even Communists would be permitted to run "as individuals." But then in late December the police tried to force the regime's hand by arresting PCE leader Santiago Carrillo (instead of deporting him in accordance with their standing orders).

Suárez responded to this insubordination by abolishing the draconian Tribunal of Public Order, placing political cases under the jurisdiction of civilian courts and dismissing the head of the Guardia Civil. The armed forces command in early January published a statement affirming their allegiance to the constituted authorities. But the police were not cowed, and as 200,000 protesters marched in the streets of Madrid last Tuesday a one-month "emergency" was proclaimed and the repressive apparatus mobilized against the left. Militants of Maoist, "Trotskyist" and syndicalist organizations were rounded up, demonstrations were banned, stringent gun controls were enacted and the police were authorized to burst into any home and throw anyone in jail for up to ten days without charges.

As a token gesture of "even-handedness," the government deported several Latin American ultra-rightists and sought to portray the Antocha killings as the work of crazed Argentine fascists. But at the same time it released Mariano Sanchez Covisa, head of the fascist Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (whose ties with the Guardia Civil are notorious), as well as the assassins of two Carlists shot during a public meeting of the populist-monarchist group last spring. Last summer's much heralded "Spanish road to democracy" appeared to be at a dead end.

From the Popular Front to Francoist "Reform"

Despite its transparent "democratic" pretensions, the Juan Carlos/Suárez regime is the continuation of the bonapartist dictatorship of Francisco Franco; and like the Generalissimo's reign, its power rests on the narrow social base of the state apparatus. With sections of the repressive apparatus in more or less continual insubordination, the Suárez government's program of Francoist "reform" is stymied for lack of organized popular support. Politically the most important result of the Antocha murders has been that the government for the first time openly sought the support of the so-called "democratic opposition"—and got it, proving that this cabal of pusillanimous conservatives, liberals and reformists is neither democratic nor a real opposition.

For years the Spanish Communist Party has been seeking a "reconciliation" with the bourgeoisie and a "healing" of divisions wrought by the bloody civil war. In the early 1970's it gave organizational form to these class-collaborationist aspirations by signing a "Pact for Liberty" with several bourgeois "progressive" notables and forming the popular-front Assembly of Catalonia. In mid-1975 this was replicated on the national scale with the formation of the Junta Democrática; a year later this PCE-dominated coalition joined with a Socialist-led counterpart to form the Coordinación Democrática.

During the past year the PCE's firm commitment to popular frontism has been expressed in the streets as the Communist leadership has time after time refused to mobilize the key centers of proletarian militancy in a national general strike against the dictatorship. Likewise, on every key political question the PCE has endlessly demonstrated its "reasonableness." In November 1975, at the time of the Caudillo's death, *Mundo Obrero* (the party newspaper) headlines demanded "No to the Francoist Monarchy!" Now, in a recent *New York Times* (16 January 1977) interview, Carrillo says that if a majority of the Spanish people accepts a monarchy, "we will work inside the monarchy." In by now typical "Eurocommunist" style, the interview goes on to say, "I... accept American bases in Spain" and "If the Spanish Parliament votes entry into NATO, we obviously will accept it."

In the course of the last week's events, the PCE's popular frontism has systematically held back the popular outrage.

Royal/Time

Adolfo Suárez

From the marshals who silenced chants and hymns to a "strike" call by the PCE-led labor coordinating committee that emphasized the need to stay at home and avoid confrontations with the fascists, these reformists have allowed the police and Francoist gunmen to control the streets. Communist spokesman Simón Sánchez Montero spoke of the murder of five party comrades only in terms of "convert[ing] these vile murders into a reconciliation of all Spaniards" and echoed the traditional Falangist salute, "Viva España!" (*New York Times*, 27 January). Another PCE leader, Luis Lucio Lobato, went so far as to advocate that any granting of amnesty be extended to *include the fascist assassins* (*El País* [Madrid], 27 January).

The PCE reformists have seized upon the fragility of the regime in the hope of establishing themselves and their popular-front allies as the main bulwark of "Spanish democracy." This was made explicit when on the day after the assassinations a joint communiqué appealing for "serenity and civic responsibilities" was signed by Prime Minister Suárez and six representatives of the "democratic opposition." The statement expressed "identity of views in condemning political extremism which, because of its violence, threatens to halt the ongoing process of democratic normalization of Spain" (*Le Monde*, 26 January). With this treacherous declaration of support for the Juan Carlos/Suárez government policies, all the PCE's blustering against "Francoist reformism" is revealed as empty talk. They will find out soon enough that this piece of paper will not protect them against the bullets of the police and fascist terrorists.

Memories of the civil war run deep in Spain. Major sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie are not prepared to allow governmental participation by the PCE or even its full legalization, because they fear that concessions would fuel a new working-class upheaval. From the hard-line Francoist Bunker to the capitalist financiers of the myriad fascist gangs, the Spanish bourgeoisie remains determined to defend its class rule through the use of naked terror. By fostering illusions in the capacity of the Francoist dictatorship—a barbarous regime built on the corpses of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants—to reform itself, the PCE and its "left" camp followers disarm the proletariat before the fascist death squads. It is by overthrowing these false leaders that the militant Spanish workers will prepare to avenge their fallen comrades! ■

WL/SL Exchange...

(continued from page 3)

ment your calculated violence against other socialists (see *WV* No. 130, 22 October 1976 and *WV* No. 137, 10 December 1976).

To the extent that your organization does not continue to try to deprive us of those rights necessary to the socialist and labor movements, you can assure yourselves that the concerns so hypocritically expressed in your letter will automatically disappear. And we note that in any case we will continue to defend your own legitimate rights should they be threatened from any quarter.

Corresponding to your violence against us has been your previous justification that we are "police agents," "fingermen of the world bourgeoisie," etc. (Just try physical assault on genuine police agents sometime!) We therefore find your closing paragraph, with its appeal to us as fellow socialists to stand against provocations and violence, particularly obnoxious and hypocritical. Truly your situation must be precarious for you to certify our "socialist" legitimacy. In any case, and in honor of our present elevation by you, we too are giving salutations to you as "comrade" and "fraternally," although since you also identify us as accomplices to the SWP leaders who are "GPU accomplices" according to your currently most active slander campaign, we do so with repugnance.

Fraternally,
J. Robertson

Haitian Refugees...

(continued from page 8)

New York) remains a principal export. In 1974, 6,000 donors were being bled one liter every seven days with six *tons* of blood being delivered monthly to the U.S. in Haitian government planes!

While many among the several hundred thousand Haitian immigrants living in the U.S. have left the impoverished island for essentially economic reasons, the vast majority of those who undergo tremendous hardships, risk of death and possible deportation to enter this country clandestinely are clearly political refugees from the Duvalierist torture regime. Yet while these victims of rightist terror are denied access to the U.S., political asylum is routinely granted to thousands upon thousands of reactionaries fleeing the deformed workers states of Vietnam and Cuba.

Using Gestapo-like police-state tactics, INS agents every year deport more than *one million* so-called "illegal aliens" from the U.S. Class-conscious workers must demand that all the deportations be stopped immediately! At the same time that we are the strongest fighters to win legal status for Haitian refugees, we have pointed out that the demand for "blanket amnesty" made by the Haitian Fathers and the National Council of Churches is inadequate. Even with the alien's "green card," such individuals face the threat of deportation at any moment for such acts as joining a trade union or participating in politics. The workers movement must fight for the extension of full citizenship rights to all foreign workers! ■

Fake-Trotskyists Embrace Francoist "Democracy"

(continued from page 1)

arrested in the police raids be immediately released.

However, in an act that is simultaneously a betrayal of the working class, lethal idiocy and an example of reformist cowardice, the Spanish "extreme left" has sought the "protection" of bourgeois liberals *and of the Francoist state itself*! While the dominant Stalinists and social democrats signed a joint appeal for calm with the head of government, their "left" camp followers yesterday issued a joint communiqué (see box) in Barcelona that totally embraces reformist illusions of Francoist "democracy" through self-reform of the bloody dictatorship.

The press statement—which was reprinted without comment in *Rouge*, the organ of the French section of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (USec) led by Ernest Mandel—condemned the killing of three policemen in Madrid (claimed by the mysterious "GRAPO") as well as the arrests of numerous members of opposition groups, and demanded from the government "immediate action against ... the fascist and para-police organizations."

What fools! They are calling on the Guardia Civil to repress the clerical-fascist terrorists, many of whom are simply the same Guardia Civil out of uniform! And the state has "answered" their call, by declaring an emergency for the avowed purpose of suppressing the terrorists. Of course, under the cover of this decree what has occurred is a massive crackdown against the left. Here is the point where reformist illusions in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state become positively suicidal. Marxists call instead for the

L'Express

Guardia Civil

organization of workers militias to defend the workers movement and to crush the reactionary gunmen.

But there is more: the document affirms that the "reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, would allow advance in a climate of democratic tolerance"; and it ends with a call for "unity and responsibility of all people in the framework of this democratic statement." What we have here is the cornerstone of the Spanish Communist Party's call for a "negotiated breakthrough"—a pact with the government to achieve a peaceful transition from bonapartist dictatorship to bourgeois democracy!

We find among the signatories to this popular-frontist declaration not only the Republican Esquerra, the Carlists and the Assembly of Catalonia—all bourgeois formations—but also most of the "extreme left," from the Maoist/syndicalists to the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—a Spanish sympathizing section of the USec). This is indeed a "chastening" of the once ferociously guerrillaist LCR. Gone are the days when it gave "total" support to the Basque nationalist bomb assassination of Prime Minister Carrero Blanco. Gone, too, are the days when the LCR's single crowning demand was the mythical "HGR"—the Revolutionary General Strike which would explode one day with the sole demand of overthrowing the Franco regime.

But the Spanish Mandelites did not stop at giving up their terrorist/spontaneist myths. They went on to adopt the most wretched aspects of the legalistic reformism of their opponents inside the USec. Who among those that have followed the interminable squabbling in the "United" Secretariat does not remember the vehemence and scorn with which the Mandel-led majority condemned the Argentine PST for pledging support to the "institutionalization" of the murderous Peronist regime?! Now the majority follows suit.

The Barcelona communiqué proves once again the complete inability of these revisionists and renegades from Trotskyism to withstand the tests of turbulent class struggles. The LCR's snivelling capitulation at the first provocation is a carbon copy of the PST's bowing and scraping before Perón. This pitiful declaration, like the Portuguese LCI's 1975 signature of the popular-frontist "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) statement supporting the Armed Forces Movement, proves once again the urgency of the struggle for the reforging of the Fourth International. Only through constructing sections of the international Spartacist tendency in Portugal and Spain can the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism be raised and the Iberian proletariat unite behind a Leninist leadership. ■

The Infamous Barcelona Communiqué

The undersigned parties:

First, condemn the attacks which resulted in the deaths of three policemen [in Madrid on January 28].

Second, consider that the measures decreed by the Council of Ministers do not contribute to the regulation of the present situation.

Third, energetically condemn the arbitrary detentions of numerous members of democratic parties and the violent raids upon their homes. They reaffirm their democratic will and that they bear no responsibility for the Madrid attacks.

Fourth, as a result they demand:

a) the immediate freeing of democratic militants who have been detained and a halt to the utilization of arbitrary measures;

b) immediate action against the real culprits in the present situation, i.e., the fascist and para-police organizations.

Fifth, reaffirm that only the reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, would allow advance in a climate of democratic tolerance. With these goals in view, they demand the firmest unity and responsibility of all people in the framework of this democratic statement and condemnation of all the murders committed.

[Signed]

Partido del Trabajo (Comité de Cataluña), Esquerra Republicana de Cataluña, Frente Nacional de Cataluña, Asamblea de Cataluña, Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, Movimiento Comunista de Cataluña, Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores, Partido Carlista, Partido Comunista de España (Marxista-Leninista), Organización Comunista de España (BR), Partido Comunista (Unitarió)

—*Rouge*, 30 January 1977

CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (*WV* No. 142, 28 January) there were several transcription errors in the telephone transmission of articles. In the article "British Union Tops Knife Anti-Apartheid Protest," there is a reference to the role of the "lower lords." This should have read "Law Lords," referring to 11 members of the House of Lords who hear appeals of disputed cases from the courts. The same article refers to Lord Benning of the Appeal Court; Lord Denning is the correct spelling. In the article on the frame-up conviction of Wendy Yoshimura, a quote from the 21 January *San Francisco Chronicle* refers to the "sullen look" of Yoshimura at the jurors instead of her "solemn" look.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Steelworkers: Don't Be Fooled!

Neither Sadlowski Nor McBride!

As the February 8 voting date for the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) presidential elections approaches, the campaign temperature rises day by day. In mid-January aging AFL-CIO potentate George Meany entered the fray ranting against the "outside influence" of "limousine liberals" who back challenger Ed Sadlowski. Sadlowski countered by telling Meany to "go apply for a job at U.S. Steel" to find out what conditions are really like in the plants, and jabbed at USWA incumbent president I.W. Abel for "spend[ing] too damn much time drinking martinis" with steel company executives.

"Personally," said the "rebel" bureaucrat who is director of the USWA's Chicago-Gary District 31, "I'd rather drink a beer down here with the boys." But with a minimum of effort, the campaign staff for Abel-loyalist candidate Lloyd McBride was able to prove that Sadlowski spends plenty of campaign time raising funds on the cocktail party circuit.

A significant spectrum of liberal journalists, lawyers and academics along with ostensible socialists put Sadlowski forward as a fresh new breeze to blow out the sclerotic Abel/Meany school of conservative business unionism. But the Abel/McBride gang has managed to turn the question of "outside" financing into the sharpest election issue and put the challenger on the defensive. In his opening salvo against Sadlowski on Sunday's "Meet the Press" TV show, McBride waxed indignant: "Our membership are identified with the union and they support the union and I think that they reject the idea that people outside the union should interfere in our election process."

The hypocritical character of Meany/Abel McBride charges of employer support to Sadlowski is obvious. Never have the AFL-CIO hacks shown any compunction about accepting CIA money to "fight communism" through the American Institute for Free Labor Development, or about mobilizing the unions' resources for political candidates of big business parties. Taking of employer kickbacks is notorious in Meanyite construction unions, and even "progressives" like the UAW's Woodcock join wage control boards and angle for more respectable payoffs like government posts.

02138

Nevertheless, the heavy dependence of the Sadlowski campaign on support from establishment liberal warhorses has proved embarrassing to "Oilcan Eddie" with his populist rhetoric and just-one-of-the-boys image. At campaign rallies before union members he has claimed that 85 percent of his contributions have come from "people such as yourselves," yet the financial data supplied under court order suggest that this accounting is less than accurate. According to a breakdown by McBride supporters, more than half the total of $100,000 received by the Sadlowski campaign from named contributors came from cities like Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts; New York; Washington, D.C.; Evanston, Illinois; and San Francisco, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 January).

These areas are hardly centers of USWA membership. The breakdown indicates, rather, that Sadlowski has been able to milk the liberal intellectual fundraising network. The computerized analysis of zip codes done by McBride's staff showed that Sadlowski received 54 contributions totaling $1,346 from zone 02138, which comprises Harvard University and its environs. A total of $8,400 was received from Manhattan, with a sizable portion originating in the posh Upper East Side. On the other hand, upstate New York steel centers like Buffalo and Lackawanna showed only 14 individual contributions worth $129.

The Washington, D.C., area with a minuscule amount of industry produced $7,500, the Bay Area yielded $6,000 with Los Angeles accounting for almost $10,000, mostly from fashionable addresses like Beverly Hills and Malibu. To the totals of direct contributions could be added such forms of assistance as the use of fundraising mailing lists from left-liberal periodicals like the *Nation*, *Progressive* and *New York Review of Books*; from past political campaigns of Democrats like Fred Harris and Ramsey Clark, and from organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union.

Rauh Defends Buying Union Elections

Sadlowski tries to deflect the "outside influence" charge with beerhall folksiness (he recently told one reporter that union members are saying, "If that Polack from the South Side of Chicago is smart enough to get that money from the rich on the North Side, that's the guy I'm looking for"). Meanwhile, the liberal backers of this touted "steel rebel" are brazenly asserting their supposed *right* to meddle in the unions. The clearest example to date is an article entitled "Outsiders' Assistance in Union Elections" by Joseph Rauh, Jr. in the 17 January *New York Times*.

Rauh, who serves as Sadlowksi's legal counsel and was also lawyer for Arnold Miller when that "reform" bureaucrat ran for and won the presidency of the United Mine Workers, argues: "Without support from the public—financial contributors, volunteer workers, public-interest lawyers—the challenger to the union hierarchy would never have a chance." Since challengers are usually men "with no personal means," he concludes: "Building an outside counterforce to provide funds and assistance to the rank-and-file challengers is the only course that offers even the possibility of the reform group prevailing."

Rauh's most general premise is that "The trade-union movement is not an island unto itself, the only major force beyond public influence." Of course, it is precisely "defense of the public interest" that has time and again served bourgeois politicians as a smokescreen to justify rabid anti-labor laws like Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin. These union-busting laws, passed with the justification of "cleaning up the labor movement" from "Mafia influence" and "subversion," are used to smash strikes, purge militants and generally chain the unions to the profit needs of corporate monopolies by banning powerful strike tactics. The "public interest" in the mouths of liberals like Rauh is the interest of the capitalist exploiters.

Mark PoKempner

Tough talking, left-supported Sadlowski has failed to break from capitalism on any key issue facing steelworkers.

Rauh doesn't even try to disguise the fact that he is claiming a right of capitalists to buy union elections. "Who or what is an 'employer'?" he asks disingenuously. Why, this could include as a forbidden contributor "anyone who employs a maid, laundress or babysitter." Far from seeing employer contributions to union election campaigns as a threat to the labor movement, he *especially* advocates such financing since "'employer,' so defined encompasses the entire public able to make a financial contribution"! Rauh's article is an unadorned bid to liberals to buy into the labor bureaucracy. Behind it stands a desire to undercut the conservative influence of Meany in the Democratic Party, and to install more "flexible" union leaders who because of their rhetoric of "social concern" would be better able to defuse potential eruptions of class struggle.

It is one thing to accept and solicit financial and other aid from outside the labor movement to support specific union struggles such as organizing drives, defense cases or hard-fought strikes. Even in this case it is necessary to vigilantly assure that union policies are not adapted to suit the tastes of donors. However, when liberal benefactors bankroll candidates for union office because of their political viewpoint, it is a direct attack on working-class independence. While in the present case, Sadlowski is no more or less an agent of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement than McBride, questions of outside funding could become decisive.

It is not necessary to assert that a Sadlowski or a Miller are simply bought-and-paid-for tools of particular employers or sectors in the ruling class. Rather, there is a convergence between the personal ambitions and reformist views of these so-called "progressive" bureaucrats and the perceived interests of "enlightened" sections of the bourgeoisie. Long-time Socialist Party head Norman Thomas, a man of undoubted personal integrity, was once asked why it was that so many organizations with which he was involved were connected to the CIA. The questioner's implication was that Thomas himself was in the pay of the spy agency. Thomas' candid but revealing response was that the CIA just happened to support many of the same causes he did.

Sadlowski, with his court suits against the union, his pledge to enforce the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and support to bourgeois politicians (including Jimmy Carter for U.S. president last fall), would represent a brake on the class struggle even if he did not get a penny from Xerox and Stop and Shop executives, Pillsbury heiresses or bourgeois economists. But the campaign contributions, like his reliance on the government, signify a further undermining of the class independence of the trade unions.

In the upcoming USWA presidential campaign there is *no choice for steel workers* who wish to put their union on the road of class struggle. The McBride gang is the same bunch of pro-company sellouts who gave away the right to strike, do nothing about dangerous working conditions and whose "solution" to the workers' needs is divisive protectionism and buttering up capitalist politicians.

Sadlowski, for his part, criticizes the

continued on page 8

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 144 11 February 1977

The Great Helsinki Hoax

Dissidents and Cold Warriors

President Jimmy Carter's inaugural address was "received with deep satisfaction by all sober people," declared the official Soviet news agency on the changing of the guard in Washington, adding: "Attention is caught by... his intention to move this year a step toward the ultimate goal, the removal of all nuclear weapons from the earth." A week earlier, in a major speech Soviet Communist Party general secretary Leonid Brezhnev similarly heralded "a new major advance in relations between our countries."

The paeans to détente emanating from Moscow, however, indicate only that the Kremlin bureaucrats, who pride themselves in being hard-headed realists, can indulge in positively childish flights of fancy when it comes to their cherished pipedream of a deal with U.S. imperialism. Actually, in its first two weeks in office the Carter administration has made several moves that point not to relaxation of U.S.-USSR relations but instead toward heating up the "cold war."

Thus, earlier talk of $5-7 billion cuts in defense spending was pared down in Congressional testimony by "defense" secretary Harold Brown to a maximum of $2.8 billion in reductions, and even this is being "reviewed." Shortly afterwards, General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told senators that the USSR is "engaged in a program to achieve strategic superiority" over the U.S. The Joint Chiefs are reportedly pushing for major new weapons programs.

Now, in what has been termed "probably the most important document to be placed before President Carter in his first days in office," it appears that a "National Intelligence Estimate" concurs with the Pentagon. The "estimate" was arrived at by a shadowy "Team B" made up of well-known anti-Soviet hard-liners, whose chairman, Richard Pipes of Harvard, is talking of "preventively destroy[ing] all, or virtually all" of "the opponent's" missiles. Already comparisons are being made to Eisenhower's Gaither Committee which conjured up the mythical "missile gap" used to justify escalated arms spending in the early Kennedy years.

Of a piece with this talk of "preventive destruction" is Carter's "moralistic" foreign policy. The first action by the State Department under the new regime was a pair of peremptory warnings to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia over treatment of dissidents. "We're not going to back down" on the issue of "human rights" blustered Carter, a long-time Vietnam hawk and former lieutenant of ax handle-wielding racist Georgia governor Lester Maddox.

The State Department notes were dripping with hypocrisy. Calling on Moscow to stop harassing nuclear scientist Andrei Sakharov, one said: "Any attempt by the Soviet authorities to intimidate Mr. Sakharov will not silence legitimate criticism in the Soviet Union and will conflict with accepted international standards of human rights" (*New York Times*, 28 January). Pretty cheeky for the gang that tried to portray U.S. imperialism's bloody war in Vietnam as a defense of "human rights"! These are the people who train and supply the murderous Iranian secret police. Clearly, the statement's purpose had little to do with dissidents' rights and a lot to do with whipping up anti-communist hysteria in preparation for a new build-up of strategic forces against the USSR.

Teresa Zabala/New York Times

AP

Imperialist chiefs talk of "human rights," build NATO war machine.

American Federationist

George Meany with Solzhenitsyn

Charter 77

What is truly revolting about the situation is that the bourgeoisie has no need to fabricate atrocity stories about the nature of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe in order to build support for its war machine. In all these countries the parasitic bureaucracies do systematically deny even the most elementary democratic rights to the working masses, as they have done for decades. This is a gift of incalculable value to counterrevolutionary forces, and is one of the greatest crimes of Stalinism.

The State Department note on Czechoslovakia was occasioned by the publication of a manifesto, entitled "Charter 77," signed by some 300 intellectuals and ex-party members associated with the ill-fated Dubček regime that was crushed by a Soviet invasion in 1968. "Charter 77," on the face of it, amounts to little more than a demand that the Prague government reform itself by implementing rights ostensibly guaranteed to Czech citizens by the country's constitution and by the "human rights" convention contained in the Helsinki agreement of August 1975.

Actually, the document is a political manifesto calling for a return to the liberalized conditions that prevailed under Stalinist reformer Dubček. Predictably the reaction of the Husak wing of the Czech bureaucracy, which came to power behind the Soviet tanks in 1968, has been harsh. A number of the signatories to Charter 77 have been subjected to police harassment and arrest. Zdenek Mlynar, Milan Huebl, Frantisek Kreigel, Ludvik Vaculik, Jiri Hajek and Pavel Kahout, all prominently associated with the Dubček era, are threatened with deportation to the West.

Party leader Gustav Husak has whipped up a campaign with echoes reminiscent of the early 1950's when Rudolf Slanski, former secretary of the Czech Communist Party, was hanged. (Slanski's widow and son are among the endorsers of Charter 77.) Many of the signatories have lost their jobs. Houses have been ransacked, telephones cut off and drivers licenses confiscated. Resorting to the crudest character assassination, a Czech magazine published a snapshot of Vaculik in the nude, reclining against a tombstone, with the comment that this "reveals his conception of morals."

The party newspaper, *Rudé Pravo*, warns: "The people who wanted to smuggle counterrevolution into our home have already received their just desserts. They must be aware than any new attempts will founder in the embryo. The year 1968 will not be repeated" (quoted in *New York Times*, 13 January). Behind that assertion lies the determination and armed might of the Kremlin.

Helsinki Backfires

The events in Czechoslovakia have in turn had their effects on the rest of East Europe. A grouping in Hungary has

continued on page 4

Sadlowski/McBride: Non-Stop Hustle

How the New York Times Defends Union Independence...

Believe it or not, the *New York Times*, that well-known mouthpiece for the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, has suddenly come out for "trade union independence"! In a 4 February editorial entitled "Union Funds for Union Politics," the *Times* inveighs against United Steelworkers (USWA) presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski's acceptance of funds from liberal politicians and industrialists: "To encourage external contributions is to open the way to contributors seeking to buy something other than the well-being of a union or of the labor movement."

Coming from the *Times* this is the most ludicrous hypocrisy. The *Times* has been the strongest advocate of "outside interference" in the labor movement when it has suited its interests. It has had no qualms about supporting New York's Taylor law, which outlaws strikes by public employees; or the Taft-Hartley law, which forbids secondary boycotts and gives legal backing to reprisals against communists in the labor movement.

And as for Sadlowski's solicitation of funds from liberal industrialists, politicians, etc., this is no different from what Arnold Miller did in the United Mine Workers (UMW) in 1972. Joe Rauh, the cold-war liberal ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) lawyer who ran the Miller campaign, plays the same role with Sadlowski today. Yet the *Times* did not make an issue of Miller's campaigning techniques in 1972.

What's really at stake is that bourgeois political circles are far less enamored of Sadlowski than they were of Miller. The same editorial notes that Abel's candidate McBride favors extension of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which the *Times* labels a "constructive understanding."

An interesting companion piece to the editorial is an article in the 6 February *Times* by its chief labor columnist, A.H. Raskin. Raskin notes that referendum elections for union officers have been a focal point for federal intervention through the Landrum-Griffin Act, and goes on to question the benefits of such intervention. Raskin even raises doubts about the UMW experience. Miller has not succeeded in consolidating a bureaucracy able to discipline the mine workers. Raskin writes: "Now that rebel leaders have taken over with the aid of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the union is in chaos, with the three top officers at sword's point...: White House energy officials are already worrying that the wrangling will spill over into a prolonged coal strike when the present contracts run out in December."

The articles in the *New York Times* indicate a hardening of mainstream bourgeois opinion against the wholesale use of government intervention to oust established union bureaucracies. The Mine Workers case was exceptional, involving a maverick union not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, one whose leadership had become a liability in enforcing labor peace—and even here there is now considerable second guessing among bourgeois pundits. Active support for Sadlowski in bourgeois political circles is limited to a small minority in the Democratic Party. The Meany/Abel bureaucracy has, after all, functioned as a reliable point of support for the capitalist class in maintaining labor discipline.

This only underscores the futility of the reformist strategy of relying on government intervention to oust the conservative labor bureaucracy. The real targets of Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin are not the elder labor statesmen, but leftists and labor militants. Marxists reject class-collaborationist schemes for calling on the bosses' government as a weapon against the labor bureaucracy and counterpose to this a strategy of defending and making real the independence of the labor movement through militant class struggle.■

Ed Sadlowski — Judith Coburn

Maoist OL Somersaults Over Sadlowski

In an attempt to strike an unaccustomed "left" pose, the Maoist October League (OL) has renounced its support for Ed Sadlowski. The OL is calling for a boycott of the February 8 elections, insisting that "The most important struggle in the steel union today is not between McBride and Sadlowski; it is between these labor bureaucrats and the rank and file" (*Call*, 24 January).

Over the years the OL has been among the most shameless apologists for liberal bureaucrats like Sadlowski and Arnold Miller. In an August 1973 editorial the *Call* blasted the Revolutionary Union (RU), its principal Maoist rival, for having the temerity to utter a few mealy-mouthed words of criticism of these labor traitors:

> "On the question of supporting the Miller and Sadlowski campaigns, the OL takes sharp issue with [RU leader] Avakian's line of 'critical support.' Faced with the growing fascist assault of gangster miner-union leader Tony Boyle and USW boss I.W. Abel, it was the duty of the entire working class and its leadership to stand behind these two campaigns, which had the solid support of the rank and file."

Today, however, the OL tells us that Miller, Sadlowski, etc., are labor lackeys of capitalism deserving of no support. But what has changed? Certainly it is not Sadlowski and Miller, who were every bit as reformist three years ago as they are today. Nor has the October League suddenly rejected trade-union reformism. This is underscored by its refusal to criticize its past support for Sadlowski as well as its assurance that "alliances with the labor union misleaders" cannot be ruled out in the future.

Zigs and zags in the workers movement are nothing new for Stalinist groupings. The OL's "left" zag in the trade unions is not only designed to cover up its putrid record in the labor movement, but is closely bound up with its emergence as the Peking-loyal faction among American Maoists, most of whom have balked at endorsing the new Hua regime and/or supporting uncritically the increasing rightward thrust of Chinese foreign policy. Seeking to pose as the hard pole of orthodoxy within the Maoist move-

continued on page 10

SWP's Traveling Con Man for Sadlowski

WV Photo

Chicago: Jack Barnes on pro-Sadlowski tour.

Touring several Midwest cities this past week, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) national secretary Jack Barnes reached new heights of cynicism in his efforts to portray Ed Sadlowski as a "class-struggle unionist." In his hour-long presentations Barnes avoided any criticism of the reformist Sadlowski, concentrating instead on blasting the neanderthal Abel/Meany wing of the AFL-CIO for "calling for government interference" in the unions, collaborating with government pay boards and supporting the Democratic Party.

In contrast Barnes heaped praise on Sadlowski, depicting him as a stalwart defender of union democracy and an opponent of business unionism. Barnes even had the audacity to defend Sadlowski's notorious *Penthouse* interview, in which the candidate asserted that the way to deal with unpleasant working conditions in the mills was to slash the number of jobs in basic steel by 75 percent. Barnes claimed this demonstrated Sadlowski's sensitivity to problems of the environment and proved that he was a "truly human, revolutionary person"!

Fortunately, Barnes' gross falsifications did not go unanswered. Steel worker militants in Chicago denounced Sadlowski for his failure to fight layoffs in District 31 and his support to a resolution at the August United Steelworkers (USWA) convention calling for trials of suspected communists. Spartacist League (SL) comrades present pointed out that Sadlowski—as well as McBride—supported Jimmy Carter and that far from opposing government interference, Sadlowski's previous election as District 31 director and his current campaign were based on the demand for full-scale Labor Department supervision of the USWA elections. SL supporters also pointed out that Sadlowski's rhetoric about rank-and-file control is the stock-in-trade of any out-bureaucrat seeking higher union office. In 1965 current Steelworkers president I.W. Abel, whom Barnes castigates today, ran a similar campaign against McDonald's "tuxedo unionism," and was supported by the SWP.

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

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50 Found "Guilty" of Class Struggle

Court Sentences ILWU Militants

SAN FRANCISCO, February 5—In several trials over the last three weeks, dozens of strike militants from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have been forced to plead guilty to frame-up charges. Their crime: walking the picket lines during last June's warehouse master contract strike and in related disputes. Because of the ILWU officialdom's refusal to wage a militant and united defense these militants have become victims of the employers' union-busting offensive aimed at crippling the powerful Bay Area labor movement.

The biggest legal defeat came on January 18, when 31 Local 6 members arrested at the Folger's Coffee plant entered "no contest" pleas, receiving fines of $150 each and six months' summary probation. These cases were the result of the company's attempts to drive a convoy of scab trucks through the picket lines there. Despite a negotiated agreement for amnesty, Folger's continued pressing charges and the ILWU attorney accepted a plea-bargaining deal: "Local 6 will pay out over $5,000 in fines in this one case with other cases still on the Northern California court dockets," wailed the *Dispatcher* (28 January).

At this point over 50 ILWU members, including Local 6 president Curtis McClain, have been convicted of various charges, due to the bureaucracy's failure to mobilize the membership to *win* last summer's strikes and to protest the judicial frame-up since then. Probably the only victory for the union was the dropping of charges against Andy Sutter, chief steward at CPC, who faced a possible life sentence for "assault with a deadly weapon." The trumped-up charge was so obviously absurd that Sutter easily passed a polygraph test. The prosecution thereupon dropped the case.

Cops arrest pickets at Folger's Coffee.

Arthur Frisch

In a taped interview with Berkeley radio station KPFA on January 11, two of the victimized ILWU militants described the strike events and ensuing legal battles. Jack Dow, a steward and 18-year member of Local 6, spoke of the strike at Automatic Plastic Molding, where a three-month ILWU organizing drive was broken with the aid of scabherding Berkeley police:

> "A scab stabbed one of the strikers there, for just talking to him, just asking him not to go to work there. He stabbed him three times in the back. The police were going down there every morning. There'd be a bunch of women on the picket line and very few men and the police would come in eight at a time, and just clear the driveway every morning with their batons.... One morning a cop actually picked me up and threw me at the strikers, just to get me out of the driveway."

Dow, a member of the Militant Caucus of Local 6, and Stan Gow, a Local 10 (longshore) executive board member and a publisher of "Longshore Militant," were both given 30-day suspended sentences, one year's probation and $50 fines. Gow had been charged with "assaulting a police officer" and "attempted grand larceny"—for allegedly trying to take away the nightstick a cop was using to strangle Dow! Other ILWU members received jail time as a result of the APM strike: Winford Adams was sentenced to ten days in jail, and newly elected executive board member Tony Wilkinson got two days imprisonment.

In the KPFA interview, Dow exposed the "neutrality" of capitalist justice: "We had this strike at Handyman too, where one of the supervisors just ran over one of the strikers and killed him. He's now out on $3,000 bail and he's charged with

continued on page 9

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High court guts civil rights laws.

Supreme Court OK's Defacto Segregation

Integrate Arlington Heights!

CHICAGO—On January 11 the United States Supreme Court by a vote of five to three upheld the right of racist white communities to exclude low-income black and minority families through zoning out all multi-unit housing. The particular case involves Chicago's suburb of Arlington Heights, which for five years has fought a Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation (MHDC) plan to build a government-subsidized housing project in this lily-white town.

The MHDC plan for Arlington Heights was for 210 apartments built in two-story units over 13 acres and made available to low- and medium-income families. In 1972, after the Arlington Heights village board refused to rezone the tract of land for multi-unit dwellings, the MHDC lawyers went to court, charging a violation of the 1968 Fair Housing Law.

Over the last decade, several hundred thousand jobs have disappeared in Chicago, pushing thousands of unemployed onto the welfare rolls. Recently the *New York Times* (24 January) reported that "during the 1960's half a million whites moved to the new housing tracts in what had been cornfields outside of Chicago, while the urban core gained a third of a million black residents." Arlington Heights and other white suburbs around Chicago have been fighting to maintain their elite enclaves from an influx of blacks in search of jobs and a higher standard of living.

The federal appeals court maintained that the restrictive zoning in Arlington Heights was, in its impact, discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional. The high court, however, has since sharply changed its guidelines in judging discrimination cases. It is now not enough to prove the de facto segregationist effects of the zoning laws—*intent* to segregate must also be demonstrated, an almost impossible task.

The Supreme Court's decision on Arlington Heights opens the floodgates for reversals of most of the limited gains in open housing and integrated schools which blacks and minorities won through militant struggle in the 1960's. Already several plans for school desegregation through busing have been overturned on appeal. In the last two months alone, the Supreme Court ordered reversals and "re-examination" of busing plans in Austin, Texas; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Dayton, Ohio.

The struggles which raged in the 1960's throughout the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were not against *de jure* segregation laws, most of which were declared unconstitutional in the late 1950's, but against de facto segregation in housing, education and jobs. Now the court's decision throws up a legal fence around white suburbs, locking poor and minority families into overcrowded and decaying inner cities.

The struggle against residential segregation in Chicago has a long history. In the summer of 1966 Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference targeted Chicago for its open housing campaign, announcing plans for peaceful marches through Chicago's all-white suburbs. Mayor Daley, wanting to keep the lid on, allowed the marchers to go through Gage Park, Cragin and other areas, but blew the whistle when King announced a major march through Cicero. King never went to Cicero—instead Daley, in a smooth political maneuver, phonied up a commission to "study the problem." King soon left Chicago, and six months later the whole thing was forgotten.

During his two-decade reign Daley assiduously avoided any actions which would infringe upon the strict racial/ethnic neighborhood divisions in Chicago, both because (like all significant capitalist politicians) he endorsed the racist status quo and because these community divisions were the basis for his powerful machine organization.

Last summer the small Martin Luther King Jr. Movement attempted to lead marches into Marquette Park. This solidly white area, bordering on Chicago's Southwest Side black ghetto, has been the focus of escalating racial tension. Egged on by the Klan and Nazis who handed out "White Power" T-shirts, hostile whites pelted the marchers with rocks and stones. While off-duty police joined in the rock throwing, uniformed cops arrested the marchers.

It is not only in housing that Chicago's rulers have held firm against integration. The city has missed several court-designated deadlines to submit a substantial busing plan, preferring to stall while anti-busing forces mobilize. Recently a crowd of 150 "interested parents" including the "Mothers for Neighborhood Schools American Style" (!) attended a Chicago school board meeting, where a consultant on busing to the Chicago school board, Edward A. Welling, fielded questions. He was so conciliating toward the racists that one of the anti-busing bigots finally yelled out: "Well, if he's on our side, and the state legislators are on our side and the governor's on our side, what the hell's going on? Why are we here?" (*Chicago Sun Times*, 25 January).

The rigid separation of blacks and whites in capitalist America must be attacked at its most fundamental level: ghettoization of oppressed racial minorities. Integration is a strategic necessity for the working class—only with the greatest possible unity can the working

continued on page 10

Dissidents...

(continued from page 1)

declared its solidarity with the Charter 77 group. A similar statement was issued by the Polish Workers Defense Committee, which said it was adding its voice to that of the Hungarians and Sakharov. The Committee also solidarized with East Germans victimized for protesting the forced exile of singer Wolf Biermann to West Germany.

The bourgeois press has had a field day with the fact that Soviet bloc dissidents like Biermann have been deported to the West while reportedly more than 100,000 East Germans have applied for permission to emigrate, claiming their "rights" under the Helsinki treaty. It is indeed ironic that the 1975 European security agreement, which was pushed most forcefully by the Stalinists as a milestone of détente, has now become a weapon in the hands of various dissident currents and the imperialists.

At bottom the Helsinki accord was simply a pact between Moscow and Washington that blessed in official terms the post-World War II map of Europe, itself the product of deals between the imperialist "democracies" and Stalin in the 1943-45 period. In exchange for this worthless piece of paper, the Kremlin bureaucrats gave Washington a pledge of non-interference in Portugal (then in an acute pre-revolutionary situation) and acceded to Ford/Kissinger's demands for formal commitments to freedom of speech, press, assembly and the right to travel abroad.

UPI

Russian police attack demonstration for rights of Crimean Tatars.

Unlike Washington, the Stalinists insisted that the Helsinki agreement was legally binding and trumpeted it as a major accomplishment of their policies of "peaceful coexistence." The U.S. Communist Party's *Daily World* (7 August 1975) ran the glowing headline, "Heads of State Sign Pact to End Cold War." At the time, rabidly anti-détente forces in the American bourgeoisie railed against Helsinki, playing the theme of "Western retreat" on the "basic principle of self-determination." Today the same elements—represented by, for example, Carter's "National Security Advisor" Zbigniew Brzezinski—find comfort in using the Helsinki accords to bludgeon the Kremlin over "human rights."

But the Stalinists are incorrigible. When Soviet ambassador Dobrynin met with Carter on the issue, he complained... that the U.S. had violated the section of the Helsinki treaty prohibiting "interference in internal affairs" of other signatories!

Cold Warrior/Dissident Alliance?

The Carter administration was quick to exploit the unrest in the Soviet bloc states for the purposes of anti-communist propaganda. But it has received considerable aid and encouragement in this direction from some of the dissidents themselves. Sakharov appealed to imperialist chief Carter to take up the cause of "fighters for human rights" in the Soviet Union. Another group of Russian dissidents issued an appeal to Pope Paul VI, Queen Elizabeth II and President Jimmy Carter to "use your high authority to defend Andrei Sakharov" (*New York Times*, 29 January).

This is a call on the imperialists to use all the power at their command, from economic blackmail to nuclear threats, against a state which—despite the autocratic rule of a usurping bureaucracy—still preserves precious gains of the October Revolution.

The counterrevolutionary import of such appeals was made even more explicit in testimony last month by Andrei Amalrik, the author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* who was expelled from the USSR in July 1976. Amalrik, who has criticized Kissinger as "the strategist of retreat," told the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, according to the *New York Times* (7 January), that the U.S. "should use technology, credits and grain as leverage to insure progress toward more democratic policies. But he said he doubted that the United States would be tough enough with the Russians." He also praised the CIA-funded Radio Liberty.

Der Spiegel

Ex-Soviet dissidents Amalrik (left) and Vanig at Stockholm forum.

The Stalinists' suppression of workers democracy is a fundamental roadblock to socialism. A classless society cannot be built by using police-state measures against dissidents who do not militarily threaten the fundamental achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the grim reality of burcaucratic repression in no way excuses the Sakharovs and Amalriks who wish to make common cause with imperialism (more precisely, with imperialist hawks) against the Kremlin. In this case, the syllogism "the enemy of mine enemy is my friend" lands these dissidents in the camp of the imperialists.

For the bourgeoisie, "democracy" means *capitalist* democracy, full freedom for the exploiters and oppression for the toilers. When Carter calls for "democracy" in the Soviet Union he means the restoration of capitalism. To bloc with such elements is a vile betrayal of the interests of the working class and the future of humanity.

The Berlin Wall

A case in point is the question of the Berlin Wall. From John F. Kennedy on, every bourgeois U.S. politician with the slightest pretense of being a "national leader" has made his anti-communist pilgrimage to Berlin. There they are photographed at the Berlin Wall, preferably in the company of sad-eyed children, and quoted in press dispatches as saying, "I, too, feel like a Berliner." Carter's vice president Mondale is the latest to make this hypocritical trek.

As Trotskyists we take no responsibility for the Berlin Wall. We point out that it was the bureaucracy's crimes that made it necessary, and that it would be torn down in a *revolutionary* reunification of Germany. It is a bureaucratic solution to a genuine problem of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), namely massive hemorrhaging of its workforce, particularly of skilled workers, in the years before it was built in 1961. But any attempt by the American/French/British occupation troops or the West German government to dismantle this bureaucratically conceived measure of self-defense must be adamantly opposed.

The bourgeoisie has a program of removing the deformities of the bureaucratically deformed workers states by dismantling the dictatorship of the proletariat itself and restoring this vast region to the sphere of capitalist exploitation. Trotskyists call for the most vigilant defense against capitalist restoration, by constructing a Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat in a *political* revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and institute *soviet* democracy. Only in this way can the world-historic gain represented by the overthrow of capitalism be preserved and extended.

In this regard, the 1975 call by the Vargaite sect to hold a demonstration (subsequently canceled) on July 4 (!) at the Berlin Wall around the main slogans, "Down with the Berlin Wall! Down with the Imperialist and Stalinist Bureaucracies!" was an anti-communist provocation which it would be perfectly principled for a Trotskyist group to militarily disperse. As for the Maoists of the West German KPD who held a demonstration in East Berlin around pro-NATO slogans, as well as for

China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

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Scandinavian USec in the Camp of Maoist Anti-Sovietism

STOCKHOLM—Increasingly over the past few months, pious concern for (supposedly classless) "democratic rights" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has become a rallying point for liberal anti-communists and left-wing organizations who reject the unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. In the latest example of this anti-Soviet unholy alliance, the Swedish Maoist cultural front *Folket i Bild* issued an appeal for a February 4 demonstration in Stockholm around the slogans "For democratic rights in Czechosolvakia," "Stop the persecution of the Charter 77," and "Soviet Union out of Czechoslovakia!"

The 500 people who attended the demonstration did not, however, participate in a working-class defense of the Czech dissidents. While Trotskyists defend the fullest *workers* democracy in East Europe and oppose both the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the subsequent victimization of Dubček supporters, we recognize that appeals for abstract "democracy" in Eastern Europe serve as an open invitation to capitalist-restorationist forces. Thus it came as no surprise when the pro-NATO, Peking-loyal SKP (Swedish Communist Party) which controls *Folket i Bild* turned the demonstration into a platform for a keynote speaker from the bourgeois-liberal People's Party (a member of the government coalition, which campaigned in last September's election on the slogan "reforms without socialism").

This caused considerable embarrassment to the ostensibly Trotskyist KAF (Communist Workers League—Swedish supporters of the "United" Secretariat [USec]), which had signed the joint statement. Only shortly before the demonstration did it dawn upon these Pabloists that their role was simply that of a left cover for an anti-communist mobilization. At the last minute, the KAF withdrew its support for the demonstration citing the presence of Per Gahrton (a rabid pro-Zionist parliamentarian from the People's Party).

However, the KAF did *not* withdraw its endorsement of the signed declaration which was the basis for the rally! Moreover, echoing the "democratic" railings of Peking apologists and bourgeois liberals, the KAF's statement distancing itself from the demonstration repeated the treacherous equation of repression in capitalist states and in the degenerated/deformed workers states: "in other parts of Europe—Poland, the Soviet Union, East and West Germany—writers, journalists and workers are rising in opposition to bureaucratic abuse and the *Berufsverbot* [exclusion of "radicals" from government jobs] in West Germany" (*Internationalen*, 4 February). For these renegades from Trotskyism not only is there no mention of the obligation of the world proletariat to militarily defend the deformed workers states, but there is not even a hint of the class line which separates the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany from imperialist West Germany!

"democratic rights" (for whom?), and were arrested by East German Volkspolizei, we merely defend their right to a fair trial, nothing more.

Fake-Trotskyists Tail Pro-Imperialist Dissidents

It is an unfortunate fact that, despite many instances of great individual courage, the majority of the current generation of Soviet and East European dissidents, the bulk of whom are drawn from the intelligentsia, have shown little concern for anything outside their own collective sufferings at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucrats. This deliberate political blindness has led to such outrages as Sakharov's refusal to comment on the 1973 bloodbath in Chile because it was "too far away," and Bukovsky's joking remark after being exchanged for Chilean Communist leader Luis Corvalán that he would gladly trade Brezhnev for Pinochet.

WV Photo

Leonid Plyushch (right) joins cold warrior Senator Jackson in NYC.

Along with a boundless faith in the democratic intentions and good will of the imperialist bourgeoisie has gone a peculiar blindness to imperialist crimes against the working masses, from Vietnam to South Africa.

In this context the failure of ostensible Trotskyists, such as in particular the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), to openly criticize the pro-imperialist views of various leading Soviet dissidents is nothing short of criminal. But their betrayal is certainly consistent. Both the SWP and OCI have joined together on numerous occasions with bourgeois and social-democratic critics of the Stalinist bureaucracies in classless appeals for "democracy" in the Soviet bloc. Not once in the current crop of SWP articles on unrest in East Europe does one find these "Trotskyists" calling either for unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism or for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies.

But why should they? After all, the SWP has no quarrel with Ed Sadlowski who calls upon the self-same capitalists to be "neutral arbiters" in the Steelworkers union election. In fact it calls on the same imperialist army that murdered hundreds of thousands of Indochinese peasants and workers to restore "democratic rights" in Boston. And in its recent election campaign, SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo told the U.S. House of Representatives Intelligence Committee that his party is "opposed to totalitarian regimes everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or in Spain"! All that is left for these preachers of "consistent democracy" is to call on Carter to send federal troops or missiles to Moscow to enforce "democratic rights."

If such fake-revolutionists are blind to the class line, the bourgeoisie is not. The State Department was quick to raise its cudgels for a Sakharov or a Solzhenitsyn, but in all its recent warnings against victimization of East European dissidents there is a curious omission: nothing has been said about the Polish Workers Defense Committee, which has suffered from bureaucratic repression no less than the signers of Charter 77. The reason is clear: behind the Workers Defense Committee stand the Polish workers' protests last June and the powerful December 1970 uprising by Baltic port workers. As in the East German uprising of 1953 and the Hungarian revolution the bourgeoisie instinctively recognizes in these proletarian movements a threat not only to the Stalinists but to its own class rule. Its silence is the expression of a fear that such protests could spread across the "Iron Curtain" and engulf all Europe in the flames of workers revolution.

Proletarian democracy will not be achieved in the USSR or in any other of the deformed workers states by appealing to the imperialists (or through self-reform of the ruling bureaucracy). Only through political revolution, under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, can the proletariat sweep away the Stalinist roadblock to socialism and establish a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

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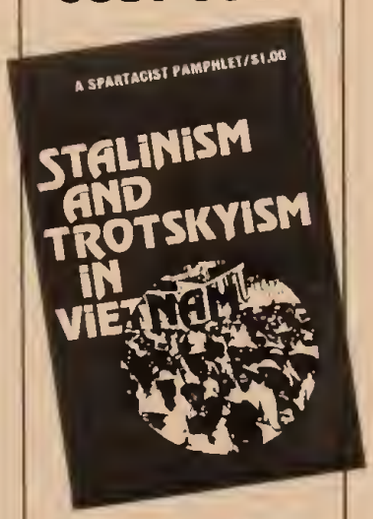

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No to Protectionism—Organize Seamen Internationally!

Chauvinist Outcry Over Oil Spills

The leaflet we reprint below was recently distributed in New York City by the Militant Solidarity Caucus, *a class-struggle opposition in the National Maritime Union (NMU).*

31 January 1977

Recently the news media has been filled with stories of foreign flag ships breaking up. On Nantucket Shoal the Liberian-registered Argo Merchant grounded, spilling over 7.5 million gallons of oil and endangering the fishing grounds in that area. In Los Angeles harbor an explosion aboard the tanker Sansinea killed seven persons. In another incident the tanker Olympic Games leaked 135,000 gallons of oil into the waters at Marcus Hook.

NMU president Shannon Wall suddenly claims to be an ardent supporter of the environment against oil spills. The January *Pilot* contains a story which asserts, "In radio and television interviews and in signed articles in the *Daily News*, President Wall hammered away at the lack of 'competent authority' that would see to it that foreign ships that enter our ports abide by international safety standards."

But Shannon Wall's new-found interest in "international safety standards" is pure hypocrisy. Wall and the NMU officials continue to undercut safety conditions on NMU-contract ships by accepting sweetheart contracts with greatly reduced manning scales on each new tanker that comes off the drydock. While Wall attacks the American oil companies that register their tankers abroad, he says nothing about the rotten practices of American-flag shipowners.

Wall's sudden chatter about "ecology" is only a pretext for his real concern: passing legislation to bring foreign-flag ships under the U.S. flag. The NMU officials support bills like the Energy Transportation Security Act, which would require that 30 percent of all imported oil be carried in tankers built and manned in the U.S.

False Policy Exposed

"Runaway shipping" to third-flag countries has indisputably been a major factor in the shortage of jobs for U.S. seamen. At present only about 5 percent of U.S. oceanborne commerce is carried on U.S-flag ships. However, Wall's policy of supporting legislation to run foreign seamen off the ships will only weaken our position. This policy is derived from the bureaucracy's strategy of class collaboration. Instead of joining with other sections of maritime labor for a united fight against the shipowners, Wall—like Paul Hall of the SIU—prefers to join with the bosses, guaranteeing them greater profits in the hopes that it will mean a few jobs for NMU seamen. In the present instance, if the oil import quota legislation is passed, Wall and Co. clearly intend to offer contracts with reduced manning scales, less vacation time, etc., in order to make it "profitable" for tanker operators to carry their quota!

Big business always goes where it can derive the greatest profits; labor can only counter this by organizing internationally. As long as a substantial section of the maritime industry internationally is unorganized, with substandard wages and conditions, this serves as a club for the shipowners, who will continually threaten to go abroad if the unions here don't knuckle under to them.

The oil import quota bill might initially provide a few more jobs for American seamen and some of these jobs *might* end up in the NMU—but only at the expense of further contract concessions and reduced manning scales. But even more importantly, support for such *protectionist* legislation like the oil import quota bill, which limit trade and transport by foreign nations, is dangerous to the labor movement. It is not only the leaders of the maritime unions that preach this chauvinist viewpoint. The heads of the steel workers, textile, auto workers unions also support limitations on foreign imports, claiming that this will provide more jobs for American workers. However, it is obvious that this will only drive governments abroad to retaliate by demanding controls on *American* imports, thus leading to higher prices and reduced trade—including fewer jobs for seamen. Protectionist trade legislation does not "protect" the jobs of American workers; it only protects the profits of big business, while producing divisions in the labor movement internationally.

Which Way Forward

The only way forward is militant international organizing. The NMU can initiate such a struggle by demanding that the U.S. maritime unions enforce a standard of no less than U.S. standards of wages and conditions for all ships in U.S. waters. The NMU, instead of supporting protectionist legislation designed to boot foreign seamen off the ships, could put real muscle into the organizing drive of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF). The ITF, mainly in Europe and Australia, is refusing to load and unload cargo of third-flag ships that refuse to recognize ITF-affiliated unions and meet ITF standards. Unfortunately, however, the ITF campaign is mostly tokenism, without a serious concerted organizing effort. However, the NMU officials—although our union is affiliated to the ITF—do not even pay lip service to such organizing. Although an occasional article appears in the *Pilot* about giving food and lodging to a crew victimized by a foreign-flag shipowner, this never goes beyond charity into what is really needed—a militant organizing drive to defend the interests of both U.S. and foreign seamen.

The NMU has a history, albeit flawed, in organizing foreign-flag ships. It was called the Pan American division, set up to organize foreign seamen on ships mainly plying the banana trade. Though these seamen were organized by the NMU, their contracts were below

continued on page 8

SL Holds Active Workers Conference

Last month the Spartacist League/U.S. (SL) convened an "Active Workers Conference" in a Midwest city under the direction of the Trade Union Commission (TUC) of the SL Central Committee. The agenda and pre-conference discussion were centered on the SL's trade-union work and the TUC had anticipated limiting attendance to trade unionists and other comrades directly involved in supervising trade-union work.

A couple of weeks prior to the gathering, the Political Bureau (PB) under membership pressure relaxed the attendance restriction: any comrade of the SL or its youth group, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), who wanted to brave sub-zero weather to attend the three-day conference, with restricted speaking privileges and no guarantee of accommodations, would be admitted in exchange for a stiff registration fee. The enthusiastic turnout on short notice was a surprise—and dismayed the comrades responsible for conference arrangements, as nearly two-thirds of the membership of the SL/SYL and Trotskyist League of Canada turned out for the conference.

The proceedings demonstrated the consolidation of a layer of SL/SYL comrades committed to being "not trade unionists in the party but communists in the trade unions." The spirit of determined reaffirmation of the SL's revolutionary program as the basis for trade-union work demonstrated the testing and maturing of the so-called "class of '72": the layer of cadres recruited during a period of extremely rapid growth. These recruits, won in large part out of the fracturing of the old New Left, provided the human material for the SL's "transformation into the nucleus of the vanguard party" as projected in 1971, exemplified by the launching of *Workers Vanguard* and the intensified colonization of industry.

Speaking at the opening plenary session, SL National Chairman James Robertson frankly addressed the "crisis of expectations" of this layer of comrades, idealistic formerly young people shaped centrally by the radicalization of the Vietnam war era, whose experience in politics conveyed no gut-level awareness of the ebbs and flows of class struggle. One comrade, Robertson recalled, had confidently presented a statistical analysis of SL growth showing that the then current level of recruitment would naturally transform the SL into a mass party in a matter of a few years.

Instead, Robertson noted, the continuing accumulation of inflammable social material has not as yet been reflected in the outbreak of great class struggles. The relative stagnation of the immediate past period has generated tremendous pressures of frustration upon the tiny American left, from which the SL is not immune. While the ostensibly revolutionary organizations, virtually without exception, have suffered profound crises, factional fragmenting and/or disintegration, the SL, guided by its Marxist analysis of social reality, has preserved itself from any severe dislocation or disorientation and has remained highly politically homogeneous.

However, the frustrations of the immediate past period, reflected in a widespread mood of apathy or cynicism among working people and the continuing penchant of student youth for apolitical escapist faddism, have led to a slowdown in the recruitment rate combined with some losses, adding up to a slight contraction in membership. Prospects for substantial regroupments have become meager through prior absorption, and the remaining centrist fragments evidence sharp rightward motion.

The "crisis of expectations" had tended to weigh most heavily on the SL's most vulnerable and submerged elements, our trade unionists. The arrogance of the trade-union bureaucracy—whose response to the intolerable unemployment, grinding inflation and reactionary ruling-class mobilization aimed at challenging the unions and reversing even the tokenistic social reforms of the past decade has been to stifle militant struggle and intensify harassment of "reds"—is a fertile source for both opportunist and adventurist impulses among trade-union comrades. Only the power of the SL's revolutionary program and its traditions and practice of disciplined Leninist functioning have prevented any widespread demoralization or blunting of revolutionary will among the trade-union cadres.

In this context, the organization has continued to drive hard. It has continued to insist upon an extremely high standard of disciplined functioning despite the objective pressures, generated by a situation of relative class quiescence in the U.S., toward erosion of Bolshevik professionalism in the direction of rotten liberalism. Despite the difficulties of the period, there has emerged from among the membership no challenge to the organization's priorities, despite a real strain on a number of local committees resulting from the deliberate concentration of leading cadres in the national center, on the press and in international work.

"You Have to Hate Capitalism"

The conference memorandum drafted for the TUC was adopted as the central axis of the forthcoming SL national conference.

The central feature of the conference was the trade-union commissions, in which the concrete work of the SL's industrial fractions over the recent period was examined aggressively and critically. The fundamental principles that define the SL's trade-union work and distinguish it from that of its workerist political opponents—the building of class-struggle caucuses on the basis of the transitional program, refusal to give critical electoral support to fake "lesser evil" bureaucrats, opposition to government interference in the labor movement, rejection of "simple trade unionism" as the road forward—were reaffirmed in the course of intensive evaluation of the fractions' work.

Speaking on behalf of the TUC, Chris Knox stressed that the cadres of the future American socialist revolution must critically assimilate the historical experience of Trotskyism in the trade unions. "Principles are the evolved lessons of the class struggle," Knox told the conference.

A six-hour discussion following the TUC report was the high point of the meetings. Despite almost five years of physically exhausting, unrelenting pressures—faced with alternating speed-ups and layoffs in their industries, working patiently without major victories in a milieu where, despite intense exploitation, massive class resistance has yet to erupt—the comrades demonstrated their revolutionary will to struggle and overcome the draining pressures upon them.

Our competitors base their "strategy" on attempts to ride the coattails of militant-talking out-bureaucrats and their phony "rank-and-file movements" like "Miners for Democracy," "Teamsters for a Decent Contract" and "Steelworkers Fightback." A veteran of 18 years of militant struggle in longshore, referring to these reformist illusions, recalled Eugene Debs' observation that it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it.

One steel worker ruefully recalled his six years as a Progressive Labor union activist seeking to build a "left-center coalition" on the basis of a reformist program. An auto worker noted that opportunists like the International

continued on page 10

The American Working Class:

Explosion Brewing at the Base

The U.S. in the mid-1970's does not present a pretty picture, either for the working class or for the U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency. The heavy worldwide inflation of the exceptional boom of 1971-73 has eroded workers' real wages drastically, and since then double-digit unemployment has once again become a norm, forcing even presidential candidates to make analogies to the Great Depression. New York and San Francisco, long considered centers of liberal bourgeois enlightenment, have become instead the headquarters of ruling class attacks on the labor movement for the purpose of driving down the living standards of the urban workforce. The black masses, pandered to with hypocritical liberal promises a few years ago, are now the target of renewed racist attacks in the form of anti-busing campaigns and white "community control" designed to enforce neighborhood "ethnic purity."

Motion and consolidation to the right characterize the entire U.S. bourgeois political spectrum. The mood of the U.S. ruling class is one of greater openness, arrogance and determination. The papier-mâché liberalism of the late 1960's and early 1970's has been completely ripped away, revealing a bourgeoisie which loudly proclaims that workers' wages are to be cut, unemployment lines lengthened, and that blacks and women are to remain in their places or else. Perhaps the best indication of the sharp rightward shift is the rush in the halls of state legislatures to defeat ERA amendments, and the equally thunderous stampede to pass new laws for the restoration of the death penalty. Furthermore, the international position of the U.S. remains strong vis-à-vis its main imperialist rivals, and the domestic arrogance of U.S. imperialism is

Excerpts from TUC General Memorandum

matched by an increasingly noticeable thirst to recover from the Vietnam debacle and once again be able to intervene militarily around the world at will.

The present period, while characterized by sharp motion to the right, is nevertheless in the main not analogous to the 1950's. The aggressive U.S. imperialism of the post-war period combined its declaration of an "American Century" and world-policeman role with a mass-based domestic anti-communist crusade. Illusions in a myth of post-war prosperity and in the supposed purity of purpose of American bourgeois democracy fostered widespread complacency and a sense of naiveté throughout most strata of society. The decade of the 1970's is instead taking on a profoundly cynical cast, in which the bourgeoisie no longer denies that things are bad (and getting worse), but merely insists on its right to rule anyway.

All classes are infected by this cynicism, which grows out of disillusionment with the system, combined with a lack of evident solutions. Unlike the Korean War, the Vietnam War severely eroded faith in the avowed purposes of U.S. foreign policy and undermined anti-communism, while the Watergate scandal laid bare bourgeois political hypocrisy on the evening news.

continued on page 9

Charleston Daily Mail

West Virginia miners battle cops during wildcat over right to strike.

Blood and Coal: Harlan County, U.S.A.

Louisville Courier-Journal

Cops arrest strikers at Brookside, Harlan county

Bloody class warfare is a rare theme in American movies. Barbara Kopple's *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, which recently opened in New York City, is a documentary film about one of those battles, a 13-month strike in the Appalachian coal fields that ended in a limited victory for the miners.

The film is a first-rate documentary. It has impact because it is not only the story of a strike but also a compelling portrayal of the power of labor traditions. It is a historical document of union militancy and working-class solidarity.

Review of *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, directed and produced by Barbara Kopple

It also records, but has no answer for, the treachery of the United Mine Workers (UMW) leadership under Arnold Miller, which withheld active support to the Harlan County strikers for over a year and then sold out the right to strike over grievances in the 1974 national coal contract.

Kopple's use of historical clips from the 1930's never allows the audience to forget that this is Harlan County. This is bloody Harlan: "there are no neutrals here." Dramatic scenes of class confrontation in the 1970's are prepared by images of pitched battles in the past. The screen is filled by the government's tanks ripping through the streets on the way up to the mines. The troops form a corridor of the state's armed might through which scabs are driven.

In these times when the slick bureaucrats of business unionism boast, as AFL-CIO head George Meany does, that they never walked a picket line; when "labor statesmen" like the Steelworkers I. W. Abel sign no-strike agreements; when "rebel" bureaucrats like Ed Sadlowski appeal to the bosses' government as a "neutral arbiter" between labor and capital, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* presents an unsophisticated truth and drives it home in graphic scenes: the class struggle is not dead.

The miners and their wives speak for themselves in this story of a year-long struggle at Brookside, Kentucky. Contemptuous and paternalistic, the Duke Power Company which owns the mine refused to accept the standard UMW contract, forcing the miners to strike in July 1973. Jailed en masse by mine-owning judges, beaten by state troopers, shot at by scabherding gun thugs, the strikers held out and finally forced recognition of the union by the mine bosses.

Kopple's camera allows us interviews of the older folks who remember the martyrs who died. For them the UMW slogan, "fight like hell for the living," is no abstract rhetoric. Throughout the film are woven the miners' own songs, articulating their plight and their determination. At a strike rally, Florence Reese sings "Which Side Are You On?"—the song she wrote during Harlan County's labor battles of the 1930's.

Things are straightforward in Harlan. We see picket lines held by the wives on the highway because the mines are held by machine guns. Those who cross are scabs—there's no confusion here. We see the Brookside women lie down in the street to stop the gun-toting thugs. The cops drag them away, but they return. We see men and women defying court injunctions which would mean death to the strike. They have no illusions that the cops who arrest them or the courts who jail them are anything but an official extension of the company and its gunmen.

Over and over again Kopple sees the source of the strikers' courage in the memory of prior battles, in the class-struggle traditions of the coal mines of Harlan. After numerous confrontations and mass mobilizations, the miners are faced with the decision to defend themselves with arms against the guns of the union-busters and the cops. Workers self-defense is also a tradition in Harlan, and the climax of the film is surely when the strikers train their gun barrels on a convoy of scabs trying to enter Highsplint Mine.

The central figures of the movie are the miners' wives, whose Brookside Women's Club was in many ways the backbone of the strike. Their gritty defiance of gun thugs and state troopers sustained the picket lines through months of strikebreaking terror. For the Brookside women, as well as their husbands, the union meant survival. (See "Brookside Organized After 13-Month Strike," in *Women and Revolution* No. 7, Autumn 1974, for an on-the-spot report of the strike and the role of the Women's Club.)

The urgency of class solidarity undercut traditional racial and sexual prejudices. The powerful contradiction, pervasive throughout the U.S. proletariat, between militant unionism and reactionary social attitudes is particularly intense in the isolated mining regions. The West Virginia textbook-burning campaigns are an example. The appeal to god-fearing anti-communism has traditionally been the bosses' rallying cry in the coal fields. In the 1930's it was not only prosecution on charges of "criminal syndicalism" that defeated the Communist Party (CP)-led National Miners Union in Harlan and Bell counties, but also a hysterical scare campaign against "Marxist atheism."

Today UMW bureaucrats play on the same backwardness to harass militant oppositionists and try to purge "reds" from the union. Last September's Mine Workers convention turned into a virtual witchhunt as a result. In this respect Arnold Miller, Mike Trbovich and the rest of the bureaucrats follow in the footsteps of their anti-communist predecessors, from John L. Lewis on.

While the film is able to record the class-struggle traditions in Harlan, it fails to explicitly deal with the political reality of the bureaucratized labor movement which dragged out the Brookside strike and made it into such an agonizing struggle. As a political statement, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* never goes beyond the militant unionism it depicts. Acknowledging Miller's betrayals—and the miners' anger in response, as they burn his 1974 contract—the film shows nothing of the political roots of these betrayals.

When the movie was first shown at the New York Film Festival last fall a militant unionist commented in the ensuing discussion that the story of the strike showed the need to link the trade-union struggle to a fight for power—for socialist revolution—or the limited gains would again be taken away. The audience cheered, and one "old-timer" commented, "Well, I'm glad somebody finally said it."

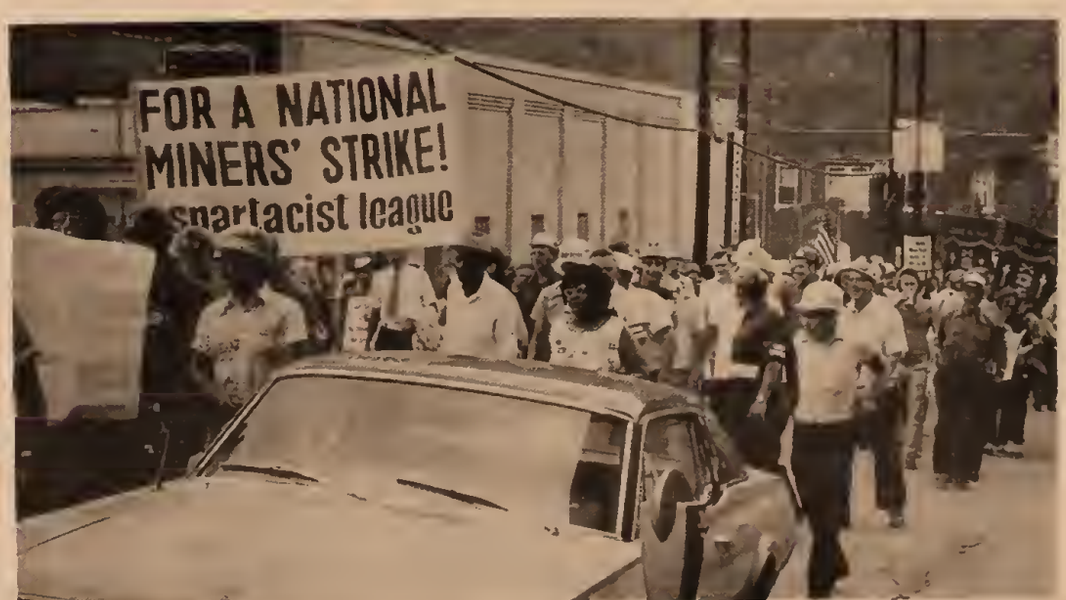
In the film, "Jock" Yablonski, the long-time UMW bureaucrat who founded Miners for Democracy and was killed by Boyle supporters, dies an untarnished martyr; Miller is seen as just one more personally corrupted bureaucrat. But in fact Miller's political behavior was utterly predictable (and Yablonski's would have been the same had he lived). Unlike their fans in virtually every allegedly socialist group in the U.S., the Spartacist League warned from the outset against illusions in these darlings of the liberals (see "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers Election," in *WV* No. 17, March 1973).

Miller's reliance on the capitalist government—through its courts and Labor Department—to climb to power in the UMW presaged his later collaboration with the class enemy in breaking wildcats, his stifling of the miners' right to strike and his heavy-handed suppression of internal opponents in the union. Today those who backed Miller—"critically" or otherwise—are fleeing like rats from his sinking ship, as the treachery of this "reform" bureaucrat has become obvious to all.

But there is one group of Miller enthusiasts which has remained loyal to the bitter end. The Communist Party's review of *Harlan County, U.S.A.* attacks "Barbara Kopple's limitations as a labor documentary filmmaker"... for putting Miller in a bad light! This, it says, aids the "unholy alliance" of pro-Boyle forces "skilled at taking advantage of the disruptive attacks on Miller by some of the so-called 'leftist' sects operating among the miners" (*Daily World*, 2 November 1976).

The *Daily World* complains that, "As presented in the film, the UMW president is apparently turning out to be just one more labor bureaucrat. Actually in the real miners' world, it's a different situation." In the spirit of the Stalinists' "documentary films" of the Russian Revolution that "edited out" the role of

continued on page 8



WV Photo

Miners march at Harlan, Kentucky, during UMW "memorial" in August, 1974.

Harlan County...

(continued from page 7)

Leon Trotsky, the CP would prefer a "documentary" about the coal miners in which Arnold Miller is not seen as a sellout. The problem is, Kopple's camera and microphones recorded what UMW miners thought of Miller's sellout contract; they reflected the fact that the membership struck for a month before he could shove it down their throats. That's what the *Daily World* doesn't want to see on film.

Kopple has limitations, but they are not that she shows what the angry miners thought of Miller's sellout. Unfortunately, the film's indictment of the UMW leaders is only implicit and incomplete. The director sees the strike through the eyes of the most militant miners in the area, who were frustrated by Miller's betrayals yet had no strategy to defeat them. Toward the end of the film one sees the Harlan miners trying to grapple with the Miller bureaucracy; there are arguments, a young miner talks of the need to continue the struggle. Here one hopes for an analysis of the role of the union bureaucracy, a call for constructing a class-struggle opposition in the UMW against *all* the labor fakers and an explanation of the need for a *political* struggle by the working class against the parties and state of big business. Instead there is an emptiness, at best platitudes of the kind that one can find in endless stories about Harlan in the pages of the Communist Labor Party's *People's Tribune*.

The strike is finally won—after a young miner is murdered, shot in the face—through the mobilization of 120,000 miners in a five-day "memorial period" which shut down every UMW-organized mine in the country. A subsequent NLRB representation election was lost at Highsplint Mine and Miller agreed that Brookside would be exempted in any contract strike later in the year. Above all, the necessary support—a nationwide coal strike—deliberately withheld by UMW leaders for months, could have won the strike in short order at the onset. The "reformer" Miller, however, was committed not to class struggle but to accommodation with the coal bosses.

For many in the movie theater audience, *Harlan County, U.S.A.* must seem a curious historical oddity. Not only bloody Harlan of 1931 but Harlan of 1974 must seem like ancient history, fighting labor traditions of days gone by. For the labor fakers—who have corrupted these traditions as much as they can, instituting the "informational" picket line, the "productivity clause," the no-strike agreement—this film must cause them to shudder in fearful recognition of the class militancy which built the unions they now lord over and which will one day drive them out of their cushy positions.

Harlan County, U.S.A. shows that the basis for class struggle is rooted deep in the capitalist mode of production itself. The old-timers recall the bloody battles fought a generation ago in eastern Kentucky, only to be fought again when the mine bosses drove the union out. But if today's militant young miners are to go forward they must go beyond the limits of labor reformism and the tenuous victories of defensive battles. It is through the fight to throw out the Abels and Sadlowskis, the Boyles and the Millers that the workers will recover their militant traditions, forge a class-struggle leadership and go on to make the revolutionary history of the future. ■

Oil Spills...

(continued from page 5)

U.S.-flag NMU standards. However, even this was surrendered without a fight by Curran when the Kennedy administration, supported by the NMU officials, passed legislation prohibiting the maritime unions from organizing foreign seamen. Today, Wall and Co. are claiming that another Democrat in the White House—Jimmy Carter—will defend the interests of seamen better than the anti-labor Ford administration. This is false. Carter, like Ford, is an experienced capitalist politician. As governor of Georgia, peanut millionaire Carter was a proven enemy of civil rights for blacks, a supporter of the Taft-Hartley Act. Carter protected runaway sweat shops in Georgia and will do the same for runaway ship operators.

No less crucial is an end to the mutual raiding practiced by union hacks like Shannon Wall and Paul Hall. The NMU raid on the west coast PFEL [Pacific Far East Lines] ships did not produce jobs for the NMU—it only led to the SIU raid on the NMU-contract TTT [Puerto Rican government shipping agency] ships and accelerated the cut-throat competition among the maritime unions, offering further contract concessions to the companies in the false hope of grabbing a few jobs. Disunity among maritime labor—including scabbing—has become commonplace. Recently, while Texaco and Gulf oil workers (OCAW) were on strike, the NMU officials continued the operation of those companies' tankers, just as the NMU bureaucrats sanctioned scabbing during the long Shell strike in 1973 (see *Beacon* No. 8, June 1973).

Union raiding as well as protectionist policies designed to boot foreign seamen off the ships are dead-end policies. What is necessary is a joint struggle of maritime labor against the companies: organizing the unorganized, creating more jobs for all through a 4-watch system and increased vacation time (one day off per one day on). Such a struggle will inevitably pose the need for expropriation of the parasitic shipowners, workers control of industry, and a workers party to fight for a workers government. Such a task cannot be carried out by the present gang of pro-capitalist hacks that run the unions; this requires a new class-struggle leadership. It is to this end that the Militant-Solidarity Caucus is dedicated.

BULLETIN from the
Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla

Paranagua, Pilla Released!

1 February 1977

On 22 January 1977 Paulo Antonio de Paranagua and Maria Regina Pilla arrived by air in Paris, France.

Paranagua and Pilla were released with several comrades after almost two years' imprisonment by the military government of Argentina.

On this happy occasion we offer a warm embrace to all those friends of liberty whose solidarity contributed to the success of the Paranagua-Pilla defense effort.

In particular, our appreciation goes to the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), City Lights Books, The Berkeley Barb, and Radio KPOO-FM.

And let us not forget the thousands still behind bars in Latin America, in the whole world.

For solidarity

Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla, P.O. Box 26481, San Francisco, Calif. 94126

Fusion With LSA Planned

Canadian RMG: Back to the Reformist Fold

At a plenum held over New Year's weekend, the Central Committee of the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) resolved unanimously to call for a fusion with the League for Socialist Action (LSA—Canadian section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat [Usec]) from which it had issued as a split to the left three and a half years ago. At the time of the split, the RMG had heralded the impending collapse of the LSA and had denounced both it and its co-thinkers in the U.S.—the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—as incorrigible reformists.

But now the weak and demoralized remnants of the disintegrating RMG have not only proclaimed their intention to reunite with the LSA but have renounced their own centrist heritage as "ultra left" and "sectarian." A document adopted at the RMG's recent five-day plenum declared that the RMG and the LSA have "no principled differences." (For a detailed analysis of the RMG's recent evolution, see *Spartacist Canada*, Nos. 12 and 13, January and February 1977.)

The RMG's circular course from left centrism through right centrism and back to the craven reformism it had rejected in 1973 has been marked by an unending series of failures and disasters. Founding documents predicted rapid growth for the new group. It was expected that the RMG's mentors in Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the USec would dump the SWP-led "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) and lead North American IMT supporters toward the creation of new sections of the USec. Instead, Mandel demanded that the RMG rejoin the LSA and ordered the IMT supporters who had been expelled from the SWP in 1974 to crawl back in. By late 1976 half of the RMG's founding membership and fully two-thirds of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT), the oppositional tendency within the LSA from which the RMG developed, had quit or were expelled.

Worn out and rendered cynical by both their own failures and the back-stabbing "unity" maneuvers of the IMT leadership, the RMG leadership is now ready to re-embrace the until recently scorned LSA. A report on RMG-LSA fusion discussions delivered to the Toronto branch of the RMG by Julie Samuels says:

> "At one time we were unsure about whether the LTF belonged within the Fourth International. Then we agreed that despite very important differences such as Angola, Viet Nam, China, etc., the LTF is Trotskyist and does support the program of revolutionary Marxism and the FI."

This is what is described as "no principled differences"!

The New Year's plenum document and Samuels' report are replete with polemics against "sectarianism"—i.e., Bolshevik insistence that a revolutionary party be built on a foundation of solid programmatic agreement. "On paper we understood these questions," states the Samuels document, "but in reality we had a sectarian notion of party building. Fusion yes but on our line." Abandoning this "sectarian" notion, the document goes on to pay homage to the bankrupt tradition of the Second International by pointing to the "important opportunities for fusion with centrist currents in Europe and Latin America [which] have posed very critically the capacity of the International to be able to embrace different political currents...." In a paroxysm of self-criticism, Samuels belatedly denounces the RCT as a "disloyal faction with a split perspective [which] had ultraleft positions on the NDP [New Democratic Party] in particular." (The RCT had opposed the LSA's orientation of "unconditional support" to Canada's party of right-wing social democracy.)

But while the RMG leadership (which is largely composed of ex-NDPers) has made its peace with the LSA, it is worried about rebellion within its ranks, particularly in the Vancouver and Winnipeg branches. Samuels notes uncomfortably:

> "There has been a real concern among comrades that the leadership was acting too quickly in making decisions about relations with the LSA. A certain suspicion and paranoia about the decisions of the plenum has manifest itself in the suggestion that somehow the leadership is trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the membership...."

The RMG, like all centrist formations, has also been placed in an uncomfortable contradictory situation by reason of its own rhetoric. While it has moved very far to the right in order to prepare for its reconciliation with the LSA, it still retains a more militant veneer than its ultra-"respectable" putative fusion partners. Thus, for example, RMG supporters in the Vancouver postal union (who participated in an oppositional caucus) have had a hellish time trying to convince fellow caucus members to work more closely with LSA postal workers (who are open bootlickers of the incumbent trade-union bureaucracy).

The March 1975 expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) and the departure of other left-wingers laid the basis for the RMG's reconciliation with reformism. The B-LTers and other ex-RMGers who today adhere to the Trotskyist League of Canada and the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) comprised a full fifteen percent of the membership of the RCT—its best, most subjectively revolutionary elements.

The impending dissolution of the shell of the RMG into the LSA holds an important lesson for militants who seriously seek to construct a revolutionary international. There is no middle road between reformism and Trotskyism; centrist organizations are inherently unstable and *must* ultimately choose between reform and revolution. The RMG leadership has chosen the former. Those comrades who wish to make a proletarian revolution on this continent must look to the Bolshevik program and practice of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

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Explosion Brewing...

(continued from page 6)

Watergate clearly hurt both parties more of less equally. It is noteworthy that while the SL prediction (*Perspectives and Tasks of the SL/U.S.*, August 1974) that Watergate would put the Democrats in the White House proved correct, Carter didn't dare use the scandal as a club to beat the Republicans, and the Democratic victory was no landslide.

The characteristic pressures of the period are producing increasing frustration with objective conditions, decreasing confidence in the future and a general turning away from many of the traditional props of the capitalist system throughout the petty bourgeoisie and working class. The Catholic Church battles for public money to finance its school system as the "faithful" abandon it in droves. With worsening economic conditions weighing on it like a great weight, the bourgeois family structure shows increasing instability through high rates of divorce and remarriage.

WV Photo

Auto workers at Ford go out on strike in September.

The turn to the narcissism of "self-fulfillment" gimmicks like new religious cults, drugs and health foods is pervasive. For the working class, however, the dream of escaping alienated labor by rising into the petty bourgeoisie—a traditionally strong restraining influence on class consciousness in the U.S.—necessarily becomes dimmer as the job lines lengthen.

As the bourgeoisie becomes more arrogant and the working class and petty bourgeoisie more disillusioned in the system, the traditional role of the trade unions as the last line of defense of capitalism becomes more important. The encrusted bureaucracy played this role to the hilt in the recent elections, dragging out every conceivably revivable illusion and making a maximum effort to resurrect the old "Roosevelt coalition" of labor and blacks in the Democratic Party. The Meany-Woodcock-Fitzsimmons gang's continued holding of the line of wage increases has resulted in falling comparative wage rates for U.S. workers as against workers in other major industrial countries. With the onset of heavy layoffs and drastically increasing unemployment in 1974-75, the labor fakers went all out to prevent any militant response, channeling protest instead into reactionary protectionist schemes and bourgeois utopian jobs legislation such as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

The SL projected in August 1974 that enormous pressures were building up at the base of the labor movement, threatening to shatter the hold of the encrusted and brittle labor bureaucracy and resulting in a series of elemental and explosive labor struggles. This projection retains its general validity, with the note that an upsurge has not occurred as soon as expected, and with the recognition that further delay in significant outbursts is likely. The near general strike of spring 1976 in San Francisco demonstrated the case with which the ossified labor lieutenants, given the right intersection of circumstances, could lose control of an elemental, class-struggle upsurge. Striking coal miners in the hills of West Virginia—about as far removed as possible from the petty-bourgeois cultural milieu of San Francisco—made the same point. The events in the mine fields showed the qualitative identity between the newly elevated Miller wing of the bureaucracy and the old buzzards still haunting Bay Area labor temples.

Elsewhere, however, the union bureaucrats played on demoralization among the workers over rising unemployment rates and past defeats, and managed to hold the lid on outbursts. The present collapse of the very narrowly based economic recovery of 1975-76, and the projection of increasing unemployment, make the chances of an immediate escalation of class struggle small. Since the economic strike is the only perceived form of class struggle in the U.S., an increase in unemployment in the coming year will probably have a further depressing effect on the class struggle, especially at first. The pressures at the base will continue to mount, however, and the *consciousness* of the working class can be turned around rapidly, as San Francisco showed. Given the right intersection of a rather less abrupt decline in employment with a militant strike in a major industrial center, class-struggle militants can still expect to encounter opportunities. As we pointed out in the "Perspectives and Tasks" document, such opportunities as do arise are likely to be fraught with the danger of our friends being thrust prematurely into the leadership of major struggles.

Yet is the general stagnation of class struggle, rather than opportunities posing the danger of premature leadership, which we must recognize as the major aspect of the objective situation at the present time. Dealing with this general stagnation, and with the cynical, personalist and escapist moods connected with it—and with their effect on our ranks—is the biggest conjunctural problem facing the SL/U.S., and its trade-union friends in particular.

The existence of a general stagnation in the class struggle, imposed largely through the "class peace" policies of the trade-union bureaucracy, and affecting the entire left, has already been noted. In the 1974 "Perspectives and Tasks" document, we attributed our surpassing of four of our central competitors in strength and influence as due "less [to] the SL's forward movement than [to] the major reverses suffered by these organizations," which flowed mainly from "the collision of the overambitious goals and inflated expectations peddled to their members with the sharp decline in labor and social struggle in the 1971-73 period."

Since then, the period has continued to be a rocky one for the left, in particular for the centrists and Maoists. The contradictions inherent in the game of *fake revolutionist*, with its attendant gimmicks, fictions and underlying opportunism, have made existence in this period very difficult if not impossible for centrist organizations such as the RSL, the (unmourned) CSL, and the ex-IT. The impulse to cave in to the pressures of the period has meant a rapid evolution to the right for most of them, as exemplified by *Spark* and the Landau group, both of which long for the warm bosom of the SWP, and by the RSL, which is trying to ape SWP-like "mass movement" pop fronts.

Qualitatively reformist organizations such as the SWP and CP, which long ago gave up the difficult *pretense* of revolutionary politics, have benefitted quantitatively at the expense of the centrists within the general rightward drift. Following a left-right split in 1973, the I.S. has consolidated on the basis of rejection of the Trotskyist Transitional Program, craven capitulation to left-liberal bureaucrats, and hard trade-union economism. Political bandits and mavericks such as the Healyites and PL enjoy a dubious and lonely continued existence through the mechanism of vicious slander and trade-union opportunism respectively. The Maoists, meanwhile, who have also evolved to the right over the past several years, are now going through an exquisite (for Trotskyists!) and possibly terminal crisis of confidence in the deformed-workers-state bureaucratic ruling elite through which they define their political existence.

The grossly opportunist and, in some cases, adventurist behavior of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations in the near-general strike in San Francisco in spring 1976 brought home the bankruptcy of the U.S. left when faced with the prospect of a real class struggle situation. While the consciousness of the active minority of workers made noticeable advances, the left organizations were increasingly revealed as helplessly unable to influence the forward motion of the class struggle, and, in general, hopelessly rightist. While the CP (predictably) concentrated its fire on the left in order to protect the bureaucracy, the SWP and the RCP actually *opposed* implementing the call for the general strike!

There is a reason for the galloping motion to the right on the part of the centrists, and it lies in the nature of centrism: for these weather vanes of the left, program is determined by whatever happens to be popular at the moment or by what forces are available to tail after or capitulate to. "Program" is required by the simple fact that they find themselves together in an organization one day and decide that they really ought to have something to stand for. Thus the Ellensites left the SL unsure of their positions on just about everything; Passen and Gregorich spent months looking for a political excuse to avoid talking to the SL; the RSL came together and split from the I.S. prior to deciding what its position on the Russian Question was, etc.

For revolutionists, the program of revolutionary Trotskyism is the sole basis for existence. Gimmicks, fictions, fakery and cliquism have no place in an organization which genuinely seeks an international proletarian revolution rather than new get-rich-quick "solutions." The SL's practice of recruitment on a sound political basis and setting realistic organizational goals has enabled it to survive the present period without a major faction fight, split, or hemorrhaging of the cadre. ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

'vehicular manslaughter'.... He really should be charged with murder. He ran over the picketer and then afterwards backed up his truck and ran over him again and killed him." A scab murderer gets off lightly, while innocent strikers are convicted: the bosses' courts are accomplices in the anti-labor offensive.

During the court battles the Militant Caucus (MC) had tried to mobilize a militant working-class defense of all the victimized unionists, despite the sabotage of the ILWU leadership. The MC pushed for the union to organize mass demonstrations outside the courtroom and to prepare for defensive strikes to enforce the negotiated amnesty. But an MC motion to this effect was defeated by the McClain bureaucracy at the November 23 Local 6 general executive board meeting.

In the radio interview before the trials, MC member and Local 6 executive board member Bob Mandel pointed out that "the employers and government had to prove that they could actually break the unions on the line.... Having taken on some of the strongest unions in the Bay Area and having inflicted certain severe defeats on them, they're now trying to make an example to intimidate workers against striking in the future.... If they can whip the ILWU, which is one of the strongest unions in the area, and put these 40 people behind bars, they'll feel confident that they can go ahead and extend their anti-labor legislation."

Stan Gow drew the political lessons of the anti-strike repression, arguing that labor needs its own party and government: "[S.F. mayor] Moscone, Ford, Carter, the Berkeley City Council and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors are all anti-labor," he warned. It was precisely the bureaucrats' reliance on the Democratic "friends of labor"—a policy promoted by supporters of the reformist Communist Party—which set up the union for defeat in the first place. Gow asserted "the trials are part of an attack on the right to strike," and called for mobilizing the entire labor movement as well as civil liberties groups and socialist organizations to defend the victimized militants. ■

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Active Workers Conference...

(continued from page 6)

Socialists hope to wheedle the workers into supporting them as "good guys" in spite of their politics. "We want people to know that the reason we fight for the workers is because we're against capitalism and want to oust the reformist bureaucracy," she said.

Another comrade cited James P. Cannon's remark: tactics are nothing but fingerwork—fingers don't mean much if your arm is broken, and that arm is the revolutionary program. The reformists seek instant success by adapting to a supposed layer of "honest trade-union militants" who are idealized as "unconscious" socialists. But lacking a revolutionary program, trade-union militants are politically defined by the reformist limits to the struggles they engage in. Leninists refer to such politics as "simple trade unionism," emphasizing that it is a reformist ideology which must be *combatted* if the workers' struggles are to be freed from the bureaucratic straitjacket.

Unremitting company harassment of militants—with the bureaucrats' eager complicity and the apparent fearful acquiescence of the workers—can induce frustration and defeatism, leading to opportunism, even within the Leninist vanguard. While inevitable tactical mistakes elicited by this currently unequal battle must be painstakingly and patiently combatted, the SL trade unionists demonstrated that they would not tolerate cynical tinkering with the class line and insisted upon the removal from trade-union work of one comrade whose weakness under pressure could corrode our principled program. Many comrades took the floor to insist that those who put themselves forward as a class-struggle leadership for the working class must safeguard, as a precious and irreplaceable acquisition, their unblemished reputation for integrity and the revolutionary program of Trotskyism, which alone can lead the working class to victory.

The intersection of trade-union and legal defense work was the subject of a panel discussion. The consolidation of a professionalized legal defense fraction was apparent. It was noted that defense against bureaucratic repression is an integral part of trade-union work and that the success of campaigns to defend victimized worker militants is ultimately dependent upon the ability to mobilize in the unions.

The Race Question: Motor for Social Revolution or Barrier to Social Revolution

Much of the discussion in the black commission dealt with the urgency of creating a genuinely racially integrated communist organization with a significant black component in its leadership. U.S. society is deeply, poisonously racially polarized and the only significant degree of racial integration takes place at the lower levels of industrial production. The lack of a significant black leadership component impedes the SL's transformation into a Leninist party, as well as to carrying out certain immediate tasks, particularly in the trade unions. The racist character of this bourgeois society imposes special demands on black communists, in particular the firm rejection of any form of acquiescence to lumpenized life styles.

A reporter to the first plenary session noted:

> "The race question could prove to be either a great motor for social revolution or the insuperable barrier to social revolution. I can think of no more significant and decisive element in that choice than the issue of whether or not at that juncture there is an effective Leninist vanguard with components from both races."

Fruitful commissions were also held dealing with the vital areas of finances and press. A high point of the conference was the session on current perspectives of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), enriched by the participation of senior comrades from the tendency's German and Australian sections. The validity of the iSt's insistence on construction of a disciplined tendency based on programmatic cohesion is strikingly reconfirmed by the fake-Trotskyists' wild maneuvers as they frantically scramble for unstable alliances in a grotesque travesty of internationalism.

While soberly facing up to the reality of relative political stagnation, it was noted at the plenary that the present conjuncture is fundamentally different from that during the Cold War, when a massive political contraction of the entire left prevailed for nearly two decades. The conference adjourned on an optimistic note, with the participants confident of the organization's ability to withstand the corrosive pressures of the period and to change reality through intervention in the class struggle on the basis of the Transitional Program. As one comrade observed during the final plenary:

> "The most important accomplishment since the transformation of the SL is more than the trade-union work, the weekly and the international work. What is revealed by yesterday's and today's discussion is the existence of a layer of Bolshevik cadre which will not be easily lost despite contraction and reversals. Organizational growth is measured not just in numbers but in political depth, experience and programmatic solidity." ■

OL on Sadlowski...

(continued from page 2)

ment, the OL proclaims: "From conciliating with the revisionists and with the Soviet Union, to prostrating before the liberals and the labor bureaucrats" various of its Maoist competitors "all now find common ground in their attacks on the party building forces and the October League at home and against China and the Marxist-Leninist movement internationally" (*Call*, 10 January).

There are two interrelated reasons why the OL would want to switch gears and come out against Sadlowski. For one thing, having more or less sewn up the Peking franchise Klonsky & Co. figure they are free to sound more "left" on domestic affairs—and in fact have a strong interest in doing so. In the last period, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP—formerly the RU) had struck a more militant pose than the OL in the trade unions, even at one point going so far as to denounce Sadlowski-like bureaucrats as "OOO's" ("Opportunists Out of Office"). Now, with the RCP firmly on the Sadlowski bandwagon and "Oilcan Eddie" himself embarrassed over contributions from bourgeois liberals, the OL has a perfect opportunity to jump over its main rival within the Maoist spectrum and plant its banner just to the left of Avakian in the unions.

jockeying for position. In opposing Sadlowski, the OL harps on the fact that he is supported by the Communist Party (CP), adding that the CP "hopes to use this left-liberal coalition tactic to expand support for the Soviet Union and its phony 'detente' propaganda" (*Call*, 24 January). (The fact that yesterday the OL lined up with the CP in supporting Sadlowski and Miller is handily "forgotten.") Here the OL appeals to reactionary anti-Sovietism, ostensibly as an argument for support to neither of the competing pro-capitalist bureaucrats. But just as Peking's assertion that "Soviet social-imperialism" represents the greater danger leads to support to NATO and the most reactionary imperialist warmongers against the Soviet Union, so must it lead inevitably to political support to the most conservative, anti-Soviet wing of the labor bureaucracy. This is the clear logic of its politics and the logic of Stalinism, which everywhere betrays the interests of the working masses to the nationalist appetites of the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. ■

SWP on Sadlowski...

(continued from page 2)

Barnes was unable to reply to these criticisms without abandoning any pretense of standing on the Trotskyist Transitional Program. In Chicago he laid it out on the table: "Abel never proposed the rank and file taking over, only reform of McDonald's practices. But that's good. We say do it again." Throwing out the principle of trade-union independence from the bourgeois state, he blubbered: "Sadlowski and the workers are fools if they don't use the Landrum-Griffin act, using every clause." In Pittsburgh he justified Sadlowski's court suit to open up *Steel Labor*, claiming that the "union newspaper was turned over to the bosses years ago and that to get it back, Sadlowski has to go to court."

But even this wasn't enough. The SWP felt compelled to descend to Stalinist-style slander. In Pittsburgh Barnes attacked the SL charging: "Left-wing support for McBride and Abel is as bad as right-wing support for McBride and Abel." And in Cleveland, after known SL supporters were demonstrably denied the right to speak, this would-be supporter of "democracy" blustered: "I believe your organization is the most reactionary on the American left. I believe you are the left wing of the Abel-McBride team. You echo the worst and most reactionary charges of the right wing."

What Barnes means by this mud-slinging is that neither he nor his touted "steel rebel" has been able to answer the serious charges raised by the SL. The slanders of this tin-pot booster of reformist labor fakers will not succeed, but Barnes is right in seeing in the Spartacist League the most vigorous opponent of all brands of labor reformism, both Sadlowski's and his own. The SL has repeatedly warned that the "Steelworkers Fightback" campaign aims at *rejuvenating* the hidebound American labor bureaucracy so that it can better contain threatened militant class battles. Drawing the lessons of past bureaucratic "insurgencies," we pointed out that the Ed Sadlowskis of today are the strikebreaking, autocratic I.W. Abels and Arnold Millers of tomorrow. The SL has generated, and will continue to generate Marxist clarity in the workers movement with its principled political opposition to *both* the McBrides and the Sadlowskis and to all other exponents of class-collaborationism. ■

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Arlington Heights...

(continued from page 3)

class overthrow the rule of the exploiters, whose chief defense is the time-honored tactic of "divide and rule." Communists call for the construction of low-rent, racially integrated quality public housing and must support the current school busing plans, however minimal, while demanding that busing be extended to the white suburbs. Such demands are essential to turn the black and white working masses' present vicious competition for a larger share of the shrinking pie into a united struggle against the common enemy—the capitalist class.

Mobilization of Chicago's powerful multi-racial labor movement to defend black and minority rights and fight for decent integrated housing for all is the only answer to the festering racial hatred. Reformists like the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, have looked instead to liberal politicians and above all to the federal courts to defend blacks against racist attack. With this "strategy" of pressuring the courts gone up in smoke, the SWP is now pressuring the liberal NAACP, Urban League and the "World Community of Islam" to take to the streets...to pressure Carter.

On the other hand, those so-called revolutionaries like the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party or the third campist Revolutionary Socialist League who oppose busing as a "bourgeois plot" must be grateful indeed to the Supreme Court and the racist village fathers of Arlington Heights for siding with them.

In Chicago, racist attacks—often covertly aided by the police and condoned by city officials, as in the Marquette Park incidents—have been growing in intensity. Last fall new incidents were reported almost every week in the Chicago papers. And now, in its Arlington Heights decision, the Supreme Court has thrown up a major roadblock to residential integration. Especially in the present climate of social reaction, it will be virtually impossible to prove racist motivation behind the smokescreens of pleas for "neighborhood schools," "maintaining property values" and the like. But the Supreme Court decision in the Arlington Heights case has only given legal sanction to the policy that the bourgeoisie has more or less consistently upheld in practice. Rather than reformist illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist courts and cops, the Spartacist League calls for integrated working-class defense against racist terror and massive mobilization of the labor movement, black organizations and other defenders of democratic rights to enforce and extend busing and other desegregation measures. ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 13

Contents:
- Before "Socialist Realism" in the Soviet Union
- On Gay Liberation": A Marxist Analysis
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British Labour Party...

(continued from page 12)

around former Labour cabinet minister Reg Prentice, who was rejected as a parliamentary candidate by his constituency party in the London district of Newham Northeast last fall. Prentice is not only an extreme, red-baiting right-winger, he is a notorious boor who managed to alienate even middle-of-the-road Labourites. In alliance with some typical "Labour lefts," Militant supporters toppled Prentice in his own bailiwick and successfully resisted much bureaucratic pressure to reverse that decision.

Prentice screamed like a stuck pig about "communist infiltration" and his cause was aggressively championed by

Economist

Tony Benn

the big business press. However, in terms of the general motion within the Labour Party, the unseating of Prentice by left-wingers in his constituency is an exception by far. On the whole it is the left, not the Prentices, which faces a purge. In the recent past a number of left activists have been suspended from their constituency parties, among them Keith Veness from the London district of Islington North.

The main current focus of the anti-Trotskyist campaign has been the appointment of Andy Bevan, a Militant group supporter and past president of the LPYS, as the full-time salaried party officer for youth matters. As part of a right-wing attempt to block his appointment, the National Union of Labour Organizers refused to work with him on the grounds that he was not a member of that union. The political motivation of this move was clear since, in the past few years, half of the similarly appointed functionaries were not members of the union either.

The Bevan appointment produced a confrontation between the "lefts" and "rights" in the NEC, which held several ballots on the issue. The most important defender of Bevan's appointment is minister of energy Tony Benn, present acknowledged leader of the Labour left. Benn upheld the proscription of members of other parties, but observed that:

> "Marxism has, from the earliest days, always been openly accepted by the Party as one of the many sources of inspiration within our Movement along with—though much less influential than—Christian Socialism, Fabianism, Owenism, Trade unionism, or even radical Liberalism."
>
> —*Militant*, 7 January

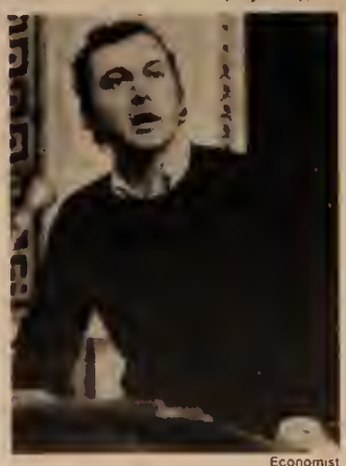
Benn's current tolerance for "Marxists" in the Labour Party is a cynical manoeuvre. The Militant group and similar tendencies provide a hard-working, disciplined corps of activists for any pretended "left" oppositionists within the framework of British social democracy, a role played by Aneurin Bevin in the post-World War II years, later by Harold Wilson, then Michael Foote and now Tony Benn. Aneurin Bevin died before he could become prime minister and dash the illusions of his would-be Marxist supporters. Wilson and Foote (who led the fight against Andy Bevan's appointment as youth officer) did live long enough to attain high office and become red-baiting "moderates." Benn will follow in their path.

Andy Bevan, like the Militant group as a whole, has pledged himself to loyally carry out the policies of the Labour Party's current leadership:

> "There is a standard document every single Labour official signs. In addition, I had to agree, it was no part of my duties to promote in any way ideas or proposals of any unofficial group or party, or to appear on any platform or attend a meeting unless authorized by the national agent [e.g., Reg Underhill, who has been leading the campaign to stop Bevan's appointment]. I say 100 percent here and now that I will abide by these undertakings."
>
> —*Guardian*, 31 January

In defending the appointment, Benn commented: "I accept Andy Bevan's word that, as National Youth Officer, he would faithfully serve the party, giving us his first loyalty and adhering to its constitution, programme, and policy" (*Militant*, 7 January). From our knowledge of the Grant group, we can affirm that Benn's faith in its loyalty to the British bourgeois-workers party, the faithful executor of the will of finance capital, is wholly justified.

Callaghan, Wilson & Co. know full well that the Militant group and other self-styled Trotskyists in the Labour Party do not pose the slightest threat to their leadership. At bottom the current red scare reflects the anxiety of the British bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers movement about their ability to maintain the tenuous class peace embodied in the "social contract." With renewed unrest at the important nationalized auto manufacturer (Leyland), the



Economist

Andy Bevan

National Union of Miners' upcoming wage claim and other pay negotiations, British rulers cannot afford significant dissidence in any sector of the organized workers movement.

For a Trotskyist Opposition to Labourism

Over the past period, the Callaghan government has been able to rely on the trade-union bureaucrats to police the working class. However, even as an escape valve, the NEC forum for Tribunite "left" demagogy has been an embarrassment to the cabinet. The anti-Trotskyist campaign is a means to whip the NEC majority into line and to prevent the emergence of an alternative pole in the workers movement to the Callaghan/TUC axis. Numerous commentators are strongly suggesting that Jack Jones and the union bureaucracy purge the Benn-Tribunite majority in the party executive, something they could easily do with the trade-union bloc of votes. Andy Bevan turns out to be a very convenient whipping boy to start with.

While the bourgeois media now present the Militant group as the most cunning, insidious and dangerous reds, it is actually utterly reformist, wedded to and legitimately within the programmatic framework of the Labour Party. It would be truly unjust for poor old Ted Grant, presenting his Kautskyan politics in the manner of a Victorian headmaster, to be proscribed from Labour. When he says, "We want to strengthen the Labour Party and the Labour government on the basis of socialism" (*Times* [London], 10 December 1976), he really means it. Grant is completely sincere in claiming that his loyalty to Labourism is stronger than that of most of the right-wing social democrats who denounce him as an agent of an international communist conspiracy.

Of all the groups in Europe claiming to be Trotskyists, the Grant group is undoubtedly the most organically social-democratic. It refuses to call for unconditional withdrawal of the imperialist British army from Northern Ireland, on the grounds that its presence there supposedly prevents sectarian civil war. It supports voting for the Labour government's state budget, including expenditures for nuclear weapons, military intelligence and the like. Even the centrist United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel—despite its "family of Trotskyism," come-one, come-all policies—has written off the Militant group for its avowed agnosticism on the possibility of a "peaceful road to socialism" in Britain.

The bourgeois and right-wing social-democratic hysteria against Trotskyism is not testimony to the Militant group's revolutionary credentials but rather to the extreme fragility of class peace in Britain. A genuinely Trotskyist organization in Britain would not use the authority and program of Marxism as a cover for liquidation into social democracy, but as a means for organizing the working class to smash the "social contract" and for the mobilization toward a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class. ■

TROTS: brave words from Shirley

Which Reds Under Whose Beds?

By C. L. Sulzberger

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Radical' Infiltrators' Vex British Laborites

Sir Harold demolishes coalitions, 'Trots' and neo-fascists

Capitalist press carried hysterical campaign against "Trotskyist infiltration" in Labor Party.

Cleveland WLer Attacks Spartacist

Last week *WV* published a letter by David North, national secretary of the Workers League (WL), hypocritically protesting alleged Spartacist League (SL) attacks on the WL, and decrying the "use of violence" in the "socialist movement." In response, we reiterated our long-standing principled defense of workers democracy and pointed to the WL's wretched history of assaulting its opponents on the left. Unfortunately, we must now report that a mere six days after North's January 27 letter the WL has once again physically attacked a Spartacist supporter.

The incident occurred on February 2 in Cleveland, where salesmen for both *WV* and the WL's *Bulletin* were selling in front of a downtown unemployment office. When asked by the *WV* salesman how the Workers League could pretend to be for a labor party while supporting such pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party labor fakers as Ed Sadlowski, the WLer flew into a rage. He attacked our salesman, landing a few glancing blows, but was unable to inflict any serious damage. Our comrade stood his ground and continued selling, while taking the Workers League to task for its trade-union opportunism and two-bit desperado violence.

The disparity between North's pious words and his membership's actions is certainly nothing new for the political bandits of the WL. Nevertheless, such despicable violence is a matter of serious concern to all tendencies in the workers movement and cannot be dismissed as simply one more example of WL cynicism. We insist that the WL bring its actions into line with its professed denunciation of violence within the socialist movement. For our part, we continue to stand ready to protect our members and our legitimate rights—as well as those of the Workers League—in line with our consistent defense and enforcement of the principles of workers democracy.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Geriatric "Trotskyists" the Target

Red Scare in the British Labour Party

LONDON, February 6—Under the implacable pressure of international finance capital, exercised through such agencies as the International Monetary Fund, Britain's Labour government is presently forcing a massive cut in the standard of living of the working people. The two primary policies used to attain this end are the "social contract" (de facto government wage control) and wholesale dismantling of the "welfare state."

Prime Minister James Callaghan's "austerity" policies have been sufficiently conciliatory to "City" financiers, Wall Street bond dealers and the nebulous "gnomes of Zürich" to secure several massive loans and IMF "stand-by" credits to cope with a whopping balance-of-payments deficit. Key to the elaborate financial juggling, however, is acquiescence of the hard-put working class.

So far this has been forthcoming, as Trades Union Congress (TUC) chief Len Murray and Transport Workers leader Jack Jones have vigilantly suppressed opposition in the unions to the 4.5 percent pay ceiling. Yet the bourgeoisie remains worried lest the slightest crack appear in the cabinet-TUC agreement on wage policy. First among its preoccupations is guarding against any "maverick" behaviour by the so-called "left-wing majority" on the Labour Party National Executive Committee (NEC).

Thus the current "red scare" over "Trotskyist infiltration" in the Labour Party left wing aims much higher than its ostensible target, the small Militant group led by Ted Grant. Fundamentally, the "anti-Trot" campaign is a warning to the loose grouping of Tribunite MP's [Members of Parliament], "militant" union leaders and left-wingers in the constituencies to toe the line should there be an outbreak of struggles over pay claims in the coming weeks and months.

"Reds Under the Beds"

The cry of "Trotskyist infiltration" has become a serious issue in British politics during the last two years. Ex-prime minister (now Sir) Harold Wilson alluded to the Militant group as "political asset strippers" who used the "[illegible]cal methods of the takeover bidders." Current prime minister Callaghan went even further, asserting that "there are too many people who have infiltrated this party already." "Get them out," he demanded.

Typical of the anti-Trotskyist venom pouring out of the leaders of British social democracy these days is that of right-wing cabinet minister Shirley Williams, in a speech that was reprinted in full in the liberal *Guardian* (22 January):

> "Leon Trotsky himself cared nothing for individual liberty; he cared nothing for parliamentary democracy. His actions in the 1920's as one of the leaders of the Soviet State—for example, his part in the crushing of the Kronstadt rising—make this clear. So do his voluminous writings.... What they reveal makes one deeply uneasy about Trotskyism—and I regret to say, about people who call themselves or permit themselves to be called Trotskyists. I could recite quotation after quotation, making clear Leon Trotsky's profound and total disdain for individual liberty and the process of parliamentary democracy.... Modern Trotskyism, like the Trotskyism of Trotsky himself, holds liberty and democracy in total contempt. Its vision of socialism has nothing to do with the British Labour Party's vision."

Two weeks later this diatribe was followed by a special feature article in the *Guardian* entitled, "So, Who Are the Trots?"

The anti-"Trotskyist" witchhunt has been going on for some time. In the summer of 1975, a report on "Trotskyist infiltration" was prepared by the Labour Party national agent, Reg Underhill. It provoked a welter of paranoid "reds under the beds" articles throughout the bourgeois press. A prime example was the front-page story in the London *Observer* (31 August 1975) entitled "'Trot' Conspirators Inside Labour Party" and sub-titled "Revolutionary Plot Is Exposed." Recalling the scurrilous innuendo of the late U.S. senator Joe McCarthy, the article warned:

> "A secret organization of Trotskyists, with its own national policy, full-time officials and strictly disciplined membership, is operating inside the Labour Party. Its aim is to use the party as a step to revolution. It clings to conspirational anonymity to avoid being expelled from the party.... It controls a majority of the executive of 17 of the 18 regions of the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS).... The RSL [Revolutionary Socialist League] works behind the front of the *Militant*."

Economist

Labour prime minister calls on party's executive committee to carry out anti-Trotskyist red purge at meeting last fall.

The Underhill report was subsequently tabled by the Tribunite "left" majority on the NEC. However, in response to a virulent campaign in the bourgeois press since early December and under pressure from Callaghan, the NEC reversed itself in late January and agreed to consider the report. The excuse for the current witchhunt was controversy over appointment of a supporter of the Militant group as Labour's National Youth Officer.

In actual fact, the group around Ted Grant's weekly *Militant* is no threat at all to the stability of the Labour Party. The Grant group is the most successful of several ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies committed to "entrism" (organizing itself as a current within the Labour Party). But the Militant group is so "successful" that it has controlled the official LPYS for more than a *decade*, a fact that is well-known to Labour Party leaders and within the British workers movement. Furthermore, this grouping is so fossilized and thoroughly social-democratic that it is at best a limp caricature of revolutionary Trotskyism.

The Grant Group: Tony Benn's Left Flank

Much of the fury surrounding the anti-Militant campaign has centered

continued on page 11

Movie Review

Blood and Coal: Harlan County, U.S.A.

Scene from the film: strikers take aim at scabs.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 145 18 February 1977

Expropriate the Energy Trusts!

New York Times

Natural gas producers cut supplies causing massive layoffs.

Sauro/New York Times

Assembly line at Mahwah, N.J., Ford plant was shut down as a result of energy shortage.

The recent bitter winter freeze throughout the Midwest and Eastern U.S. abounds in vivid examples of capitalist irrationality. Close to 2 million workers were laid off due to the "energy crisis"; the pitifully poor freeze to death in New York City's over-priced welfare hotels. Meanwhile the energy monopolies (oil corporations who also control most natural gas supplies and coal production as well) hoard vast pools of natural gas which they refuse to deliver to the hardest-hit areas because the price isn't right.

"We told you so," crowed the London *Economist* (5 February), commenting with arrogant satisfaction on the privations suffered by the American masses. If you don't want to freeze to death, you'd be prepared to pay a ransom, the Tory mouthpiece proclaims, mustering an air of moral superiority despite the wretched disaster area British capitalism has made of its own economy. The sophisticated British have even invented a new word for freezing to death—"hypothermia" is what the British poor die of these days. But the U.S. bourgeoisie is not far behind in this doubletalk. According to the courts, landlords who cut off the heat are merely engaged in "constructive eviction."

The *Wall Street Journal* found a Texas oilman who controls 60 billion cubic feet of proven reserves in the "Richard Milhous Nixon gas sands"; the *New York Times* discovered a single producer, Tillman J. McIntyre, sitting atop 10 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, enough to keep the whole country running for almost 200 days. Yet the interstate pipeline distributors cut off the entire state of New Jersey. "Why should I sell my gas out of state for $1.42 when Texas buyers are waiting in line to pay $2 for it?" asks McIntyre. Why, indeed, should he? It is not the hoarding producers who are acting irrationally—it is the entire capitalist system of production for profit rather than social need that is to blame.

The current energy crisis demonstrates the utter futility of New Deal schemes to rationalize capitalism through regulation. The price of interstate natural gas has been under federal price controls since 1938, yet now the producers claim that profits are too low and so they refuse to deliver and have intentionally cut back on production.

continued on page 10

Abel Flunky Beats Liberals' Darling in Steel Elections

Sadlowski Loses

FEBRUARY 14—With most of the vote tabulated, unofficial tallies indicate that the incumbent United Steelworkers (USWA) bureaucracy led by Lloyd McBride has won a clear victory over the slate headed by challenger Ed Sadlowski. Thus ended what has been labeled the most important union election in America since the 1940's. At AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, George ("I have never walked a picket line") Meany breathed a sigh of relief, and in Pittsburgh outgoing USWA president I.W. ("no strike") Abel announced that bargaining would proceed as normal now that "irresponsible" elements had been turned back.

During the campaign the big business press and numerous left organizations made Sadlowski out to be a fundamental challenge to the Meanyite "old guard" of labor officialdom. Inveighing against Abel's "labor statemanship" and promising to turn the USWA over to the members, Sadlowski projected a militant image. But, as the Spartacist League repeatedly pointed out, behind the populist rhetoric of the touted "steel rebel" was a program not qualitatively

Arnold Zann

Ed Sadlowski

different from Abel/McBride's. In particular, we warned that Sadlowski's appeal to the capitalist courts and U.S. Labor Department against the union is a fundamental betrayal making support to his candidacy by class-conscious workers out of the question.

Figures released by McBride headquarters show that their candidate had 325,000 votes to 238,000 for Sadlowski, with less than 10 percent of the vote uncounted. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 February) projects that McBride will finish with 59 percent of the vote. Sadlowski, although he will probably carry basic steel, did not do well enough to counter McBride's strengh in Canada, the South, smaller shops and non-basic steel sectors of the union. Thus, in his own Chicago-based District 31, Sadlowski had hoped to win by a margin of three to one; instead, the final edge was barely three to two.

Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback has not officially conceded and, consistent with its strategy of relying on intervention by the bourgeois state, has indicated that it may demand a full Labor Department investigation of the elections. However, the margin of defeat is large enough to make it unlikely that anything would come of such a challenge.

McBride's victory means that Abel will conduct the bargaining for a new basic steel contract due to go into effect August 1. Abel would like to negotiate a "breakthrough" contract before he leaves the industry, and USWA officials are talking about a "lifetime job guarantee" scheme that would supposedly ensure workers a minimum number of hours per year on the job.

By all indications, however, this scheme is no less of a hoax than UAW president Leonard Woodcock's "voluntary overtime" plan. Abel, McBride & Co. have indicated that their plan will apply only to workers with higher seniority and might involve a cutback in supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB). Thus, the low seniority workers, who are the ones *most* affected by layoffs, are given no additional—and perhaps less—protection!

The elections demonstrated that there is strong opposition to the USWA International, particularly in the basic steel sector. In the pivotal District 31, with its 120,000 members, Sadlowski's hand-picked successor Jim Balanoff easily defeated four opponents. The maintenance of an oppositional leadership in District 31, as well as the presence of other rifts in the bureauc-

continued on page 9

PART 2 OF 2

On the Class Nature of the USSR

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism": From Kautsky to Mao 6

Letters

Paranagua and Pilla Defense

San Francisco, 5 February 1977

WORKERS VANGUARD
New York

Dear comrades,

On 22 January 1977, following their release from prison and deportation from Argentina, Paulo Antonio de Paranagua and Maria Regina Pilla arrived by air in Paris, France. Although understandably exhausted after nearly two years' confinement and torture, the Brazilian surrealist filmmaker and his companion are in good physical condition.

We look forward to the opportunity to present photographs and interviews, on the situation of Paranagua and Pilla since their release, to the U.S. press at an early date. We will soon publish a thorough summary of the development of the case and our experience with it. We are now discussing ways and means to continue working against repression of independent intellectuals around the world. We are convinced that the happy outcome of the Paranagua-Pilla case would not have been possible without the organization of an international protest campaign against the Argentine military regime's policy of arrest, torture, and murder of dissident labor, political, and artistic figures.

First, however, we want to express our real appreciation for the activity of the Spartacist League, *Workers Vanguard*, and the Partisan Defense Committee on behalf of Paranagua and Pilla. While most members of our Group would be reluctant to conceal their disagreement with many political positions held by the SL and defended in the *WV*, the SL and PDC have the honor of being virtually the only left organizations in the U.S. to actively contribute to the fight for Paranagua and Pilla. Specifically, news coverage of the case in *WV* No. 126, dated 24 September 1976, stands out as an exemplary, nonsectarian presentation of the facts in a difficult case. Furthermore, *WV* news coverage was followed up by serious public agitation on the case.

This stands in rather strong contrast to the indifference and routinism with which other left groups greeted our initiatives for joint work. Certain organizations apparently believe it is sufficient, to keep the political record up to date, to "endorse" a defense effort like ours without going beyond telephoned promises of future joint actions that never materialize. Others, whom we believed had something at stake in this case, were content to ignore our repeated attempts at liaison.

However, the main thing at this point is to celebrate the release of Paranagua and Pilla and to prepare ourselves for work on other such cases. In the time to come, we hope the PDC, the SL, and *Workers Vanguard* will continue to act, as they did in the Paranagua-Pilla case, in the spirit and tradition of the International Labor Defense in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Yours fraternally,

Stephen S.
For the Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Trotskyists Soft on Lewis?

4 February 1977

To the Editor:

The description of your trade union policy made by your correspondent R.C. of Milwaukee sounds pretty accurate to me. In the several years I've been reading your paper I've never noticed that you ever supported anybody in a union election who "doesn't agree with the entire transitional program for a socialist revolution." Apparently both R.C. and I missed a crucial issue of the paper for I now learn from your answer to him that you once, briefly, endorsed something called "the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus," a fantasy conceived by the Revolutionary Socialist League. Well, is that really all you can find in your record of union work to show that you are not ultimatists and abstentionists on principle?

Another difference between R.C. and you deserves comment. R.C. says the smaller a revolutionary group is, the more circumspect should be its trade union policy; you say the opposite. "If anything, a small revolutionary organization—having little social weight and organizational muscle, and with only its program to stand behind—should be even more cautious about engaging in tactical maneuvers like critical support." In other words, the bigger you get, the more flexible you should get. Put another way, when what you say doesn't matter much, spout the whole program; but when you have the ear of the masses and what you say influences events, talk reasonably and cut deals. Do I misread you? I hope I do.

Your history lesson to R.C. is defective. Using your own criterion, I ask you: Did John L. Lewis in 1935 break "programmatically from the class collaborationism shared by all wings of the bureaucracy" of the AFL? Should revolutionists at the AFL Convention that year have supported him against the William Green faction of the bureaucracy? My answers are no [to] the first and yes to the second question. My reason is that despite the reactionary history of Lewis, to bloc with him then was to help along the development of the CIO. It is a standard 1930s SWP reason, and despite your energetic claim to the mantle, I think you know very little about how we thought and worked in those days. Still, I am glad you think "The SWP was entirely correct to bloc with Lewis on the issue of industrial unionism." You didn't reach that conclusion by applying your ultimatist criterion to the case however.

David Herreshoff

WV replies: The letter from R.C. and our reply ("Should Revolutionists 'Walk with Sadlowski'?" *WV* No. 142, 28 January 1977) dealt centrally with the issue of support to Sadlowski. Comrade Herreshoff does not explicitly address himself to this issue, and we do not believe it necessary to replicate the extensive analysis on the Steelworkers election that has appeared in these pages over the past few months.

Nonetheless, the methodology employed by Herreshoff is characteristic of that generally advanced by ostensible socialists seeking to justify their support to Sadlowski. Herreshoff chides us that our Marxist credentials will not be in order until we have duly given "critical support" to a sufficient number of scoundrels like Arnold Miller and Sadlowski. Of course, the SL is prepared to engage in united fronts and extend critical support in both union and parliamentary elections, when such actions are principled and appropriate. In following our press comrade Herreshoff should be aware that we have done so on numerous occasions.

But for Leninists, united-front appeals to opponent organizations, critical support, etc. are tactics *imposed* upon them by their weakness and inability to directly mobilize the workers who follow the centrist and reformist misleaders. Revolutionaries always strive to lead the masses in their own name. That one's ability to carry out maneuvers is dependent upon the real forces at his command is an elementary lesson in strategy which is not the property of Marxists alone; it is a fact well understood by military strategists, bourgeois politicians or run-of-the-mill union bureaucrats. It only bears repeating so often because for many small ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, their Marxism consists solely of a vocabulary of terms like "critical support" and "united front," which (in the guise of "intersecting the class struggle") they employ as an excuse to betray Bolshevik principles.

Herreshoff, who accuses the SL of being sectarian, suggests that when we become larger we will emerge as opportunists. Of course, all workers organizations are continually exposed to the corrosive influence of bourgeois society. However, one can be certain that the small left group that today capitulates to the Sadlowskis and the Millers—not even in exchange for anything real, but only out of fear of being "isolated"—would be totally unable to withstand the pressures brought to bear on a workers organization that did indeed have something tangible to sell out.

In our reply to R.C., we insisted that the SWP's bloc with John L. Lewis on the issue of industrial unionism "in no way constituted generalized political support, however critical, to the Lewis wing of the bureaucracy." Herreshoff says otherwise.

At its 1935 convention in Atlantic City the AFL leadership put forward a motion to authorize the chartering of new union locals, but only if they were organized on a craft basis. Supporters of the Workers Party (at that time the Trotskyist organization in the U.S.) were correct to bloc with Lewis in opposing this resolution. But that in no way constituted political support to Lewis & Co. Let us see what A. J. Muste, who covered the 1935 convention for the Workers Party, wrote at that time:

> "Because there is thus no difference in underlying philosophy but only tactical distinctions between the old guard and the so-called progressives, it was possible, as the *New Militant* predicted, for Lewis to 'attack' Green repeatedly during the convention and then turn around and nominate him for president of the Federation again....
>
> "The line of policy for revolutionists and for all genuinely militant elements in the unions is not that of an alliance with Lewis-Hillman to wage a mock battle against the corpse of Gompers or the non-entity Green, or the much deflated Matthew Woll, whose ideas, like his oratory, are of nineteenth century vintage. No, the conservative forces in the A.F. of L. today are the Lewis-Hillman forces, the more dangerous because they masquerade as progressive and up-to-date....
>
> "The militant forces in all of the unions, in every section of the country, in the A F. of L. generally, must organize on a basis of class struggle, industrial unionism and genuine trade union democracy against the Lewis-Hillman line.
>
> "The Stalinists with their complete turn to the right in every field devote their energies not to building up a real left wing but actually to playing up Lewis, Hillman, Gorman, et. al. as the genuine article...."
>
> —*New Militant*, 26 October 1935

Today it is not only the Stalinists that present the Millers and Sadlowskis as the "genuine article." It is also the SWP. Scour the pages of the *Militant* and you will find no calls to build a class-struggle alternative to *both* the McBride and Sadlowski wings of the Steelworkers bureaucracy. You will find instead numerous instances of uncritical enthusing over Sadlowski. We think it clear that it is not the SL that knows "very little" about the historic traditions of Trotskyism. Nor for that matter is it the SWP leadership, which *consciously* betrays those traditions.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Spain: Powderkeg of Revolution

Speaker: SAM LEWIS
Workers Vanguard Staff Writer
Spartacus Youth League National Committee

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WV Photo

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent in Los Angeles busing march last Saturday.

L.A. Demo Protests Tokenist Busing Plan

LOS ANGELES, February 13—Over 1,000 people marched here yesterday in a protest against the Los Angeles school board's refusal to implement a school integration plan for the sprawling L.A. Unified School District.

The demonstration was sponsored by a coalition of liberal groups, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Integration Project, a local pro-busing group. It was intended as an eminently respectable Saturday stroll in the southern California sun—a media event to pressure the school board and serve as a vehicle for election campaigns of pro-busing politicians.

The spirit of the 1960's civil rights movement and of Martin Luther King was constantly evoked, one sponsor calling the demonstration "the first civil rights march in L.A. in more than a decade." The march was led by local black politicians and clergy, including school board member Diane Watson. One speaker after another attacked the school board, but had no alternatives to offer except pursuing the legal case to the Supreme Court or voting segregationist politicians out of office.

Much of the L.A. left, including the Communist Party (CP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Labor Party (CLP), had endorsed the march uncritically, and a substantial portion of the demonstrators were supporters of one or another of the left tendencies or their satellites. However, these reformists were granted no speakers at all. The Spartacist League (SL) distinguished itself as the only organized contingent in the demonstration to visibly oppose reliance on the capitalist state in order to achieve racial integration. The SL contingent marched behind a banner proclaiming "No Confidence in the Cops, Board or Courts—For a Multi-Racial/Labor Mobilization to Defend Busing and Extend it to the Suburbs."

School Board Thwarts Integration

The L.A. Unified School District (which includes the city of Los Angeles and a number of small, predominantly working-class, adjacent cities) was first sued for its racially segregated schools in 1963. In the intervening 14 years, the courts and Board of Education have tossed responsibility back and forth, issuing pious pronouncements and vague declarations, and have succeeded in maintaining sharp racial (and class) segregation in the public schools.

Last year the board appointed a 114-person advisory committee, which proposed a large-scale busing plan within the L.A. Unified School District in order to integrate the schools. Rather than accept the proposal of its advisory committee, the seven-person school board adopted its own plan (over the objections of two liberal board members, Robert Docter and Diane Watson) at a meeting this past January 13. The board plan—probably the most cynically tokenistic ever proposed by a major city—calls for the establishment of "specialized learning centers" to which students from segregated schools would be bused for a *nine-week* "integrated experience"!

Even the advisory committee plan falls far short of providing integrated education, however. Busing is necessary to achieve educational integration in most major U.S. cities, including Los Angeles, where racial separation in the schools is based primarily on segregated neighborhoods, a result of the discrimination that relegates high percentages of blacks and other minorities to the lowest-paying jobs and the ranks of the unemployed. But busing must be extended to the affluent suburbs (such as Beverly Hills) to be meaningful.

The L.A. school population is more than 37 percent Spanish-surnamed, and many of these students come from homes where Spanish is the only language spoken. Thus bilingual education is absolutely vital to achieve school integration. Yet Mexican Americans in the Los Angeles area are now worried that the expense of busing will be used as an excuse to cut even the present limited bilingual programs (5,300 students). The labor movement must demand that there be no school cutbacks and layoffs, that seniority rights be defended, additional badly needed teachers be hired and that bilingual and other special programs be extended to all students who require them.

Opposition to busing in L.A. has centered around a San Fernando Valley-based group called "Bustop" which claims 20,000 members and demagogically appeals to parents to "oppose forced busing." Bobbi Fiedler, a leading member of Bustop, is running in the April Board of Education primary election against Robert Docter, a pro-busing incumbent. Fiedler is not only opposed to busing, but has been quoted as opposing bringing children of different social classes together as well (KCET-TV, 13 January 1977).

There is not yet a racist mobilization in Los Angeles on the scale of Boston or Louisville, though there was a limited one-day anti-busing school boycott in the San Fernando Valley last month, and another citywide boycott is being organized for late February or March. Significantly, the Ku Klux Klan was leafletting the anti-busing demonstration at the January boycott. Southern

continued on page 9

Confessions of a Rubber Stamp

On January 14 a host of ostensibly Trotskyist dignitaries got together in a London public meeting to denounce Gerry Healy, the self-styled "anti-revisionist" whose Stalinist-style organizational practices have made him notorious as a gangster and slanderer. The meeting's ostensible purpose was to protest Healy's despicable slander campaign to smear the American SWP's Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices" of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky (see "Fake Trotskyist Family Reunion," *WV* No. 141, 21 January). The meeting's real purpose was to buttress the assembled revisionists' pretensions to Trotskyism, using Healy as a convenient foil. The hypocrisy of the participants' avowed concern for "workers democracy" was demonstrated when the meeting refused to grant Healy the floor to reply to his attackers.

But surely the most shameless of all the hypocrites was Tim Wohlforth, who for some dozen years headed Healy's American satellite. As Healy's chosen instrument, Wohlforth happily emulated every corrupt trick in Healy's book, sanctimoniously prating about the "Marxist method" while arrogantly intimidating any and all opposition to his high-handed tinpot despotism and cynical opportunism. He flinched from nothing in his master's service, until at last a denunciation of himself stuck in his throat.

Wohlforth's testimonial to the crimes of Healy was truly heart-rending:

> "I got up in the middle of the meeting and said I disagreed with the proceedings. Which was the hardest thing that I have ever said in my life because of the atmosphere. And yet, and any of you here who have ever been in the Socialist Labour League could understand this, *and yet I ended up, as those who have been in the Socialist Labour League have done and still do, I ended up voting against my convictions*!
>
> "I voted for my own removal; Nancy Fields voted for her own suspension. And then, two minutes out of that meeting, we went back to our cabin with Comrade Slaughter and we told him we disagreed with the way we voted. We just could not say it in front of such a meeting in such an atmosphere." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 7 February

Healyite methods are indeed brutal and debasing. But we would like to remind Wohlforth that, despite the intimidating "atmosphere" which is a hallmark of the Healy-Wohlforth school, there is an alternative to sniveling self-denunciation.

In London in 1966, at a conference of Healy's "International Committee," Healy—in an attempt to guarantee a totally subservient puppet organization in the U.S.—launched a bureaucratic

WV Photo

Tim Wohlforth

attack on James Robertson, the spokesman for the Spartacist delegation to the conference, for missing a session due to exhaustion and illness. One contemporary account described the incident:

> "(1) He was charged with being absent from a session.
> "(2) He admitted his guilt.
> "(3) A motion was passed demanding that he apologize and admit having committed a 'petty-bourgeois act.'
> "(4) He apologized in an emphatic way for having been absent but refused to acknowledge that he had committed a 'petty-bourgeois act.'
> "(5) The escalation proceeded. Healy, according to Rose J., scored Robertson's absence and his refusal to vote for his condemnation, characterizing it as a 'petty-bourgeois, reactionary act expressing the chauvinism of American imperialism, etc.'
> "(6) Robertson was threatened with expulsion if he did not voice approval of the motion branding him with the alleged class nature of his crime.
> "(7) The dazed man still said, no
> "(8) He was expelled."
>
> —"Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International"

The author of these words was none other than Joseph Hansen, who has now gathered into his revisionist fold the very same Wohlforth who in 1966 joyously echoed the slanderous call of his master's voice to lock up his cherished franchise as the head of American Healyism.

For the loathsome creatures of the Wohlforth ilk, there was never any choice but to vote "against my convictions," pleading the "atmosphere" in extenuation. For the principled Leninist politicians of the Spartacist tendency, there was never any choice but to uphold our convictions, in the terrain of organizational practice as in the terrain of program. Wohlforth was, in Hansen's own words, "a rubber stamp for a Healy." True enough. And despite a decade of denouncing Hansen's revisionism, look whose rubber stamp Wohlforth is now! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Why the MEC Is Afraid of the Spartacist League

The leaders of the amorphous Marxist Education Collective (MEC) in New York have a problem. Arthur Felberbaum & Co. would have participants in their "School for Marxist Education" believe that the problem is "how to deal with the Sparts." They should be so lucky. Their real problem is that they have no common political basis for existence—they can't answer revolutionary politics without provoking an immediate split. All the Spartacist League (SL) has done is to present the Trotskyist program that set off the MEC's self-destruct mechanism.

Last week MEC leaders tried to untie their Gordian knot by excluding SL members and supporters from their classes. With this bureaucratic act the MEC honchos hoped to hide from history, avoiding the imperative need to present a coherent Marxist program. But lacking the political muscle to carry out a total exclusion of Spartacists at this time, the MEC executive board instead announced an interim policy allowing teachers to set a limit of "one Spart per class" if they so desire.

To date only two teachers have chosen to act on this decision, and the collective as a whole seems to want to back off from a major confrontation with the SL. Nevertheless, the MEC membership has not repudiated this anti-democratic exclusion. It cannot avoid the issue, nor will we permit it to do so. To let this exclusion stand is to define the MEC as a fundamentally anti-communist political tendency, declared enemies of proletarian democracy.

What Is the MEC Afraid of?

In a leaflet entitled "'Open Marxist School' Closed to Trotskyists," the SL noted that the exclusion confirmed what we have been claiming all along: that the MEC is no "open forum" but contains within it a leadership core with a hidden political program. It is significant that the only teachers who have thus far enforced the exclusion are the MEC's "education director" Felberbaum and his sidekick Stephan Kass. Felberbaum, whose positions parallel those of the pseudo-Trotskyists of Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the United Secretariat (USec), apparently finds it necessary to shelter potential recruits to his undercover operation from the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League.

In order to conciliate non-USec supporters and keep his MEC front going, Felberbaum vociferously denies double-recruiting to the IMT. But as we pointed out in our leaflet on the exclusion:

> "Why is it that the SL's participation in the school has been limited while no similar restrictions have been placed on the Communist Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, or the Socialist Party USA? While the MEC cannot live in the same room with more than one Spartacist at a time, it has no trouble cohabiting with betrayers whose organizations bear the responsibility of sixty years of betrayal of workers struggles. "It is because of its appetites toward the reformist parties, the Stalinists in particular, that the MEC can no longer tolerate in its midst the revolutionaries who expose it. Historically, one of the characteristics of Pabloism has been the organizational suppression of revolutionary factions which fought against capitulationist tendencies in the Trotskyist movement."

The leaflet went on to point out a common attachment to the so-called "revolutionary component" of the Portuguese Communist Party on the part of both the MEC and the Mandelite IMT.

The political intervention of the SL has forced a premature emergence of "closet IMTers" in the MEC leadership, and this, in turn, appears to have exacerbated existing subterranean tensions within the collective, leading to an open clash between Felberbaum and a rightist, feminist current. Among the membership the range of opinion stretches from those who are outraged at the anti-democratic exclusion of the Spartacist League to others who hate all parties so much that they do not want to stop with the SL. The latter would not be adverse to getting rid of the Felberbaum grouping itself, which has now been exposed as involved in dread attempts at a pre-party formation.

The MEC can no longer escape a political reckoning. Felberbaum cannot openly defend his IMT appetites without provoking the collective's disintegration; neither can he disguise his true positions without ceding the floor to the SL. With the cowardly exclusion of Spartacist supporters the MEC leaders have provoked the confrontation they have sought for so many months to avoid. Now they can no longer hide behind vague innuendo and absurd charges of Spartacist "lying"—Murray Weiss is supposedly not a leader of the MEC but only a "respected teacher"; the Chilean musical group which played at the MEC's "Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women" was not a rock-and-roll group ("slander!") but a folk group, etc.

Comrades, this is nothing but the most petty corridor gossip. It is a smokescreen to avoid political struggle, while in the backrooms the maneuvering goes on to maintain the precarious "unity" of this unprincipled amalgam. Perhaps the strongest affinity of the MEC for the USec is their common abhorrence of political clarification, which for these armchair "revolutionists" is nothing but a hindrance to their wheeling and dealing.

The Spartacist League has consistently defended the program of revolutionary Trotskyism. This is what earns the hatred of Felberbaum and his clique; this is what makes the SL the only pole for a truly revolutionary regroupment. As for the MEC, so long as it claims to be an "open school" for "Marxist education," we will insist that the norms of workers democracy be applied within it. ■

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Economist

Provincial prime minister René Levesque speaking at Parti Québécois rally after election victory last fall.

Quebec Nationalism and the Class Struggle

The following memorandum on Quebec was adopted at the last Trotskyist League Central Committee plenum. It is reprinted from the January 1977 issue of Spartacist Canada.

1. Leninism and nationalism are two fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus while we struggle against all forms of national oppression, we are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology. A socialist world economy will provide the foundation for the gradual disappearance of national antagonisms and the voluntary assimilation of nations.

However capitalism in its period of decay intensifies national oppression and exacerbates reactionary nationalist conflicts. We stand on the principle of the equality of all nations, and support their unconditional right to self-determination. Only by upholding such a democratic guarantee against national oppression and privilege can we combat nationalist ideology and lay the basis for international proletarian unity against capitalism, unencumbered by overriding national antagonisms.

2. For colonies (e.g., Puerto Rico), the right to self-determination can only be expressed through immediate and unconditional independence. In oppressed nations within multi-national states the question of whether or not to *advocate* independence depends on the depth of national antagonisms between the working people of the different nations. If relations have become so poisoned as to make genuine class unity impossible within a single state power, we support independence as the only way to remove the national question from the agenda and bring the class issue to the fore. The Bolsheviks did not find it necessary to *advocate* independence for the oppressed minority nations in Tsarist Russia, yet Lenin did support the call for Norwegian independence from Sweden.

3. The Parti Québécois victory in the aftermath of growing national antagonisms over the language question in both Quebec and English-speaking Canada raises the question whether we should go from supporting the *right* to self-determination for Quebec to advocating its independence. The nationalist sentiment among many sections of the Quebec proletariat has not prevented Quebec workers from taking the lead in many Canada-wide labor actions, the most important being October 14, the first national general strike in the history of the North American labor movement. Except for the petty-bourgeois strata within the labor movement which are the traditional social base of nationalist movements (teachers and civil servants), there has been no discernible trend toward breakaways from the international industrial unions to Quebec nationalist unions. Pre-election polls which accurately reflected the electoral outcome found that only 18 percent of the Québécois actually desire independence. *At this time* we therefore continue our previous policy of advocating Quebec's right to self-determination while opposing independence. Were the question posed *now* in a referendum we would still insist on voting "no" to independence.

But we also recognize that the English chauvinist reaction to bilingualism, combined with manifestations of French-language chauvinism among the Québécois (e.g., Bill 22, the air traffic controllers' strike), indicate that national antagonisms could very rapidly escalate to the point where common class unity could be torn asunder. Although the PQ victory was primarily an anti-Liberal backlash, nonetheless it has already led to growing confrontations between Quebec and Ottawa, confrontations which will probably serve to inflame the existing national antagonisms. Thus our opposition to advocating independence *now* by no means precludes advocating independence in the immediate future (e.g., by the time of the PQ-proposed referendum in two years). Whether the cause of common class unity is ultimately better served within a common state power or an independent Quebec has not yet been subjected to a decisive historic test and outcome.

4. Advocacy of independence would still have the goal of *combatting* nationalist ideology. Independence for Quebec would hopefully lay the basis for unity on a higher level among

continued on page 10

Polish Regime Victimizes Workers Defense Committee!

In the aftermath of the massive demonstrations in Poland last June 25 protesting announced food price increases of up to 70 percent, an estimated 5,000 workers were jailed and many convicted on charges of rioting. Last week, after seven months of international and domestic protests, the government announced a conditional pardon for all those still imprisoned for participating in the demonstrations.

The pardon announced by Prime Minister Edward Gierek, while a relief to the workers still in jail, was at best a grudging concession. It is an insult to the tens of thousands who struck and demonstrated in defense of their living standards in June, now branded as "criminals and hooligans" by the state. Moreover, the regime has made the pardon conditional, leaving release of each individual up to bureaucratic fiat: *if* the workers "show repentance" and *if*

Der Spiegel

Edward Lipinski

Der Spiegel

Jacek Kuron

the authorities have reason to believe "they would not return to crime" (*New York Times*, 5 February).

A leading member of the Workers Defense Committee, a group of intellectuals which has protested the victimization of the workers jailed and fired in the aftermath of June 25, called the pardon "a great social victory." But he added, the group will continue to struggle for a complete amnesty and the rehiring of all fired workers at their previous jobs, with no loss in seniority.

Only days after the protests erupted and then died out under heavy repression (see "Behind Polish Workers' June Protests," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976), hastily set up judicial panels were handing out up to 700 sentences daily. While the most common punishment was a three-month jail term and a fine of 5,000 zlotys (about US$200), many workers received harsher terms ranging from three to ten years in prison.

Those arrested or detained for question were reportedly badly mistreated by police. Hundreds and probably thousands have lost their jobs. According to an eyewitness report furnished by the Workers Defense Committee:

> "These people are forbidden to take up work in both state enterprises and cooperatives and even in private enterprises, which are threatened with losing their license should they violate the exclusion. The Warsaw employment office refuses to carry on any talks at all with workers dismissed after June 25."
> —*Der Spiegel*, 22 November 1976

Blacklisted and blocked from financial aid from the government, many have suffered severe personal hardships.

And even now when the Gierek regime attempts to close the book on June 25, it continues to harass the Workers Defense Committee. Organized in September, its originators include several well-known socialist intellectuals. The Committee's assiduous publicity of the victimized workers' plight has been a thorn in the side of the bureaucracy, and certainly it can take at least partial credit for the reduction in jail terms for some workers last fall, as well as for the recent pardon.

Bureaucrats Have No Solution for Economic Crisis

Seeking a truce with the discontented working class, the Polish government is putting up a show of "consulting" the populace, just as it did in the wake of the December 1970 workers revolt in the Baltic coast port cities. Speaking at the Ursus tractor works (a center of the June protests) this month, Gierek claimed: "We are heeding public opinion and there are no problems that cannot be discussed and solved in a democratic way."

But despite its bogus talk of "democracy," the Stalinist regime is faced with a real economic crisis which it cannot resolve in the workers' interests while continuing its policies of bribing the peasantry and keeping up a good credit rating with imperialist financiers through heavy exports of food. The workers who protested at Ursus, Radom and elsewhere were tired of bearing the burden of the bureaucracy's belt-tightening economic policies so that private farmers could reap higher prices and quality meats could be exported to the West for hard currency.

The Gierek regime also claims to be reordering economic priorities. Last month the government announced that in the 1976-80 economic plan investment in consumers goods industries would rise by over 40 percent, while total industrial investment will remain *unchanged*. Additionally an astronomical 12 percent of the national income will reportedly go to subsidize food prices, an almost unheard-of amount (*New York Times*, 21 January). While such a policy might allay mass discontent for the time being, it perpetuates Poland's grave economic situation. Poland now owes $12 billion to Western creditors, and repayments account for 20 to 30 percent of hard-currency earnings (*Business Week*, 17 January). Unless it can increase productivity in the export industry, the Gierek regime will

Der Spiegel

Soldiers guard intersection during 1970 riots.

face international bankruptcy, economic retaliation by its imperialist creditors and be forced to undertake extreme austerity measures.

Harassment and Provocation

While the government has been extremely hostile to the activities of the Workers Defense Commitee from the beginning, it has hesitated to jail or deport its leaders. To do so would risk a repeat of the workers demonstrations, which in deformed workers states (such as Poland) immediately threaten the foundations of the regime. Instead it has waged a campaign of harassment, hauling Committee members into police headquarters and detaining them for long periods of time for "questioning." Two members have been fired from their jobs, and others have been beaten, reportedly by plainclothes police, while attending the trials of Radom workers.

On November 3 police raided a Committee meeting and rounded up 14 members of the group. Among those held was Jacek Kuron, author of the open letter to Italian Communist Party leader Berlinguer asking the latter to intervene on behalf of the victimized workers. Again, in December, security police raided members' homes. To cripple the Committee's efforts to sustain the families of those jailed and fired (it has collected and distributed over $13,000), the government arrested at least one member for "illegally soliciting funds."

According to the 13 January *Rouge*, newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the Polish secret police went so far as to forge a letter to the Workers Defense Committee in the name of the LCR. In addition to grammatical errors, the forged document contains innuendos and slanderous accusations that money supposedly funneled to the Committee has never been accounted for.

But despite repression the Committee has continued its activity. On January 8, a letter signed by 172 Polish intellectuals was released denouncing police brutality against the workers in June and demanding the creation of an independent commission to investigate the "abuses and tortures the whole country is talking about." At the end of the month 22 members of the Workers Defense Committee issued a statement defending the authors of "Charter 77," an appeal for rights supposedly established in the Czech constitution and the 1975 Helsinki accords.

The political views of at least part of the defense committee were shown in a recent interview with Jacek Kuron, published in *Le Monde* (29 January). Kuron was a leader of student protests in Warsaw during the mid-1960's and at the time held that Poland was "state capitalist." Now, according to the interview, he has taken positions close to those of the "Eurocommunist" current epitomized by Berlinguer. Kuron praises Gierek for "knowing how to keep in touch" and encapsulates his own views as calling for a "step-by-step policy" of reforms.

The fact that the Workers Defense Committee has not appealed to the Western bourgeoisies to "aid" victims of bureaucratic repression in Poland is praiseworthy, not only because it makes it more difficult for the regime to dismiss it as simply a mouthpiece for Radio Free Europe and the CIA. More fundamentally, it is necessary to defend the social conquests represented by the overthrow of capitalism in the Soviet bloc states. But to believe that under Gierek or any other "reform" bureaucrat it will be possible to alter the nature of the Stalinist regime is a pipedream. The experience with Gierek's predecessor Gomulka, who was brought in almost directly from jail in 1956 in order to appease the Poznan strikers, should prove this. Only through a workers political revolution—deepening and extending workers revolts such as the 1970 strikes to topple the bureaucracy and establish a regime of soviet democracy—can the East European and Soviet proletariat go forward to socialism.

If the Polish government has hesitated to bring down its full weight on the Workers Defense Committee for fear of provoking a new wave of working-class protest, the imperialists have also treated it much differently than they have other Soviet bloc "dissidents." While Carter leaps to the defense of a Sakharov or the Charter 77 group (see "Dissidents and Cold Warriors," *WV* No. 144, 11 February), there is official silence about the Polish workers protests last summer.

There is a specific reason for this unaccustomed silence: if the protests should be successful in reversing economic priorities, this would endanger payment on the loans which the Polish bureaucracy has contracted for in the West. But beyond this, the bourgeoisie fears that a truly massive workers uprising would not only topple the bureaucracy but soon infect the working class of the West, thus endangering its own class rule. Only by building a movement of international *proletarian* solidarity can the victimized Polish workers be aided.

Drop all charges against June 25 strikers—restore their jobs immediately, with full restitution of pay and no loss in seniority! ■

Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism": From Kautsky to Mao

The following is the second part of the introduction to a forthcoming Spartacus Youth League pamphlet which brings together several recent articles from Workers Vanguard *and* Young Spartacus *on Maoist economics, attempts by apologists for the Chinese bureaucracy to explain a supposed "restoration of capitalism" in the post-Stalin USSR, and theories of "state capitalism" generally.*

The Maoist "theory" (actually, dogma) that capitalism has been restored in the USSR is distinguished by its subjectivist redefinition of social classes. Stalin's "socialist state" was supposedly overthrown and replaced by capitalism when the "revisionist" Khrushchev

PART 2 OF 2

came to power and read his famous "secret speech" to the 20th congress of the CPSU. The flagrant idealism behind the idea that capitalism could be restored by a new party chairman and a speech (rather than bloody civil war) is forced upon the Maoists by the fact that the continuity of the Soviet economic system from Stalin to Khrushchev to Brezhnev is empirically indisputable and recognized by everyone else in the world. Likewise, the fundamental similarity between the economic systems of Brezhnev's Russia and Maoist China, despite their sharply different levels of development, is manifest.

Those few Maoist intellectuals, like Martin Nicolaus, who attempt to demonstrate that traditional capitalist institutions and relations have been restored in Brezhnev's Russia must of necessity resort to a total falsification of Soviet economic history. (For an exposé of Nicolaus' endless falsifications, see "How Maoists 'Restore Capitalism' in the Soviet Union," in *WV* Nos. 138 and 140, 24 December 1976 and 14 January 1977.) The Peking bureaucracy and its more cautious followers have chosen the safer course of simply *asserting* capitalist restoration in the USSR rather than trying to prove it.

Halfway intelligent Maoists realize instinctively that in any attempt to empirically demonstrate that socialism existed in Stalin's time while capitalism exists now, their opponents can only win. Consequently, the Revolutionary Communist Party, with Maoist orthodoxy on its side, accuses Nicolaus of revisionism and even Trotskyist methodology because he still identifies capitalism with the dominance of commodity-market relations:

> "Nicolaus' line which states that capitalism is equivalent to the market and socialism equivalent to planning is not a new one. In fact, his line has been the favorite of the Soviet revisionists who claim that their economy cannot be capitalist since it is run according to a plan.... It has also been taken up by the Trotskyites who, in words, stand opposed to revisionism but who have always argued that it is central planning which is the main characteristic of socialism. That is why, despite all their ranting and raving about 'Stalinist bureaucrats,' the Trotskyites still characterize both the Soviet Union and socialist China as 'deformed workers' states,' completely obscuring the fundamental difference between bourgeois and proletarian class rule."
>
> —*Communist*, October 1976

The core of the Maoist position is captured in an axiom attributed to the Great Helmsman himself: "the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." But revisionism can only occur in the realm of doctrines and ideas, while the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is an objectively determined social group: those individuals who own the means of production as marketable commodities. The subjectivism of the Maoist concept of class is nakedly revealed in this quotation from the Chairman.

Although the purest, most exaggerated subjectivist attitude toward social reality is to be found in Maoism, this outlook is inherent in all varieties of Stalinism with its identification of the state with the ruling clique and its dictatorial leader. For Marxists and in reality, the state is a historically given, objective relationship between the dominant economic system (i.e., property relations) and the military apparatus which defends that system. That is why the class nature of the state cannot be changed through a mere shuffling of personnel within the governing apparatus, but only through violent revolution.

In Defense of Marxism

The position that the USSR is "state capitalist" or some other form of exploitative class society cannot simply be dismissed as the ideological expression of opportunist appetites. If the adherents of "state capitalist" include such opportunist renegades as Karl Kautsky and Tony Cliff, among them are also individuals of outstanding personal revolutionary integrity like Amadeo Bordiga and Grandizo Munis.

The nature of the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule is one of the most difficult theoretical problems which has ever confronted the Marxist movement. That proletarian revolution should first triumph in backward Russia, in alliance with a mass peasant rebellion, was itself contrary to traditional Marxist projections. However, Lenin and Trotsky did not consider the Bolshevik Revolution, as a self-sufficient, nationally limited event, but as the first act of an imminent Europe-wide proletarian revolution. The subsequent isolation of a workers state in an economically backward country surrounded by hostile imperialist powers was totally unanticipated in the Marxist tradition. And that this country should be ruled for decades by an absolutist bureaucracy through mass terror against the workers and peasants seems to contradict everything Marx or Lenin ever wrote, said or thought about the transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is therefore readily comprehensible that many subjectively revolutionary would-be Marxists balk at the Trotskyist position that the USSR under Stalin and his heirs is a workers state, albeit qualitatively bureaucratically degenerated. However, unless one doctors the evidence (à la Nicolaus), it is not possible to characterize the Soviet Union as capitalist or a new form of exploitative class rule without rejecting one or another fundamental element of classic Marxism, usually the theory of the state.

Der Spiegel

Soviet shoppers line up for goods in short supply. "When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the Soviet bureaucracy. It 'knows' who is to get something and who has to wait." (Leon Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed)

Henri Bureau/Sygma

Top Soviet bureaucrats: from left, Nikolai Podgorny, Andrei Gromyko, Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin

Marxism is not a dogma which is impervious to a changing reality. Marxism is both a scientific (i.e., empirically verifiable) analysis and a guide to action (i.e., a political program). How should one approach a major historical development which is unanticipated by, and seems to contradict, evolved Marxist doctrine? On the one hand there are theoretical extensions which preserve the integrity of the Marxist worldview. On the other, there are revisions which necessarily lead to the abandonment of the Marxist program, of a revolutionary proletarian, communist perspective.

Marxian scientific socialism (as distinguished from the utopian socialism of pre-Marxist radical-democratic intellectuals—notably the Babouvists, Saint-Simonians and Owenites) is distinguished by two central propositions. First, socialization of the means of production is not the realization of a moral ideal, but is only possible because capitalism arrests the development of productive forces and must be superseded by a superior economic system. Second, the agency for overthrowing capitalism on a world-historical scale is the organized working class, and the transition period to socialism (a classless, stateless society) is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Trotskyist position that the dictatorship of the proletariat exists in the Soviet Union because the collectivist property forms established by the October Revolution have not been liquidated by counterrevolution is nothing other than a reaffirmation of the central premise of Marxism. The Kautskyan doctrine that the central defining feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat is democratic control of the government by the working masses, or the analogous Maoist-Stalinist notion that it is the proletarian mentality of the ruling group that is key, stands the Marxist dialectic on its head. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a progressive historical stage because it is necessary to create the material preconditions for socialism.

Any serious would-be Marxist who holds that the USSR is "state capitalist" or some other form of exploitative class society must answer the following question: is this form of society a progressive development or is it a historical retrogression from the most advanced capitalism? Only those, like the Bordigists, who maintain the empiri-

Leon Trotsky

cally untenable position that the Soviet economic structure is that of a traditional capitalist economy are absolved from this theoretical responsibility. It is proof of the intellectual shallowness and/or demagogy of the "state capitalist" theorists that they almost never pose the question from the standpoint of the Marxist dialectical conception of history. Instead, the "Russia is state capitalist" literature consists overwhelmingly of sterile terminological scholasticism, vulgar workerism or insipid moralism.

The superiority of the Soviet economic system to traditional capitalism is empirically indisputable. From a backward, largely peasant economy in the 1920's, the Soviet Union has transformed itself (despite massive bureaucratic parasitism and mismanagement) into a modern industrial society. The USSR is the only backward country to achieve such a transformation in the 20th century, the epoch of imperialist capitalism. Furthermore, it is also empirically indisputable that the Soviet economy is free of traditional capitalist cyclical contractions and crises. Industrial production expanded rapidly in the USSR both during the Great Depression of the 1930's and the recent world depression of 1974-75.

Those who maintain that the USSR is "state capitalist" or "bureaucratic collectivist" are asserting that the state bureaucracy can successfully overcome the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and administer the rapid, steady expansion of productive forces. This profoundly revisionist conception calls into question the progressive character and historical necessity for proletarian revolution and class rule.

Alternatively, the social-democratic position that, because of the suppression of democratic rights by a totalitarian regime, the USSR is reactionary compared to the most advanced capitalist states implies that the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism are utopian fantasies. And this actually is the position of social-democratic reformism, which regards the bourgeois-democratic "welfare state" (as in Sweden) as the highest possible level of social organization.

An Epoch of Progressive Bureaucratic Rule?

No political tendency has explicitly maintained that the Soviet Union is a *progressive* new form of exploitative class society. However, in a certain sense this view was put forward a quarter-century ago by revisionists within the Trotskyist movement. Though its proponents subsequently retreated from such an unabashed apology for Stalinist rule, the liquidationist program of Pabloism was first generalized in the profoundly anti-Marxist proposition of an entire *epoch* ("several centuries") of deformed workers states.

Trotsky maintained that the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy was not a new class because it had no characteristic relation to the means of production, and therefore its rule could at most be nothing but a historical *episode*, ultimately reflecting the belatedness of proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist world. As against the social democrats, Trotsky asserted that a workers state could exist under bonapartist bureaucratic rule, but only as an episode conditioned by the dominance of capitalism on a world scale. The *epoch* of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a *world scale* must represent the direct political rule of the working class (i.e., soviet democracy). Therefore, the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the proletariat is essential for the transition to socialism.

This Trotskyist position was challenged in the early 1950's by a revisionist tendency within the Fourth International itself, a tendency led by its secretary, Michel Pablo. In his "war/revolution" thesis, Pablo projected the overthrow of world capitalism through the military victory of the Stalinist-ruled Soviet bloc. The democratization of the resulting bureaucratically deformed workers states, held Pablo, would be a process of gradual self-reform, not the result of a working-class political revolution. In effect, Pabloism replaced the epoch of proletarian rule with that of progressive bureaucratic rule:

> "The capitalist regime, having attained its highest stage, is breaking up, decaying, and thus allowing a series of phenomena to appear which fall into the general framework of an epoch of transition between capitalism and socialism, an *epoch* which has *already begun and is quite advanced*.
>
> "...this transformation will probably take an entire historical period of several centuries and will in the meantime be filled with forms and regimes transitional between capitalism and socialism and necessarily deviating from 'pure' forms and norms." [our emphasis]
>
> —Michel Pablo, "Where Are We Going?" 1951

Pabloism is actually the positive version of "bureaucratic collectivism." The parallel methodology of Shachtmanism and Pabloism has long been recognized by our tendency. The seminal document of the Spartacist tendency, "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" (1962) stated:

> "Like the Shachtman-Burnham theory, this [Pabloist] theory denied a revolu-

continued on page 11

Egypt Jails Hundreds of Leftists

FEBRUARY 12—Anwar Sadat has desperately attempted to shore up his shaky regime since the turbulent strikes and demonstrations which ripped through Egypt's cities on January 18 and 19. While lashing out at tiny groups of leftists and clamping draconian "security" measures on the working class generally, the military rulers carried out a selective round-up even among members of the mock-opposition "Left Party" set up by Sadat late last year. Simultaneously, Sadat is leaning more heavily on the support of reactionary Arab monarchies and the domestic right wing.

Sadat is trying to buy time. He canceled the imperialist-ordered price increases on basic commodities which triggered the outbreak but has said repeatedly that such austerity measures remain essential and are still on the agenda. But before he can slash the masses' rations, the Egyptian president must firmly clamp a lid on the seething discontent among the proletariat and urban poor, smash the student left and cut off all avenues for protest by the kept "opposition."

On January 26, the government banned strikes and demonstrations. A few days later Sadat issued a decree making strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations, actions "intended to damage public or private property" and membership in illegal political organizations offenses punishable by *life imprisonment* at hard labor. The draconian measures were put up for a ritual referendum this week. The government unashamedly announced yesterday that 96.69 percent of eligible voters had gone to the polls and 99.4 percent voted to approve the measures!

Over 1,200 people were arrested during and after the protests. The regime immediately launched a witch-hunt against the left, charging that "known Communists and Communist-led elements" had plotted to burn down Cairo. A key target has been the clandestine Communist Workers Party, which the government claims has ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the South Yemen National Front. Several journalists from government-controlled newspapers and a medical student were arrested and charged with membership in the group and "instigating rioters" (*Times* [London], 22 January 1977). Forty-two people are to be tried by a state security court on charges of subversion, looting, murder and rioting in the town of Maneoura.

Also under arrest are over 100 members of the National Progressive Union, which was created by the government as a means of siphoning off unrest into a "loyal opposition" for last November's bogus elections. Their leader, Khaled Mohieddin, who was one of the colonels in Nasser's Free Officer Corps, complained that his supporters were being used as "scapegoats" by the government. The fact that Mohieddin was allowed to hold a press conference, unprecedented since political parties were banned in 1953, indicates that Sadat is attempting to cow his Nasserite critics rather than smash them. Prominent rightist politicians and religious leaders, however, have called for suppression of the "Progressive Union" and demanded that the fanatically xenophobic Muslim Brotherhood be allowed to form a religious-based party.

While Sadat may not accede to these demands, he must lean more heavily on the Muslim right, in part because of its ties to oil-rich Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states which bankroll the Egyptian war machine. A number of foreign reporters have noted that Sadat has taken no action against Muslim Brotherhood members identified as participants in the January revolt while he has single-mindedly rooted out leftists.

The on-again, off-again alliance of Nasser and his successor with the Muslim Brotherhood is stark testimony to the demagogic balancing act which is endemic to military bonapartism. This ultra-reactionary group played a role in the 1952 upsurge which led to the overthrow of the dissolute King Farouk, joining with the bourgeois-nationalist officers eager to destroy foreign influences and the blatant corruption of the aristocracy. Some of Nasser's colonels (Sadat among them) had been or were members of the Muslim Brotherhood, and it was initially exempted from the ban on political organizations. While it cheered Nasser's early repression against the left (adding the force of its own paramilitary gangs), the sinister fundamentalist religious group was frustrated in its appetite for a share of the power held tightly by the military. It was suppressed in late 1954 after one of its members attempted to assassinate Nasser. Now the Muslim reactionaries are again asserting their strength, offering Sadat an alliance against "atheistic Communists."

The militant workers and students in Sadat's prisons must be defended against military repression. The road to proletarian revolution in Egypt, however, does not run through "left-wing" Nasserism or any brand of Arab nationalism. The Egyptian and Arab masses, like their class brothers in Israel, groan under the weight of bourgeois militarism.

Hebrew and Arab workers alike are periodically mobilized as cannon fodder

continued on page 10

AP

Troops patrol Cairo street after price riots last month.

No Solidarity with Transit Cops!

For A Strike Against NYC Subway Cutbacks!

As New York City is squeezed ever tighter by the bankers' camarilla—the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), which is demanding repayment of over $1 billion in bank loans from the financially strapped city—the first signs of open working-class resistance have begun to surface. On February 11, over 3,000 members of the powerful Transit Workers Union (TWU) demonstrated in front of City Hall protesting recent heavy cuts in transit service.

For months the TWU bureaucracy has been under pressure from the ranks, already dissatisfied with their recent rotten contract, whose meager cost-of-living allowance (COLA) is now under intensive attack by the city administration and the EFCB. The inadequate COLA increase won last year was supposed to be paid out of "productivity" increases (speedup), but even that rotten deal was not sufficient to satisfy the bankers' greed.

Now the city has threatened layoffs and a cut in the COLA, the first time transit workers have been directly threatened by an actual reduction in their contract provisions. Although the TWU bureaucracy is trying to win public support through emphasis on subway safety conditions, it is the Transit Authority's latest attack on the union contract that is igniting a militant response from the ranks.

The Transit Workers Union is the city's single most powerful union, with the capacity to shut NYC down tight through strike action. It controls the entire mass transportation system, which millions of workers use daily. Moreover, it is in the subways that the general deterioration of city services has been most immediately felt by the entire New York population. The transit workers are thus in a uniquely powerful position to resist the arrogant demands of Wall Street on the already hard-pressed city unions and to mobilize massive popular support behind them.

In early January Mayor Beame announced heavy cutbacks on subway and bus routes, including reduction of service during non-rush-hour periods, shortening of trains, and closing of many turnstiles and token booths. Also included in the package was elimination during off-peak hours of the express service on the "A" train—running between Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant and heavily used by black workers. In total, the projected cuts were aimed at eliminating some 1,500 to 2,000 jobs from the transit system. At a public hearing on January 5, angry TWU members and subway riders held Transit Authority (TA) members captive for nearly nine hours of denunciation of the proposed cuts. Newspapers and television referred to "near-riot" conditions.

In February, a rash of unusually violent crimes broke out on the trains, and the TWU bureaucracy saw the angle it was looking for to win public support. The union leadership launched a demagogic campaign linking the rising crime rate to cuts in transit personnel and services. It paid for full-page ads in the NYC dailies to highlight recent rapes and muggings of passengers, and the theme of the February 11 demonstration was to call for more Transit Authority cops. Taking a page from the book of the sanitationmen's union—which has historically sought to enhance its "bargaining position" by linking sanitation workers' wages to cops' salaries through establishing "parity" of the so-called "uniformed services"—the TWU tops went so far as to call for giving first crack on transit job openings to laid-off TA cops.

Manning/New York Times

Mayor Beame (seated right) maps out strategy with (from left) governor Carey, counsel Judah Gribetz and city comptroller Harrison Goldin at recent EFCB meeting.

WV Photo

TWU president Guinan addressing transit workers' rally last Friday.

It is, of course, perfectly obvious to anyone who rides the filthy, graffiti-smeared New York transit system that the subways are daily becoming more dangerous, as soaring crime rates accompany the accelerating deterioration of the nation's cities. But cops cannot root out crime on the subways. What is necessary is a militant struggle to unite the entire working class and ghetto masses in a fight against the city's rulers, to win restoration of social services, massive jobs programs and construction and rehabilitation projects. It is the desperate situation of the impoverished and unemployed that breeds the vicious lumpen terror unleashed upon hapless passengers.

It is a fatal illusion to believe that the interests of transit workers and TA cops coincide. The transit police are the hired thugs of management. Their disdain for the passengers was expressed in the 1975 shooting of a teenage youth, allegedly for jumping a turnstile at the time of protests against the fare hike. The TA cops are, like all police, professional *strikebreakers*; they will be the first and most brutal assault troops unleashed against the TWU membership should the union begin to resist the capitalists' austerity measures. There can be no solidarity with these racist enforcers of bourgeois "law and order."

There was a time at the beginning of the "fiscal crisis" more than two years ago that NYC rulers put up a pretense of "we're all in this together" sympathy for the plight of the city's working people. But with the total absence of resistance from the unions and lurid exposures of behind-the-scenes manipulation by profit-hungry banks, everyone from Big MAC mastermind Felix Rohatyn to Transit Authority chairman David Yunich has become increasingly open in his contempt for the population. When Yunich was forced to resign late last year, asked what he would do after leaving the TA, he replied: "I have a beautiful home in Barbados." The bourgeoisie can soak up the sun on Caribbean beaches and escape the wretchedness of New York—for whose massive decay they alone are responsible. The working masses, however, are left to wait for hours in freezing, dimly lit subway stations and dark city streets for the dubious privilege of a long grinding trip home after hours of ill-paid labor.

city, not only among the workers and poor but extending to large sections of the petty bourgeoisie as well, for a militant fight against the banks and corporations who triggered and have greatly profited from the NYC "fiscal crisis." All the experts agree that the city is in worse financial shape now than ever before. Earlier this month the deadline ran out for New York to come up with a repayment plan for the $1 billion due on city notes which have not been converted into MAC bonds. No plan has yet been found, and Major Beame's pathetic hopes for federal aid—based on Carter's vague and cynical campaign "promises"—were dashed immediately after the inauguration, when the White House predictably announced there would be no rise in federal aid to New York.

The NYC labor bureaucracy has been deeply compromised by its heavy commitment of union funds to the banks' rip-off deals. Already in December, arch labor traitor Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME's District 37 was complaining that he couldn't give away any more union funds because "the troops are restless" (*New York Times*, 2 December 1976). When the EFCB again tried to shelve the threadbare teachers' contract negotiated a year ago last September, UFT leader Albert Shanker—who has heretofore been just as pliant as his rival Gotbaum—was finally forced to show a flicker of defiance, and the contract was finally approved.

The TWU has always been treated as a special case by the New York bourgeoisie, which well understands that a work stoppage in the transit system would quickly bring the financial capital of U.S. imperialism grinding to a halt. The TWU leadership under Matthew Guinan and John Lawe has attempted to use the strategic position of transit workers to angle for a privileged position among city labor unions. But despite Guinan's intimation of an understanding behind closed doors with Yunich—under which "productivity savings" would all be made through attrition—all deals are now off and layoffs and cutbacks threaten.

As the bankrupt Guinan/Lawe leadership seeks to fan the flames of racial hysteria and grab hold of the cops' coattails, militants in the TWU must wage a struggle to break with the bourgeoisie's gunmen. The fact that the New York-New Jersey United Workers Organization (supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party) and the Workers League, both of whom distributed literature at the February 11 TWU rally, completely ignored the bureaucracy's dangerous policy of pandering to the cops demonstrates their total inability to provide the class-struggle leadership necessary to smash the bourgeoisie's cutbacks/layoffs offensive.

The Transit Workers Union must take the lead in calling for a citywide strike to restore the jobs of all laid-off workers, to reopen city union contracts to restore past gains that have been taken away and to demand reopening of shut-down hospitals and restoration of slashed educational programs in the public schools. It must fight for the initiation of massive programs of desperately needed public works to create thousands of new jobs. Above all, such a class-struggle program requires dumping the sellout labor bureaucracy and a break of the unions' ties to the parties of capital, winning the ranks to the fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

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Sadlowski...

(continued from page 1)

racy in the aftermath of the bitterly fought election campaign, provides a real opportunity for militants to focus opposition to Abel/McBride's coming contract betrayals. Unfortunately, however, most would-be militant oppositionists in the Steelworkers climbed aboard the Sadlowski bandwagon. Although most of the left did its best to hide the fact, Sadlowski has pledged to respect the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement at least until *1980*. This essentially cripples any opposition, because it means that a demand to reject the contract will not be backed up by a call for a strike.

Sadlowski and the Left

The Steelworkers election was an acid test for the American left, the vast majority of which supported Sadlowski. In fact, McBride initially attempted to use this as a reason to redbait Sadlowski. However, the assertion that Sadlowski was a "dupe" of the "reds" was obviously too absurd to maintain. The U.S. left in general and particularly in the steel union is simply too small to pull off such a feat. If anything, it was Sadlowski who "duped" the left—with plenty of cooperation from the "victims."

Stephen Frisch

I. W. Abel

Brendan Ross

Lloyd McBride

Consequently, the Abel/McBride forces largely dropped this issue and concentrated on the fact that the Sadlowski campaign was heavily financed by wealthy Democrats, including businessmen. The core of these Sadlowski adherents was a group of veteran anti-communist Cold War liberals led by Joseph Rauh, Victor Reuther and John Galbraith. Sadlowski's politics, in fact, are not "socialist" at all but correspond quite well to those of Rauh & Co.

Most of the left spent its time obscuring Sadlowski's obvious ties to these veteran witchhunters. The left organization with the largest concentration in steel, the ultra-reformist Communist Party (CP), continued its long history of support to the anti-Meany liberals in the mainstream union bureaucracy by endorsing Sadlowski. The CP "neglected" to report the widely discussed issue of Sadlowski's financing in its press, as well as ignoring Sadlowski's support to Democrat Jimmy Carter in the November presidential elections. Readers of the CP's *Daily World* might also have been interested to learn that in 1965 the Communist Party supported the insurgent Abel against the "tuxedo unionism" of his predecessor, MacDonald!

Perhaps even more gross in its uncritical support to Sadlowski was the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Having concentrated for years exclusively on the petty-bourgeois radical milieu, the SWP saw the Steelworkers campaign as an opportunity to break into the labor movement as the advisors for a liberal bureaucrat. The SWP had the gall to defend Sadlowski's campaign financing, making the ludicrous argument that it was no different from accepting aid from outside the labor movement during an organizing drive. The SWP was essentially uncritical of Sadlowski and peddled his remarks about Eugene Debs as proof that their darling was in the tradition of class-struggle unionism.

While somewhat more critical of Sadlowski, the International Socialists (I.S.) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) both ended up in supporting the challenger as a "lesser evil." In extending support, the I.S. cynically noted that "Sadlowski is surely no revolutionary" and that his "program and method are too limited and too bureaucratic to actually accomplish the goals the campaign sets for itself" (*Workers' Power*, 7 February). Even more ludicrous was the I.S.'doubletalking excuse for Sadlowski's bourgeois funding:

> "At present these liberals' reasons for supporting Sadlowski do not directly conflict with rank-and-file steelworkers' interests in using the campaign to build a fighting, democratic union. Sadlowski supporters need not apologize for accepting money from outside liberals, but neither should they have any illusions of what these liberals are after."
>
> —*Workers' Power*, 24 January

It only goes to show, as Stalin once said, that paper will take anything that's written on it.

The two-bit Workers League (WL), despite its ferocious and ludicrous campaign to slander the SWP leadership as GPU agents, ended up with the same line on the Steelworkers elections as the SWP: "[A Sadlowski victory] would, at the same time, be a major defeat for the entire class collaborationist leadership of the AFL-CIO," the WL proclaimed. At the same time that it criticized Sadlowski for backing Jimmy Carter it declared that "A Sadlowski victory would strengthen the ranks of the steelworkers in the coming battles against the employers and the Carter Administration" (*Bulletin*, 8 February).

WV Photo

Steelworkers voting February 8 at Local 1014 hall in Gary.

Nothing Learned Since Miller

In 1972 the Spartacist League wrote: "While the possibility exists, however, for a qualitative altering of the relationship of forces in the labor movement in favor of revolutionary leadership, the fundamental question is whether the bureaucracy will be defeated by communism or renewed labor reformism, i.e., by revolutionists or slicker fakers" ("Trade Union Memorandum," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part III).

The election that year in the United Mine Workers (UMW) pitting the gangster-ridden bureaucracy of Tony Boyle against reformer Arnold Miller was an example of the second possibility. Most of the left (including the CP, SWP, I.S. and the RCP's predecessor) supported Miller, who promised only "union democracy" and called in the Labor Department to get it. Now, four years later, it is obvious that Miller, as the SL had predicted, has proved to be a class traitor no different from Boyle, smashing wildcat strikes and purging communists and other militants from the union.

Sadlowski's politics were fundamentally the same as Miller's. By no stretch of anyone's imagination (except the SWP's!) could Sadlowski be construed as a real or potential opponent of capitalism. His own public positions and statements opposing workers control and nationalization of steel, along with his support to the Democratic Party, made that crystal clear. And his supposed support for the "right to strike" was undercut by his stated willingness to enforce the ENA as long as it remained legally binding.

The most dangerous assertion of his "left" supporters was that Sadlowski believed in "union democracy." Lacking real support in the bureaucracy, Sadlowski made grateful use of the service of ostensible "socialists" in the USWA. But when the heat was on at the USWA convention last August, Sadlowski publicly endorsed union trials for suspected communists.

Moreover, Sadlowski has built his career on government intervention in the union. Labor Department unionism is fundamentally counterposed to class-struggle unionism. Sadlowski's preference for such policies only expresses the fact that he has more faith in the government than in the rank and file. Miller did the same and ended up ramming federal no-strike injunctions down the throats of his wildcatting membership.

Four years after the Mine Workers election, the SL stands alone in its consistent, principled opposition to the Millers and Sadlowskis—the updated version of class collaborationism—as well as to the Boyles, Abels and McBrides—the old guard. In 1972 the bulk of the left supported Miller (with a few exceptions) from outside the industry; this time around would-be "socialist" unionists worked actively in the Steelworkers union to assist Sadlowski. The inability to learn anything from the Miller debacle is a clear indication of the deep gulf that separates such fake-revolutionists from genuine class-struggle politics. ■

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L.A. Busing...

(continued from page 3)

California has proved a flourishing climate for right-wing, fascist and paramilitary racist groups, and only those most blinded by liberal illusions can hope that integration will be peaceful.

No Confidence in Courts and Cops!

The school integration/busing fight has become a litmus test for ostensibly revolutionary tendencies on the U.S. left. Several workerist groups, including the Revolutionary Socialist League and Maoist groupings such as Workers Viewpoint and the Revolutionary Communist Party, have taken their capitulation to backward attitudes among the workers so far as to actually *oppose* busing and end up solidarizing with the racist "fightback." The reformist groups which support busing, such as the CP, SWP and CLP, rely on pressure-group tactics and therefore ultimately on the cops, the courts and the federal government.

The leaflets of these groups at yesterday's demonstration did not go beyond the most limited demands and had a decidedly narrow electoralist thrust. The SWP's contribution was a leaflet issued for the upcoming April primary in L.A., opining that "*What is needed is a broadly sponsored conference on school desegregation... to plan more massive outpourings*" (emphasis in original). Progressive Labor was buried within its "left-center coalition," the Committee Against Racism, whose slogans were confined to empty platitudes such as "Integration Yes, Segregation No!"

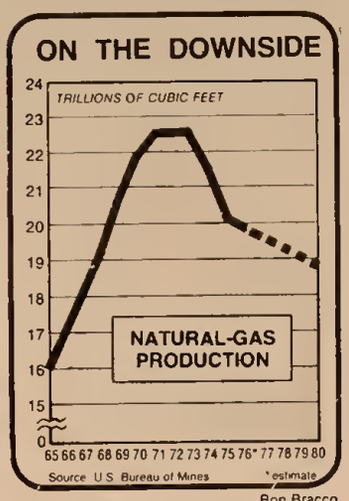
Unlike the liberals and reformists, the Spartacist League has no misplaced confidence that the board of education, the courts or capitalist politicians, liberal or otherwise, will develop and implement a real plan for "quality education." Only a multi-racial working-class mobilization with the organized labor movement at its center can successfully fight for integrated education and defend school children against racist attacks. ■

Energy...

(continued from page 1)

Already at the beginning of the 1976-77 heating season industry executives were predicting nationwide shortages, which had previously been masked by two years of economic depression conditions. When this *planned* shortfall—a deliberate attempt by the energy monopolies to build pressure for removing price controls—intersected an unusually cold winter, the result was disaster.

Wide World



Ron Bracco

As production and supplies of natural gas have dropped, prices and profits have taken off.

Yielding to the pressure of the oil giants (who used the last "energy crisis" following the 1973 OPEC price rise on crude petroleum to send their profits soaring), the Carter administration will most likely deregulate natural gas prices this year. This will result in an immediate *quadrupling* (according to conservative estimates) of natural gas prices. The U.S. government will no doubt impose some kind of tax on the "windfall profits" the companies will reap, but this means only that the government gets a rake-off in return for allowing the companies a free hand.

Expropriation, without compensation, of the energy industry is the only way to stop the vicious blackmailing and profiteering of the monopolies! The "energy crises" and "shortages" which periodically cripple the economy are inevitable products of capitalism, resulting from falling profit levels, and will recur so long as the industry is run for private profit.

Probably a large majority of American working people, who do not in general support the socialization of industry, realize that the oil and gas companies are allowing people to freeze to death as part of a squeeze to boost their profits. Millions distrust and even hate the energy monopolists and want to see them destroyed. Regardless of popular hostility toward the energy trusts, however, it is inconceivable that the bourgeois parties of Carter and Ford will nationalize this important, if infamous, section of U.S. capitalism.

Moreover, a nationalized industry administered by the capitalist state bureaucracy will not fully meet the rational interests of the working people. The experience of the British nationalized coal, steel and petroleum industries, as well as of urban mass transit and the post office in the U.S., demonstrates this fact. Thus the call for expropriation of the murderous energy monopolists must necessarily to linked to the struggle for a workers government.

* * * * *

The recent freeze and accompanying "energy crisis" is only in part due to the gas hoax and profit-mongering of the monopolies. It also has something to do with the climate. It would be absurd to talk, as might some primitive workerist in the best Progressive Labor tradition, of "bosses' weather." But capitalism cannot rationally martial resources to meet environmental calamities, or even comparatively slight alterations in the conditions of production.

"Momentary barbarism" Marx called it—when food is dumped while millions starve, when factories stand idle as the masses clamor for jobs. While capitalism in its ascendency reduced the frequency of "natural crises" by fostering vastly technologically improved medical, transportation/communication and productive methods, through private ownership of the means of production it prevents this technical capacity from being rationally organized to meet social needs.

At the same time capitalism ensures a very narrow margin of tolerance for abrupt shifts. Spare capacity is a capital asset. In order to maximize the rate of profit, all capitalists therefore seek to minimize unused capacity and inventories. That is why any significant change in natural conditions—drought or flood, arctic freeze or heat wave—produces under the capitalist mode of production "emergencies" for which adequate preparations and material reserves do not exist.

Just as the bourgeoisie seeks to portray its rule as the natural order of things, it tries to mask its tremendous irrationalities as accidents, "acts of god" and the like. For aircraft and automobiles that are built without adequate protective features there is the "safety crisis." Epidemics in urban centers caused by poverty and deteriorating social services are labeled a "medical outreach crisis." Hunger-producing droughts in economically backward regions are publicized as the "population crisis."

The repeated crises of capitalism, its "momentary barbarism," can be prevented from becoming permanent only through the revolutionary action of the proletariat whose destiny is to create a socialist society, in which man will no longer be forced to crawl before the accidents of gods, the decrees of kings or the anarchy of capital. ■

Times

Executives of seven oil giants faced Senate inquiry in January 1974 after reporting record profits while nation faced severe "energy crisis."

Quebec...

(continued from page 4)

French-speaking proletarians and their class brothers on the rest of the continent. Unlike the left nationalists, we put no stock in the reactionary-utopian strategy of fighting for a "Quebec workers republic" or an "independent socialist Quebec." The achievement of a "Quebec workers republic" is no more conceivable than a "California workers republic." The high degree of integration in the North American political economy ensures that proletarian power will only be consolidated on a continent-wide basis. Joint class struggle, not regional/national parochialism, is the road to socialist revolution in North America. The posing of a separatist road to power for the relatively advanced and militant proletariat of Quebec is particularly criminal, since the Québécois working class could play a leading role in the entire North American revolution.

5. The nationalists' demand for a unilingual French Quebec is inextricably linked to their call for independence. English is the dominant language of the North American political economy, and thus is the primary language of commerce and culture in Canada. Whatever measures may be taken in an attempt to protect the existence of the French language in Quebec, nothing short of total independence can forestall the gradual erosion of the language, and thus of the national identity of the Québécois people. This is the iron law of social history. We oppose discrimination against French-speakers, discrimination which reinforces and inflames chauvinist and nationalist reaction in both the oppressor and oppressed nationalities. But as mankind develops toward a socialist world system, national distinctions erode away. The PQ's stated aim is for an independent Quebec which is heavily reliant on commercial and other dealings with English-speaking Canada and the United States. But an independent bourgeois Quebec which seriously sought to maintain the French language and culture would have to gravitate toward Paris, the economic and cultural capital of the French-speaking world.

6. We adamantly oppose the demand for unilingualism in Quebec—whether it is independent or not—as reactionary and chauvinist. While we recognize and seek to redress the historic discrimination against use of the French language, particularly on the job and at school, we do this by fighting for *equal language rights for all*, not for new discriminatory regulations. Multi-lingualism—the right of every citizen in a multi-lingual state to receive services in any spoken language—is a just and democratic solution to the language question. Unilingualism—"official" status for any single language—is a thoroughly reactionary, national-chauvinist position which places the narrow interests of one nation above the legitimate democratic rights of national minorities. Unilingualism in Quebec would also provide a perfect excuse for the denial of language rights to French-speaking minorities by English chauvinists in other provinces. It would be particularly discriminatory against the hundreds of thousands of non-French-speaking immigrants who have come to Montreal from relatively impoverished Southern European countries. Proletarian unity can only be forged through recognition of equal and democratic language rights for all nationalities.

7. So long as Quebec remains part of Canada, we seek to build a single revolutionary party throughout the country, and oppose the demand for a separate Quebec party as nationalist and Bundist. The Leninist principle is "one state power, one party"—the proletariat's struggle must be directed against the existing government, and not diverted along regionalist lines. For the same reason, we raise the call for a Canada-wide workers party, based on the unions and with a class-struggle program. This does not mean fighting for a Quebec wing of the NDP—an ultra-reformist, English-chauvinist social-democratic party with no historical roots or obvious prospects in Quebec. Rather, it means fighting for a workers party which will achieve a workers government across Canada, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution throughout North America. It is to this task that the Trotskyist League of Canada and international Spartacist tendency dedicate themselves. ■

Egypt...

(continued from page 7)

in the sordid wars waged by their ruling-class oppressors. In the name of "national unity," Zionist and Arab rulers demand that the masses accept rampant inflation and plummeting standards of living. Israel in recent months has been shaken by revelations of high-level graft and corruption. Moreover, in response to widespread strikes in November, the right-wing religious parties began pushing through legislation for compulsory arbitration of walkouts by public employees and port workers.

In war as in the tenuous stalemates that pass for "peace" in the Near East, the main enemy of the proletariat is at home. The construction of Trotskyist parties in Egypt, Israel and the Arab states is necessary to undercut murderous national antagonisms and end class oppression through proletarian revolution to create a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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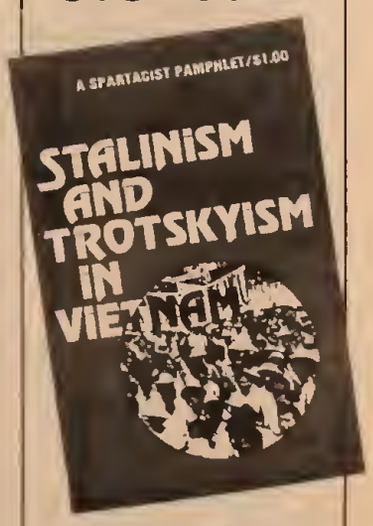

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ILWU Elections...

(continued from page 12)

which once again capitulated to the employers' automation schemes. Today full "A" men consider themselves lucky to get even three days' work a week, while the "pay guarantee" (PGP) which is supposed to maintain earnings has been consistently under-funded by the shippers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). Needless to say, second-class "B" men and other categories have fared even worse.

Most recently, the Local has been

Stan Gow WV Photo

threatened by Bridges' plan to declare San Francisco a "Low Work Opportunity" port, which according to the contract is the first step in seeking "volunteers" to transfer to other ports. As noted in a 7 January "Longshore Militant" election leaflet, "Transfers will be compulsory after volunteers are exhausted and...refusal to transfer means total loss of PGP!" This scheme is clearly designed to set one ILWU local against another in competition for jobs; meanwhile, Bridges has also been pushing to raid other unions for control of waterfront jobs.

Bridges' conscious effort to drive workers out of longshore was underscored by his lauding of a U.S. district court decision last August against a longstanding suit by 82 "B" men. These ILWU members were railroaded out of the industry in 1963 on trumped-up charges of "chiseling" on reported hours of work. In response, social-democratic oppositionist Stan Weir dragged the union into the bosses' courts. After 13 years, the judge finally ruled on August 27, declaring, as reported in the 10 September ILWU *Dispatcher*, that "each of the plaintiffs was deregistered for good and sufficient reason." Bridges hypocritically denounced Weir's unprincipled court suit while crowing about the court's backing for his own backstabbing deregistrations.

The pace of raiding maneuvers has also stepped up markedly in the past few months. The most recent "Longshore Militant" (February 10) reports that "pro-" and "anti-" Bridges forces have once again linked hands to raid the AFL-CIO Ships Carpenters at piers controlled by Joe Alioto, the former S.F. mayor with whom Bridges is closely aligned. According to the "Longshore Militant," the Bridges forces have also set their eyes on jurisdictions traditionally held by other ILWU locals including the warehousemen, ships clerks and walking bosses. The "Longshore Militant" warns, "Such cannibal unionism is *suicidal* since it will rip the ILWU apart and completely destroy maritime union solidarity. Only PMA will emerge a winner" (emphasis in original).

While refusing to break with Bridges & Co. over raiding, the fake oppositionists have attempted to put on a "left" coloration to deal with the current desperate job situation facing longshoremen. Suddenly, the slogan "For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay" is being mouthed by every would-be oppositionist in town. But this does not represent a break toward class-struggle policies by fakers like Larry Wing and Herb Mills, who have capitulated before every Bridges ploy to hamstring strike action.

Thus, for example, Herb Mills boasts in a long campaign leaflet that he would "tie the coast up" to get a six-hour day. However, even though the Local 10 executive board had voted in October 1975 for a motion by Gow and Keylor to oppose all PMA-ordered cuts, to demand full PGP pay and a sliding scale of hours, and to strike to enforce these demands, pro-Bridges and anti-Bridges forces made common cause to keep the membership from implementing this motion. Mills also fails to explain why the Wing camp joined the Bridges gang in derailing a membership vote to strike against the "200 hours test" (a formula to make more longshoremen ineligible for PGP payments) in January 1976.

Mills' fundamental support for capitalism will forever lead him to commit betrayals. The same campaign leaflet says: "I think we can get a six-hour day, not because we're 'powerful' or 'militant', but because the employers would save a whole lot of money by reducing the turnaround time of their vessels and the option of operating any facility around the clock." Mills' willingness to subordinate the interests of the workers to the bosses' profits makes him qualitatively indistinguishable from Bridges & Co.

Larry Wing's personal courage in defending the Local 10 hiring hall against a goon squad attack by Bridges' supporters had catapulted him to the Local presidency in 1975, and his principled refusal to go along with a Bridges/Alioto scheme to raid SUP and MFOW maritime unions later that year

Howard Keylor WV Photo

further enhanced his image in the eyes of the membership. But Wing repeatedly pulled back from directly taking on the shipping bosses and the International leadership. Because his program was limited to the "realism" of the bureaucracy, it led straight to betrayal. Fearing court fines, he called off a Local 10 job action to maintain jurisdiction over Pacific Far East Lines barges in late 1974; while criticizing the rotten Bridges contract that year, he never once called for strike action against it. Finally, to prevent his ouster by Bridges, he took the union to court instead of mobilizing the ranks. This final act of self-destructive betrayal was a logical result of the dead-end of labor reformism: appealing to the bourgeoisie for rescue.

The self-serving nature of the Wing clique, who simply aspire to replace the Bridges machine as the reigning pro-capitalist bureaucrats, is also revealed in their stance on the question of challenging the Bridges "mandate" limiting the number of Local 10 delegates to the critical upcoming caucus and convention. Originally designed by the International officers to restrict the growing anti-Bridges sentiment in Local 10, the rule limiting the local delegation to five was successfully challenged by Wing, Mills and Kaye at the 1973 convention. Today, however, anxious to stifle competition from both the Bridges camp and the militant oppositional policies of the "Longshore Militant," Theriault and Mills are defending the five delegate rule!

In reality, only a perspective and program of consistent class struggle can defend even the most elemental union gains. The out-bureaucrats (now in-bureaucrats once again) of the Wing/Mills stamp are fundamentally committed to the status quo, and thus are incapable of providing a real alternative to the sellouts of Bridges and his flunkies. As the "Longshore Militant" (7 January) noted: "Bridges exposed their cowardice in June 1975 when he challenged their 'opposition' to the present contract by demanding a call for a strike while they slunk silently in their seats."

Of all the candidates, only Gow and Keylor have fought continuously for labor solidarity and militant union action to smash the employers' offensive. Their election victory marks the third consecutive term on the executive board won by supporters of "Longshore Militant." The majority of longshoremen still maintain illusions in either the Bridges forces or the Wing/Mills fake oppositionists; conservative sentiments are fueled by memories of the disastrous 1971 longshore strike which Bridges rode into the ground and the recent defeats of San Francisco city workers and ILWU/Teamsters warehouse strikes. Nonetheless, with the very existence of the longshore union called into question by the accumulated defeats, Gow and Keylor have won an increasing and respected hearing for their class-struggle viewpoint.

The Gow/Keylor program included demands for a coastwide strike to win a shorter workshift at no loss in pay; promotion of "B" men to "A" status; for a break with all the capitalist "friend of labor" politicians, from Alioto to Carter; and for a workers party and a workers government. Gow and Keylor have been the only consistent opponents of raiding, instead demanding joint actions with other unions for more jobs. They also took the lead in building support for the Local 6 warehouse strike among longshoremen last June, and have fought to implement various resolutions for specific boycotts of Chilean and South African cargo as a demonstration of international proletarian solidarity. As the West Coast longshore union faces a critical juncture, this class-struggle perspective is the only road forward for waterfront workers, and the only defense of hard-won ILWU gains against attack by both the companies and the International. ■

"State Capitalism"...

(continued from page 7)

tionary perspective for our movement and saw in Stalinism the objective expression of the revolutionary forces in the world."

—reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 1

We can provide no better introduction to this pamphlet on contemporary theories of "state capitalism" than Trotsky's classic statement ("The USSR in War," September 1939) as to why an understanding of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state is essential to a serious revolutionary optimism:

"The disintegration of capitalism has reached extreme limits, likewise the disintegration of the old ruling class. The further existence of this system is impossible. The productive forces must be organized in accordance with a plan. But who will accomplish this task—the proletariat or a new ruling class of 'commissars'—politicians, administrators and technicians? Historical experience bears witness, in the opinion of certain rationalizers, that one cannot entertain hope in the proletariat. The proletariat proved 'incapable' of averting the last imperialist war although the material prerequisites for a socialist revolution already existed at that time. The successes of fascism after the war were once again the consequence of the 'incapacity' of the proletariat to lead capitalist society out of the blind alley. The bureaucratization of the Soviet state was in its turn the consequence of the 'incapacity' of the proletariat itself to regulate society through the democratic mechanism.... If this conception is adopted, that is, if it is acknowledged that the proletariat does not have the forces to accomplish the socialist revolution, then the urgent task of the statification of the productive forces will obviously be accomplished by somebody else. By whom? By a new bureaucracy, which will replace the decayed bourgeoisie as a new ruling class on a world scale....

"If this war provokes, as we firmly believe, a proletarian revolution, it must inevitably lead to the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR and the regeneration of Soviet democracy on a far higher economic and cultural basis than in 1918. In that case the question as to whether the Stalinist bureaucracy was a 'class' or a growth on the workers' state will be automatically solved. To every single person it will become clear that in the process of the develoement of the world revolution the Soviet bureaucracy was only an *episodic* relapse.

"If, however, it is conceded that the present war will provoke not revolution but a decline of the proletariat, then there remains another alternative; the further decay of monopoly capitalism, its further fusion with the state and the replacement of democracy wherever it still remained by a totalitarian regime. The inability of the proletariat to take into its hands the leadership of society could actually lead under these conditions to the growth of a new exploiting class from the Bonapartist fascist bureaucracy. This would be, according to all indications, a regime of decline, signalizing the eclipse of civilization.

"An analogous result might occur in the event that the proletariat of advanced capitalist countries, having conquered power, should prove incapable of holding it and surrender it, as in the USSR, to a privileged bureaucracy. Then we would be compelled to acknowledge that the reason for the bureaucratic relapse is rooted not in the backwardness of the country and not in the imperialist environment but in the congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become a ruling class. Then it would be necessary in retrospect to establish that in its fundamental traits the present USSR was the precursor of a new exploiting regime on an international scale....

"The historic alternative, carried to the end, is as follows: either the Stalin regime is an abhorrent relapse in the process of transforming bourgeois society into a socialist society, or the Stalin regime is the first stage of a new exploiting society. If the second prognosis proves to be correct, then, of course, the bureaucracy will become a new exploiting class. However onerous the second perspective may be, if the world proletariat should actually prove incapable of fulfilling the mission placed upon it by the course of development, nothing else would remain except only to recognize that the socialist program, based on the internal contradictions of capitalist society, ended as a Utopia....

"But are there such incontrovertible or even impressive objective data as would compel us today to renounce the prospect of the socialist revolution? That is the whole question,...

"Marxists do not have the slightest right (if disillusionment and fatigue are not considered 'rights') to draw the conclusion that the proletariat has forfeited its revolutionary possibilities and must renounce all aspirations to hegemony in an era immediately ahead.... In the years of darkest Russian reaction (1907 to 1917) we took as our starting point those revolutionary possibilities which were revealed by the Russian proletariat in 1905. In the years of world reaction we must proceed from those possibilities which the Russian proletariat revealed in 1917. The Fourth International did not by accident call itself the world party of the socialist revolution. Our road is not to be changed. We steer our course toward the world revolution and by virtue of this very fact toward the regeneration of the USSR as a workers' state." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Must Defend Bennie Lenard!

Black Worker Victim of Racist Cop Beating in Chicago

CHICAGO—Bennie Lenard, a black member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 in suburban Melrose Park, was beaten unconscious by police on January 31 and thrown unclothed into a freezing jail cell where he was drenched with buckets of cold water. Still hospitalized as a result of this brutal assault, he is now facing a barrage of legal charges besides.

Lenard, a repairman at the International Harvester plant, was plunged into a nightmare of sadistic racism because he had the misfortune to be driving home from work through the virtually all-white suburb when he was struck from behind by a car driven by a white woman. He insisted on calling the police to report the accident, although the woman, who had no driver's license, at first refused. Finally she called from a restaurant while he waited outside.

When the cops arrived, they slammed Lenard across his car and beat him unconscious. Several bones in his face were broken and possibly permanent eye damage resulted from the attack. When he awoke in jail, he was booked on charges of assaulting the woman, assaulting the police and illegal possession of a gun, which the cops claimed was found in his car. His wife later protested that "Bennie has never owned a gun" (*Chicago Defender*, 9 January).

The attack on Bennie Lenard glaringly exposes the venomous racism behind Chicago's "law and order" facade. Because he is black, he was seen as fair game by the cops, one of whom boasted as he slammed a nightstick across Lenard's face, "I got me a big, black nigger and I'm going to beat this nigger's ass." The charges he faces are all too familiar when one recalls the Scottsboro case, Delbert Tibbs in Florida and countless other incidents involving black men and white women. Did the fearful white woman falsely accuse Lenard, or did the police simply concoct the assault charges? The result is the same: a racist frame-up.

The day that the racist cop assault on Lenard became front-page news in the *Defender* (Chicago's black daily), Illinois state attorney Bernard Carey said he would launch an immediate investigation, indicating that even government officials consider the case a potentially explosive scandal.

The arrest occurred the day after the last episode of Alex Haley's "Roots" was shown on Chicago television, and Lenard believes the TV show exacerbated the cops' attack on him. His wife screamed when she saw him at the jail. "I didn't even recognize him," she said. "His face was so swollen and he was shaking all over." She also heard police in the station "make sounds like a chicken and scream 'Chicken George! Chicken George!' "—the name of one of the black heroes in "Roots." Lenard believes the cops were "telling me the same thing the white men said to Kunta Kinte in the series." He bitterly concludes, "The only thing they didn't do to me was cut off my foot."

The Chicago-area labor movement must rally behind Bennie Lenard. Only a powerful offensive against this racist frame-up can beat back the increasingly open terrorism against blacks which has been growing in Chicago. Lenard, who

Chicago Defender

Bennie Lenard in hospital bed after brutal beating by cops.

has worked at International Harvester for 13 years, has been active in Local 6, where he served as an alternate steward for three years. This UAW local has a record of defending its members against racist attacks—in 1975 it organized a successful defense squad around the home of union brother C.B. Dennis, halting the terror and firebombing by vigilantes who sought to drive his family out of a white neighborhood.

At a Local 6 meeting on Sunday, February 13, a motion was passed calling for the establishment of a Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, to be composed of the president of the Local, the chairmen of the shop committee and the Fair Employment Practices Committee and "all Local 6 members willing to serve and work on it." The motion called for the charges against Lenard to be dropped and full restitution (including financial) for the injuries, loss of income, etc. he sustained. While the Local leadership discouraged use of union funds on Lenard's behalf, a collection of over $400 was taken at the meeting, attesting to the concern of his co-workers.

An amendment to the Local 6 motion, put forward by Norm Roth, a leader of the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, called for firing the policemen who beat up Lenard, on the grounds that there are good cops and bad, and the bad ones should be dropped from the force. Roth did *not*, however, call for jailing the cops or even for their prosecution. To assert that it was only two "bad apples" who were responsible for this atrocity lets the entire state repressive apparatus off the hook, perpetuating the fatal illusion that the police are neutral or can be reformed. "Good" as well as "bad" cops escort scabs across picket lines, jail workers and defend with their guns and prisons the racist status quo of capitalism.

The establishment of an official union defense committee is an important step, but an aggressive defense of Lenard requires the full mobilization of the Local 6 membership and utilization of all resources (financial, legal and otherwise) available to the union. A conviction of Lenard on these trumped-up charges would be a defeat for the entire Chicago-area working class at the hands of these racist thugs. Jail the criminal cops! All charges against Bennie Lenard must be dropped immediately!■

ILWU Elections Show Ranks' Discontent

SAN FRANCISCO—With the results of a two-part election in Local 10 completed on February 11, it is clear that the machine built around outgoing International president Harry Bridges is losing its stranglehold on Bay Area longshoremen. Longtime Bridges henchmen Carl Smith and Joe Mosely were defeated in their bid for top local offices. Four of the five presently certified convention delegates are nominally anti-Bridges, and the traditionally pro-International board of trustees has been tilted against his machine. Both the secretary-treasurer's position and the two business agent jobs will be held by men who are ostensibly "oppositionists."

The main beneficiaries of the anti-Bridges sentiment were forces loosely grouped around former Local 10 president Larry Wing. However, their victory was by no means decisive and there has been no definitive shift in the balance of power in the Local away from the Bridges forces. Disgusted with the role of a number of Wing's cohorts—who have blocked with the International bureaucracy to prevent any mobilization against employer attacks, as well as joining in the attempt to drag Local 10 into a raiding war not only against other maritime unions but other ILWU locals as well—the ranks split their votes.

While pro-Wing retread Herb Mills (who had cowered silently out of the line of fire during the critical political battles of the past year) was elected business agent, incumbent vice president Reg Theriault, a strong Wing supporter, was decisively defeated in his bid for re-election. Wing himself went down to defeat in a bid to recapture the presidency from incumbent Cleophus Williams, who is loosely aligned with Bridges forces. The Local executive board is a toss-up with a majority of the new members not strongly opposed to either of the two bureaucratic cliques.

Significantly, class-struggle militants made definite gains. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the opposition newsletter, "Longshore Militant," were re-elected to the executive board with votes of 307 and 272 respectively, representing an improved standing over last year's vote.

In mid-January balloting for Coast Caucus and convention delegate positions, Gow and Keylor approximately doubled their 1976 showing. With this vote Keylor would have been among the delegates to the crucial upcoming International convention in April, were it not for the fact that in 1973 Bridges arbitrarily cut the Local's representation from ten delegates to five. The 10 February "Longshore Militant" announces an intention to challenge this bureaucratic gerrymandering.

The discontent in the Local 10 ranks is not hard to explain. The continued existence of the longshore division, historically the center of militancy in the union, is being called into question by the decimation of the workforce through automation. With Bridges and International secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt preparing to retire, a section of the bureaucracy wants to hand the ILWU over to the corrupt, dictatorial Gleason leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association.

Bay Area longshoremen have been particularly hard-hit by an accelerating erosion of jobs under the most recent Bridges contract (negotiated in 1975),

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 146 25 February 1977

Smash Rhodesia's Racist Rule!

Der Spiegel

Rhodesian soldier stands guard against guerrilla attack at border camp.

FEBRUARY 19—White minority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is moving inexorably toward a bloody end. Guerrilla operations have intensified in recent months, and the definitive collapse of the Geneva negotiations last month has more or less eliminated any remaining slight possibility of an imperialist-negotiated solution. Moreover, the insurgent nationalists' ranks are now swelling as hundreds of youths flee into neighboring black-ruled Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique.

The increasingly desperate Salisbury regime continues to herd thousands of rural tribesmen into so-called "protective villages" while gunning down luckless Africans caught during the dusk-to-dawn "war zone" curfew. However, closure of all trade outlets except South Africa, dwindling tourism and the dislocation caused by military call-ups from the small white workforce have hamstrung the economy, while the army appears to be stretched to the limit.

Playing for time and international support, Ian Smith's government has launched an international propaganda blitz—capitalizing on the brutal execution of seven white missionaries early last week, ballyhooing a few token racial reforms, thrusting tribal politicians forward as genuine black representatives and charging that the guerrillas only terrorize rural blacks into submission. But while the nationalists' appeal is weakened by their sordid history of personal cliquist rivalry and tribal conflicts all signs point to increasing support for the guerrillas.

With the government headed by racist archetypes of the arrogant white settler, no eleventh-hour "liberal" facelift can possibly give the regime any effective credibility among the blacks (even with its figurehead black senators and cabinet members). Hence the reliance on military intimidation and the quarantining of 200,000 tribesmen in the "protective villages" so reminiscent of the Vietnam war. But the entire white population amounts to barely 5 percent of the total—a militarily unviable fraction against any serious guerrilla war so long as the Rhodesian regime remains internationally isolated.

Guerrillas on the Offensive

Although the guerrilla forces are still relatively small (estimates run between 8,000 and 20,000) and mainly confined to hit-and-run operations, they are

continued on page 10

Pitched Battle over Nuclear Power Plant in Germany

Der Spiegel

Riot police protecting Brokdorf site

FEBRUARY 21—Since last October, West Germany has been in an uproar over the question of nuclear energy. Repeated demonstrations at the site of an atomic power plant under construction in the village of Brokdorf, near the mouth of the Elbe River about 50 kilometers northwest of Hamburg, have been met with massive and often brutal police repression. Both federal and state governments have justified the police tactics, denouncing the protestors as "chaos-mongers and terrorists."

The latest incident in this running battle came on Saturday, when anti-nuclear demonstrators were prevented from marching on Brokdorf by an unprecedented mobilization of more than 6,000 police and the paramilitary federal border guard who hermetically sealed the region. Inside the perimeter the police had massed water cannons, armored cars and helicopters, while roadblocks were manned by units of one hundred armed with submachine guns.

The government's "terrorist" baiting succeeded in dividing the anti-nuclear demonstrators into two groups. The Citizens Initiative for Environmental Protection (BU), led by bourgeois liberals, and the pro-Moscow Communist Party (DKP) drew 15,000 to a pacifist demonstration at the county seat of Itzehoe, about 20 kilometers from Brokdorf. Several Maoist groups assembled an equal number near the Wilder marsh to make at least a token attempt to carry out the original plan of occupying the plant site. However, the radicals stopped at the police barricades and finally dispersed in the late afternoon.

Opponents of atomic power also marched in Berlin, Munich and Frankfurt (where they were dispersed by a police baton charge). Some 800 protestors succeeded in occupying a nuclear plant construction site at Grohnde on the Weser River. Altogether 87 persons were reported jailed, and authorities announced that demonstrators arrested near Brokdorf were "armed" with such weapons as steel bars, wire-cutters, grappling hooks and steel kites to thwart helicopters.

During the preceding week the government's scare tactics sought to whip up an anti-terrorist frenzy. Social Democratic Party (SPD) federal chancellor Helmut Schmidt threatened on nationwide television that, "When a fanatical minority attempts to misuse the people's desire for security for the purpose of agitation and deliberately seeks confrontation, it must be opposed with determination."

Ironically, the grounds given for banning the march on Brokdorf were, "expected acts of violence, virtually certain to damage the health of participants in the demonstration...." Yet to enforce the ban, thousands of heavily armed police ringed the village. Hospitals in Hamburg were alerted to receive hundreds of wounded demonstrators by police helicopter. It is obvious who are the real terrorists.

The Battle of Brokdorf

The massive police mobilization on February 19 effectively canceled the protestors' right to demonstrate. However, it was only a pale reflection of the savage police brutality which met previous demonstrations at Brokdorf last autumn. When 5,000 demonstrators protesting the beginning of construction at the nuclear plant site on October 30 committed the unpardonable sin of disregarding signs proclaiming, "Private property—Access forbidden," they were dispersed by mounted police using tear gas.

At a subsequent demonstration by some 30,000 protestors on November 13, the police reaction was even more sadistic. In their zeal for capitalist "law

continued on page 11

Eco-Freaks vs. the Atomic Energy Lobby

Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement...6

Letters

SWP Embraces Landrum-Griffin

Detroit
14 February 1977

To the editor:

In the course of his recent tour for Ed Sadlowski, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) national secretary Jack Barnes made a point of extolling the virtues of the most reactionary anti-working-class legislation as a tool for instituting "democracy" in the labor movement. Sounding for all the world like Bobby Kennedy fulminating against union corruption during the notorious McClellan hearings, Barnes in particular urged utilization of the Landrum-Griffin Act to "safeguard union democracy."

WV No. 144 notes that in Chicago Barnes said, "Sadlowski and the workers are fools if they don't use the Landrum-Griffin Act, using every clause." At his Detroit forum, I heard him once again implore Steelworkers Fight Back to use Landrum-Griffin in order to overturn the apparent McBride victory. He also vigorously attacked I. W. Abel (who has his own motives, of course) for demanding the repeal of Title I of Landrum-Griffin.

Barnes' faith in the virtues of this anti-union law stands in stark contrast to the *universal* recognition by socialists and labor militants in 1959 that passage of this bill was a direct blow at the independence of the labor movement, in the tradition of the anti-communist strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act. It is ironic that in Farrell Dobbs' *Recent Trends in the Labor Movement* (a collection of his articles from the 1966-67 *Militant*) even this tired hack roundly condemns the same Landrum-Griffin Act which Barnes now considers the road to union democracy.

Of course, Dobbs (Barnes' predecessor as national secretary of the SWP from 1953 to 1972) was one of the main culprits in the degeneration of the SWP from a party which proudly defended the workers' cause into a bunch of reformist bootlickers. But even though the SWP had already qualitatively degenerated, Dobbs' 1966-67 writings at least recognize a class line between the labor movement and the capitalist state, something Barnes forgot to mention in his talk.

Dobbs described the "Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin 'killer law'" as a serious threat to organized labor:

> "Provisions were made for government supervision over the election of union officers, stewards, etc. Dissident members were encouraged to sue the union and its officers in the capitalist courts. The Secretary of Labor was given sweeping powers to investigate internal union affairs. He was empowered to send his agents into union premises, and inspect membership lists, financial accounts, files and other records. These agents were authorized to question whomever they chose."

Summing up the duplicity and intentions of Landrum-Griffin, Dobbs noted: "When capitalist politicians pretend concern about burcaucratic abuses of democracy within the unions, the SWP said the real aim is to raise false hopes that the rank and file can rely on the government to uphold their rights. It is a trick to get workers to accept government intervention in internal union affairs." Well, that's certainly not what the SWP says today!

Today Barnes completely supports Sadlowski's court suits to review union finances, obtain government regulation of the union press and insure maximum Labor Department supervision of union elections. But ten years ago, Farrell Dobbs expressed a different view: "Under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act the government can put a political cop in any union hall, committee rooms or other working quarters. Such monstrous invasion of union autonomy is palmed off as a 'bill of rights' for rank and file workers."

The SWP's "fight" to "democratize the unions" through the courts and government agencies flies in the face of the principle Dobbs put succinctly: "Defense of workers democracy must also include a fight for unconditional independence of the unions from government control." Most of the left supported Sadlowski (and before him Arnold Miller in the Mine Workers), excusing or, like the SWP, defending his anti-union court suits. Even though a question like this should be ABC for any class-conscious unionist, the Spartacist League's consistent defense of union independence has unfortunately been unique among all the socialist groups in the U.S.

For a class-struggle leadership,
K.D.

Nuclear Power

Boston, Mass.
November 28, 1976

Dear Editor:

I would like to respond to the points made in *WV* No. 131 (29 October 1976) concerning the question of nuclear power plants in Sweden.

It is true that the anti-nuclear power plant movement is petty bourgeois in Sweden as it is in the U.S. It consists of many different types of people with various aims and class backgrounds. This, however, does not negate the necessity for a serious examination of the question itself by Marxists, since such movements often are responses to basic contradictions in the capitalist system itself.

To support a call for a moritorium of construction of dangerous nuclear fission power plants is not equivalent to opposing technical progress or calling for a return to the pre-industrial eras of rustic stagnation. Because of a limited supply of usable uranium-235 (about 40 yrs), nuclear fission is not projected as the energy of the future, but rather as an unnecessary bridge between present coal intensive energy and future sources. These future energy sources include wind energy, tidal energy, satellite transmitted solar energy (which can work irregardless of how long the winter lasts!) and nuclear fusion power which uses deuterium, a material readily available in ocean water and does not require disposal of dangerous nuclear wastes. The technical means for all but the latter have already been developed.

To merely call for a fight for comprehensive safety precautions for nuclear power plants as one would for a factory is to avoid the long range problem of nuclear waste disposal. Many of the highly radioactive wastes decay rapidly while others require a long time. The isotopes of most concern, strontium-90 and cesium-137, require hundreds of years to decay to a safe level, and plutonium-239, which has a half life of 24,400 years, will be dangerous for 250,000 years. Such wastes, if not properly stored, will seriously contaminate groundwater supplies and the storage problem has not been resolved technically.

In short, science is not yet able to provide comprehensive safety precautions for nuclear power plants. Therefore, Marxists should support not "the junking of atomic power" but rather a moratorium on nuclear power plant siting until the adequate safety technology is available. This position does not imply an orientation toward a "new mass vanguard" of anti-nuclear power activists nor electoral support to the KAF (Swedish section of USec), but rather a recognition of physical reality and the dangers of unplanned economy.

Comradely,
W. Hendrikson

WV replies: See article on nuclear power in this issue.

Harlan County, U.S.A.

February 10, 1977

Dear Editor,

Your review of "Harlan County, U.S.A." (HCUSA) in *WV* No. 144 left what I thought was a skewed impression of trade union consciousness and militancy upon your readers.

First let me say that the political conclusions *WV* draws are correct. *WV* said that as a political statement HCUSA never went beyond militant unionism. And it was stated that militant unionism was not enough but that political conclusions must be drawn about the role of the bureaucracy and the need for political struggle by the working class to seize power. The point I want to make is *why* trade union militancy is not enough.

Trade union consciousness, no matter how militant, is still bourgeois consciousness. The years of militancy in the coal fields and the deaths of perhaps thousands of miners have been wasted. The same trade union issues fought over in the 1930's are being fought today because bourgeois consciousness has not been replaced by *class* consciousness. A contract is nothing but a limited peace treaty between labor and capital. Hence from a socialist perspective, contracts can never be a victory, as the centrists and reformists would have it. At best, a contract is a draw. (Strikes however, can obviously be victorious in that they win a contract or some other concession.)

I know there is no accounting for taste but from my point of view, HCUSA is far from a "first rate documentary." Rather it is liberal mish-mash, à la "Billy Jack," depicting simple trade unionism as an end unto itself. If one were to take this movie as good coin, the "class struggle is not dead"—only critically wounded. There is no hope of recovery without the vanguard party leading a class conscious working class to state power (which *WV* said and HCUSA did not).

Keep up the excellent standards that have made *WV* the best (only) weekly Marxist press in the country.

Comradely,
M.B.

WV replies: M.B.'s letter seems to miss the point of the film, "Harlan County, U.S.A." and the events it documents. The strike against Duke Power Company for union recognition was hard-fought and it won. The film portrays that struggle with honesty, sympathy, power and often beauty.

M.B. calls the film "liberal mish-mash ... depicting simple trade unionism as an end unto itself." But to document trade-union militancy is not identical to putting forward a political theory of militant trade unionism counterposed to the need for a vanguard party. Certainly, the miners did not have revolutionary consciousness (although many were strongly class-conscious). Yet it was a militant strike, not trade-union consciousness, that the film celebrated.

All they won was a contract, says M.B., and contracts "can never be a victory." True, a contract is merely a truce—but there are different kinds of truces. A strike is a class battle, which can result in a defeat, a draw, a victory. The crisis of revolutionary leadership, which has left the power of the labor movement under the sway of pro-capitalist bureaucrats, has meant that precious few militant struggles are fought out to victory. But it is important to recognize a victory when we see one, in fact and on film. In Harlan County there was a limited victory for the workers, and when our side in the class struggle won, we hailed it:

> "After thirteen months on strike the miners of Brookside, Kentucky scored a victory when Duke Power Company ... agreed to accept the national contract of the United Mine Workers of America."
> —*Women and Revolution*, Autumn 1974

Presumably, M.B. would have had us attack "HCUSA" as syndicalist instead of writing a generally favorable review which also stressed that the filmmaker did not draw the lessons of the strike. But the film did not seek to make a coherent political statement. The filmmaker, a liberal, merely portrayed the development of the Harlan events as seen through the eyes of the most militant workers. Certainly the strike might have been a very different political event if there had been a powerful presence and intervention by the Leninist vanguard. But its absence was not the fault of the filmmaker.

"HCUSA" is not an ostensibly revolutionary organization. It is for the workers, against the bosses and mistrustful of the union bureaucrats, to be sure; but beyond that it is a gripping and accurate documentary. It is not a propaganda statement. M.B. misunderstands the limits and potential of the documentary form, where the fundamental question we must ask is: Is it true? Does it honestly convey a sense of the traditions of our class? We think "Harlan County, U.S.A." does.

As Engels observed in a letter to Minna Kautsky:

> "...the writer is not obliged to obtrude on the reader the future historical solutions of the social conflicts pictured.... by conscientiously breaking down conventional illusions about them, it shatters the optimism of the bourgeois world, instills doubt as to the external character of the existing order, although the author does not offer any definite solution or does not even line up openly on any particular side."

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4 Years in Jail, but Never Convicted

Free Assata Shakur!

The fourth trial of former Black Panther Party member Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) opened in New Brunswick, New Jersey, February 15 with Judge Theodore Appleby ordering the all-white jury panel of eleven women and five men sequestered for the duration. Shakur is accused of the murder of both state trooper Werner Foerster and her comrade Zayd Shakur who was shot when state troopers opened fire on a car of ex-Panthers on the New Jersey Turnpike in 1973.

In an earlier trial in the same case, Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squires), one of the Panther 21, was convicted on the same charges and is now doing life plus 24-30 years in a Trenton maximum security prison. Shakur's case was severed from his at the time, against the will of both defendants, because she was pregnant.

The bourgeois press hypocritically rails about the plight of political prisoners in the deformed workers states, but where are the cries of outrage against the treatment Assata Shakur has received at the hands of U.S. capitalist "justice"? Although she has not been convicted of a single crime, Shakur has been a political prisoner for the last *four years*.

She has spend the past year in solitary

WV Photo

Demonstrators in front of Middlesex County Courthouse demanded freedom for Assata Shakur last Monday.

confinement because the state rules she is "dangerous," even though she has been *acquitted* on *three* previous occasions of every phony charge against her. Now in maximum security isolation awaiting trial, Shakur is kept under 24-hour surveillance, locked in a basement, kept from any form of contact with other prisoners and has restricted visiting and telephone privileges. The child she had in prison four years ago was taken away from her at birth.

The state has held Assata Shakur in jail for the past four years simply by forcing her to await trial on one trumped-up charge after the other. In two bank rohbery cases she was acquitted when the sole witness to the first

Assata Shakur UPI

incident turned out to be a paid informer, and her supposed collaborators in the second case could not pick her out of a police line-up!

This time the prosecution is leaving no stone unturned in its last chance to "get" her. The request for a change of the place of trial, made by the head of the defense team, William Kunstler, was denied. This is in spite of the findings by a National Jury Project survey that, due to the atmosphere of racial hysteria drummed up at the time of the 1973 arrest, 70-80 percent of the Middlesex County population is convinced of her guilt.

Incredibly Shakur is accused of wounding state trooper James Harper with his own gun, even though she herself was so seriously wounded that she nearly died! The defense will show medical records proving that the wounds she received are consistent with someone sitting in the back seat of the car with hands overhead.

The Shakur case stems from the nationwide round-up of Black Panther Party leaders under the FBI's Cointelpro program. In New York this campaign was primarily directed against the Cleaver wing of the organization, whose remnants formed the core of the so-called "Black Liberation Army."

Cointelpro documents show that there were 295 FBI actions directed against black groups in the late 1960's and early 1970's, 233 of them against the Black Panther Party alone. Bobby Hutton, Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, "Bunchy" Carter, John Huggins—these are only a few of those murdered in accordance with the Cointelpro "Memo on Black Nationalist Hate Groups" instructing the agents to "Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement."

Those militants who were not shot down on the streets were arrested under the standard policy of booking them first and finding out later whether the charges would stick. Thus the Panther 21 were acquitted within hours after the jury began deliberations on the ludicrous charge that they had plotted to blow up, among other things, the Bronx Botanical Garden! But the arrests insured the incarceration of the entire New York Black Panther Party leadership for nearly two crucial years.

Assata Shakur is a class-war prisoner, a victim of the concerted government conspiracy to "get" the Panthers. It is the responsibility of labor and socialist militants and all those concerned with defense of democratic rights to rally to her cause. Stop this vicious railroad job once and for all! Free Assata Shakur! ■

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"The LSA Can't Silence Trotskyism!"

VANCOUVER—Speaking during the discussion period at a January 21 League for Socialist Action (LSA) forum here on the recent United Steelworkers presidential campaign, supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) repeatedly forced the speaker to admit that challenger Ed Sadlowski "might betray" if elected. Embarrassed by this exposure of their darling, the LSA's bureaucratic response came in the form of a January 31 letter announcing that henceforth two TL supporters would not be permitted to attend its forums.

The next LSA forum on February 4 was met with a picket line organized by the Trotskyist League to protest this cowardly anti-communist exclusion. The dozen protesters included former LSA supporter Ken Grieves and former New Democratic Party (NDP) left-wingers Brian Campbell (the NDP's Vancouver mayoral candidate in 1972/74) and Tom Hansen. Among the chants shouted by the picketers were, "What is the LSA afraid of? Rescind the Ban on the Trotskyist League!" "Down with exclusionism, for open debate in the workers movement!" and "The League for Socialist Action can't silence Trotskyism!"

Hansen also went into the meeting to read a letter he had written (reprinted here) protesting the bureaucratic exclusions and urging all supporters of workers democracy to join the picket line. The chairman's attempts to cut short his remarks failed. In addition, the TL has initiated a petition campaign calling upon all socialists and working-class militants to protest this undemocratic exclusion.

Defend workers democracy! The LSA must rescind its anti-communist ban immediately! ■

Letter to the LSA

February 4, 1977
Vancouver, B.C.

Ms. Brenda Dineen
Director
Vanguard Forum/LSA
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Brenda and LSA members,

In response to your letter to the Trotskyist League of Canada excluding two of their comrades, Linda and Oliver, from your public forums, I am writing this protest.

Your reasons for excluding Linda and Oliver, as stated in your letter, are their conscious attempts to disrupt the Jan. 21st forum you had on Sadlowski. As you are aware I also attended that particular forum, and in my opinion the disruptions were not caused by the two TL members. Rather, they were initiated by certain LSA members when Oliver, after being recognized by the chair, walked to the front of the room to speak. In the five years that I have known the LSA, I can recall several occasions when individuals have made a practice of going to the front of the room to face the meeting when speaking, including myself. To use this as an excuse for expulsion is infantile and hypocrisy.

You also stated that Linda made an announcement when the chair adjourned the meeting which also caused a disruption. Here again I have difficulty following your line of reasoning. I could not start to count the times when LSA members have made announcements (without permission) at meetings sponsored by other organizations as they were breaking up. Furthermore, on most of these occasions the meetings were polite enough to listen to what was being said, which is more than can be said about the reaction of the LSA on Jan. 21st.

The irony of this letter lies in the fact that I have, over the years, been a vigorous and vocal defender of LSA members' rights to participate in the NDP. And I have, on several occasions, helped to work in defense campaigns on behalf of LSA'ers threatened with being expelled or refused admittance to membership in the NDP. Now I am again forced in the interest of free debate amongst the left, to oppose the tactics—which are characteristically "Stalinist"—being used against the Trotskyist League by the LSA.

As far as I am concerned, the exclusion of Oliver and Linda reflects the inability of the LSA to deal with the political criticism of the Trotskyist League. It is also a reflection of the political degeneration which is rampant in both the LSA and left groups, generally. The tactics of excluding unfavorable political viewpoints, cutting debate, character assassination, and shouting down one's opponents is a practice which is exercised by social democrats, bureaucrats and Stalinists. These tactics have no place in an organization which claims to follow the theory of Lenin and Trotsky.

I urge you to reconsider your decision.

For Open Debate...
Tom Hansen

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Three-Ring Circus at French LCR Congess

LCR congress

Rouge

At the end of January, the revisionist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) held its second national congress in Paris, attended by nearly 500 delegates. The congress opened in confusion, with the outgoing leadership's tenuous margin of control in jeopardy: no less than four formally constituted "tendencies" in addition to several informal "working groups" jockeyed for position. Only the pervasive cynicism of the organization prevented the chaos from degenerating into outright anarchy. Through some last-minute horse-trading, the discredited leadership managed to patch together a paper-thin majority when Tendency E dissolved and threw its support behind the leadership document.

With typical self-contempt, the LCR's daily *Rouge* summed up the post-congress situation with a cartoon showing two exhausted LCR members, one exclaiming, "After six months of preparation, the Congress took place" and the second replying, "It will take us six months to recover from it." The political fragmentation of the LCR majority had been codified in the creation of splintered "working groups"—which the leadership, in characteristically cynical fashion, sought to pass off as proof of the organization's "democratic functioning." The leadership's credibility was so low that some delegates were overheard openly arguing on the floor of the Congress that the only logical solution was to join the LCR's main ostensibly Trotskyist competitor in France, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)!

While the honchos of the four official tendencies were wheeling and dealing, a hodge-podge of alienated women comrades challenged the legitimacy of the LCR's "democracy" and demanded the "right" to organize their own male-exclusionist parallel structures within the organization. The long-simmering disaffection among LCR women is a perennial threat, though an uneasy détente has thus far prevailed between this pervasive semi-organized proto-feminist current and the professional conciliators of the LCR, whose political hallmark is impressionistic adaptation to prevailing fashions on the petty-bourgeois left. The international majority of the "United" Secretariat (USec) dubs these diverse elements—among whom militant women occupy an honored position—the "broad working-class vanguard." For the USec's star section to aggressively combat the growing separatist "consciousness" of its women members would be rank apostasy. The LCR leadership is thus effectively sterilized in the face of a virtual insurrection.

The supposedly "democratic-centralist" LCR has made instability a way of life, but this time the disintegration may be terminal. Although it has survived episodic flare-ups of underlying polarization as well as endemic clique warfare, the LCR has never before been faced with a substantial faction swearing allegiance to an organized external force—in this case the USec international minority led by the reformist American SWP. And the SWP is moreover far along the road toward a marriage of convenience with the OCI. Thus Tendency A led by Matti, having thrown in its lot with the pro-SWP OCI Tendency C, now constitutes a threat to the LCR's perspectives in France above and beyond its substantial numerical weight (roughly one-quarter) at the congress.

The outgoing leadership headed by Alain Krivine received a whopping vote of no-confidence. Krivine's Tendency D, even with the defunct Tendency E in tow, scraped up only 54.7 percent for its main resolution, while on the vote to approve the statutes it obtained a bare 50.4 percent. A document from the women's "working group" was defeated by a vote of 150 to 105, but a sizable chunk of the delegates voted with their feet, turning in 88 abstentions. This negative mandate places the LCR leadership's organizational position on a par with its political bankruptcy.

The LCR leadership has been explicit in its desire to liquidate its ostensible Trotskyist pretensions in favor of attempts to constitute a "realistic alternative" to—that is, a left-sounding pressure group upon—the popular-front Union of the Left. Tantalized by the prospect of riding the coattails of governmental power in the event of a Union of the Left electoral victory, the LCR is hell-bent on a "recomposition" (rotten bloc) of "revolutionary" forces. Ernest Mandel—who as leading light of the majority wing of the USec is the LCR's international braintruster—has already offered to abandon the "labels" of Trotskyism and the "Fourth International" to reassure the LCR's hesitant prospective bloc partners, in the first instance Michel Pablo's wing of the left-social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU), which disposed of roughly 22 percent of the PSU at its recent Strasbourg national conference. The LCR, unstinting in its praise of the Democrazia Proletaria electoral bloc (which lusted for an admittedly bourgeois "government of lefts") in Italy, has formed its own version for this March's municipal elections.

Rightist Opposition Consolidates

The alignment of Matti's empirical "left" opposition with the right wing of the USec internationally is another manifestation of the USec's disarray. A de facto cold split prevails between adherents of the centrist international majority (IMT) and two reformist-led oppositionists loyal to the American SWP and Argentine PST. In virtually every significant USec section, the oppositional clots which arise have sooner or later thrown in their lot with the domestic leadership's international antagonists.

Thus, Matti's Tendency A had its roots largely in the IMT-loyal "Tendency 1" prior to the December 1974 first national congress of the LCR. Until shortly before the recent congress, Matti maintained an agnostic stance, refusing to side with either the IMT or the pro-SWP minority. He characterized the Union of the Left as a popular front, but whether to vote for it was deemed a "tactical" question; he granted that the LCR's Pabloist heritage should be discussed...some other time. Matti's refusal to break from the USec rotten bloc was sharply highlighted in his polemic against a group of comrades from his central power base, Rouen, who resigned from the LCR in sympathy with the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) and its French section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), last October (see *WV* 131, 29 October 1976).

Tendency A's fusion with the much smaller Tendency C, politically controlled by pro-SWP/OCI forces, represented Matti's final abandonment of any credible claim to be a left critic. Perhaps recognizing this, a grouping of Tendency A supporters who could not stomach the SWP's social-democratic line on Portugal and other matters (the short-lived Tendency E) quit the Matti amalgam and proclaimed their loyalty to the IMT. Matti's assimilation into the SWP orbit, like the utter rout of the international "Third Tendency" at the USec's Tenth World Congress in February 1974, demonstrates the impossibility of a viable "third camp" within the USec. "Lesser evil" maneuverism within the thoroughly rotten USec is the dead end which faces those who recoil from their national leadership's manifest opportunism but refuse to draw the conclusions and break with Pabloism in all its aspects.

Tendency C's capture of Tendency A was the culmination of more than two and a half years of factional work by the SWP. In August and September of 1974, prior to the LCR's first congress, pro-SWP forces entered Tendency 4, an empirical left opposition to the IMT (much to the SWP's annoyance—it had counseled them to join Matti's Tendency 1). These forces were at that time quite hostile both to the OCI and to the SWP's characterization of the IMT as "ultra-left." As recently as the summer of 1976, a leader of the French pro-SWP tendency privately characterized the IMT as centrist, but refused to do so openly within the LCR, citing the expulsion in May of 1975 of Comrade Lafitte (now a member of the LTF) for this same "crime."

During the congress, the rapprochement of Tendency A with the OCI was blatant. When the final amendments to the Tendency A document were presented, the OCI's friends attempted to introduce characteristic OCI positions. Thus a proposal was made to include the right-wing social-democratic Force Ouvrière among the list of main targets for trade-union work. There was also an attempt to replace the "centrist" characterization of the OCI and Lutte Ouvrière by "Trotskyist." At this point, the danger of a split was so great that the spokesman for the anti-OCI forces within Tendency A made an open declaration from the podium that, despite the differences, he and his friends would not split from Tendency A. The compromise reached failed to characterize the OCI and Lutte Ouvrière in any fashion!

Tendency A's consolidation around the reformist bases of the SWP—with the perspective of joining the OCI in the short run—marks the first systematic opposition to the Krivine leadership since a faction which ultimately became Révolution (now the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs [OCT]) left the Ligue in 1971 over the question of affiliating to the USec. The forces which have rallied to the IMT in opposition to this clearly rightist alignment are attempting to revivify Matti's agnostic stance as a left-critical pole within the IMT.

Majority Disintegrates

Faced with the emergence of a pro-SWP tendency, the majority attempted to outmaneuver it, first refusing last August to form a majority tendency, on the grounds that "working groups" were a more appropriate form for discussion than "hardened" tendencies. Beneath the would-be-democratic veneer, the intention was evidently to buy time. The leadership eventually ventured a show of strength and formed a tendency, from which groupings kept defecting right up to the time of the congress. At the opening of the congress, a motion of rampant disgruntlement was presented which proposed a three-month postponement; over ten percent of the delegates actually supported this proposal! Even Krivine's maneuverist expertise and a succession of specific patchwork amendments designed to placate one or another little clot eventually garnered the leadership only the slimmest majority.

Even the existence of a full-fledged power fight could not prevent the feminists' challenge from dominating the congress debates. At its first congress in December 1974, the Ligue had created the so-called "groupes Sand": male-exclusionist groups within the organization. After having sanctioned these formations, the LCR leadership was forced to repeatedly "remind" them that they were "informal" and could not be a parallel structure within the LCR—which is precisely what they are. The women's groups' "discussions" had reached such intensity that the central committee was obliged to vote a motion admonishing them that it was improper to slander comrades behind their backs.

A boycott of the congress was threatened if male-exclusionist groups were not permitted delegates. At the congress, a resolution was moved condemning the central committee for refusing to grant such groups "tendency" status; although the motion failed, 40 percent of those voting either favored it or abstained. The LCR leadership alternately suppressed and capitulated to the feminists.

At one point, requested by the praesidium to identify herself in the

usual fashion, one comrade hotly replied, "*I* am a *woman*!" These antics, against which the LCR's New Leftism provides no defense, recall the Lotta Continua (LC) conference which was extensively reported in *Rouge* last November. The LC conference was a virtual zoo as strident feminists and "proletarians" denounced each other for insensitivity and worse. Livio Maitan was probably looking over his shoulder at the disgruntled women of the USec when he admonished the LC women in the pages of *Inprecor* that their interests would not really be served by LC's destruction.

The feminist attacks on the leadership were only the clearest sign of the splintering of the Krivine regime into various sectors and special interest groups. Bensaid's official report on the congress, published in *Rouge* as an introduction to the congress resolutions, admits:

> "Feeling its temporary impotence, the organization reacted by wanting to keep in touch with the concrete, which was translated in part by retreating into localism, by partial theoretizing, and by a tendency toward federalist conception of the revolutionary organization itself, supposedly able therefore to stick close to life.... The debate on this subject will be set off again by the first central political battle, the first turn in the conjuncture."
>
> —*Rouge*, 9 February

Like typical bonapartist honchos, the LCR leadership does not attempt to fuse its components into a homogeneous Leninist party, but simply to play one sector off against another. Bensaid's response to the proto-feminists was to regret that "the workers' viewpoint" was not equally represented, though he acknowledged that if it had been "certain polemics might well have taken the form of social confrontation." He alleges that the "crisis of the Ligue" is quite different from that of LC in Italy, but the fact that he feels called upon to reject the comparison is eloquent in itself.

The LCR's trajectory resembles that of Lotta Continua in other respects. The LCR's recently announced electoral bloc with Lutte Ouvrière and the OCT is essentially an attempt to emulate on a smaller scale LC's participation in the Democrazia Proletaria bloc. Both are embarked on a popular-frontist course. The threadbare "leftism" of the Matti tendency is nowhere more clearly exposed than over this question; while claiming to stand for opposition to the Union of the Left, Tendency A somehow did not manage to raise at the congress the question of the March 1977 municipal elections, where the LCR leadership calls for voting for the Union of the Left on the second round!

It is therefore easy for the LCR leadership to demagogically insist:

> "The immediate disagreements on the central questions did not appear clearly or were not obvious... not a single voice was raised in the Congress... to criticize or reject the united agreement made with LO and the OCT for the municipal elections... in a word, the polemic among tendencies, working groups and currents took place within a common framework."
>
> —*Rouge*, 9 February

Bensaid is fundamentally correct. The SWP and Tendency A have appetites toward the social-democrats; the LCR leadership looks toward fusion with the openly anti-Trotskyist PSU left in order to better tail the Stalinists. Both wings are spiralling in toward the popular front on the coattails of different components of the Union of the Left. Both are fundamentally alien to the principled program of Trotskyism.

Break with Pabloism—Join the iSt!

There is an alternative to the bankrupt and fragmented LCR. But the evolution of the Matti grouping demonstrates again that there is no room in the USec for fence-straddling. To remain within the USec means choosing between a centrist majority and a reformist minority. Only a clear break with both revisionist wings can lead subjective revolutionists forward toward the construction of a genuine Trotskyist organization in France, now represented uniquely by the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

One of the Tendency A delegates to the congress, who had been an LCR supporter since 1973, resigned in the wake of the congress declaring:

> "I am resigning today not for 'personal reasons' like so many comrades but on the basis of a deep political disagreement.... At the beginning of the tendency 'debates' I joined Tendency A, which seemed to me to defend more orthodox positions. In the course of the debate I came to understand that Tendency A was itself nothing but an unprincipled conglomeration..., a heterogeneous centrist bloc to the detriment of an intransigent defense of political positions.... Faced with numerous militants criticizing the IMT from the left who ended up by joining the [international minority], I was led to study the positions of the SWP. This organization has pursued an increasingly rightist course... up to the defense of the democratic rights of fascists..., the explicit abandonment of the unconditional defense of the USSR and the deformed workers states against imperialism. Today no tendency of the USec can legitimately assert that it is the continuator of the combat of the Left Opposition and the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky. The United Secretariat is not the Fourth International. "The Tendency A comrades from Rouen, replying to the resignation of [three comrades in solidarity with the iSt], wrote, 'Yes, the question of Pabloism must be taken up sooner or later.'... Only Lafitte and the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction undertook a consistent struggle against Pabloism in the LCR. They were bureaucratically expelled in May 1975. The LCR and USec cannot be reformed. Any maneuver, any rotten compromise is accepted here, except a *communist* opposition which dares to say the USec is not the Fourth International. The tendencies which comprise the USec maintain the unity of their unprincipled bloc only to flaunt the usurped name of the Fourth International. That is why I am resigning from the LCR to discuss with the only organization in France which seems to me today to really be struggling against Stalinism, social democracy and Pabloist revisionism to resolve the crisis of mankind, the Trotskyist League of France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency." ■

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Stung by SL Criticism of "Ipi Tombi" Boycott

Guardian Advocates Political Censorship

Our recent article, "Boycott 'Ipi Tombi'?" (*WV* No. 143, 4 February) has apparently struck a nerve among some of the boycotters and provoked the New Left/"Third Worldist" *Guardian* to a feeble attempt at refutation in its 16 February edition. Under the headline, "Trotskyist sects: Sparts back 'Ipi Tombi'," the diatribe penned by one William Gurley contains a single solitary sentence (the last) with any political substance. And this is a classic example of Stalinist advocacy of political censorship to shield the masses from reactionary ideology.

Gurley quotes our statement that the movie "Green Berets" starring John Wayne could have been a good focus for mass protest against the Vietnam War, but that "to organize a general boycott of the film, to demand that people not see it, would have been an act of stupid, liberal, totalitarian moralism." Gurley's response is: "It seems that what the SL is saying is that a symbolic protest is all well and good, but if there is a chance that it can effectively prevent some piece of chauvinist and fascist propaganda from being inflicted on the masses, well that's really going too far."

Blinded by New Left moral outrage, the *Guardian* polemic completely misses the point. Such a protest would be part of a mobilization against the imperialist government's war effort, *not* an attempt to "cleanse the air" and prevent the masses from being exposed to chauvinism. Does the *Guardian* propose a boycott of all bourgeois newspapers, radio and TV shows, political speeches, comic books, musicals, etc., which incessantly barrage the American population with chauvinist propaganda of one sort or another?

Our article presented three arguments against the boycott of "Ipi Tombi." First, the musical is not a deliberate and important statement in favor of apartheid (unlike "Green Berets," which was intended as an apology for the U.S.' imperialist war), and therefore is not a suitable target for protests against Vorster's racist regime. Second, we are opposed to a general boycott of all things South African (as opposed to a boycott of military goods to South Africa), which if effective would worsen the economic deprivation of the oppressed non-white masses in that country. And third, we are opposed to political censorship of cultural events.

The assertion of national and racial superiority is a central axis of bourgeois ideology, and therefore key to capitalism. To the extent that the bourgeoisie maintains its domination through ideological mystification (e.g., religion), distortion and lies, it is necessary to combat and refute these. Mass revolutionary consciousness must be developed through exposure, protest and above all struggle based on a Marxist program which strikes at the foundations of capitalist rule. The New Left, in contrast, seeks to "cleanse" itself of petty-bourgeois guilt by boycotting whatever is deemed morally repugnant. When put into practice, this means preventing others from attending or participating, i.e., political censorship.

In their lifelong struggle against capitalism, Marx and Lenin never organized boycotts against the cultural expressions of bourgeois ideology. The Russian Orthodox church, for example,

WV Photo

Picket line outside "Ipi-Tombi" in January

was the single most important institution for keeping the masses ideologically enslaved to tsarist absolutism. The Bolsheviks produced much anti-religious propaganda and agitation, but did not attempt to physically prevent people from attending religious services. On the other hand, the destruction of churches during the Spanish civil war was associated with the petty-bourgeois anarchist movement.

Gurley's confusion is further revealed in his equation of "chauvinist" with "fascist" propaganda. Fascism is not a reactionary attitude but a movement of mass terror against the organized workers movement and oppressed minorities (such as Jews and blacks). The fascist movement, however embryonic, must be ruthlessly suppressed by militant mass action. The Spartacist League has been in the forefront of militant actions against fascists, as for example when Nazis were run off the San Francisco State campus in 1974. On the other hand, chauvinist attitudes totally permeate bourgeois ideology and culture. Only through political struggle can racist and national chauvinist prejudices be rooted out of the working masses.

In the interests of historical accuracy, we would like to clear up one of Gurley's gratuitous slanders, namely his assertion that the SL believed "the chief point of the antiwar movement of the 1960s should be to 'expose' Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese 'Stalinists'." The "point" of the Spartacist League's intervention into the "antiwar movement" was an uncompromising call for social revolution in South Vietnam and the ouster of the imperialists and the native capitalist class.

If Gurley would take a look at our recently published pamphlet, "Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam," he would see on the back cover a telegram sent by the Spartacist editorial board to Ho Chi Minh on 7 February 1965, when U.S. bombing of North Vietnam began. It read: "Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working

continued on page 9

Eco-Freaks vs. the Atomic Energy Lobby

Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement

by Jeff Maxwell

Since the 1973-74 Arab oil embargo and the subsequent quadrupling of the price of crude oil, nearly all of the major countries have embarked upon vigorous programs to expand the generation of electric power by means of nuclear fission reactors. Thus in 1974 the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) anticipated a 12- to 15-fold increase in nuclear generating capacity by 1985 and an additional three- to four-fold increase by the year 2000. France and Japan expected capacity to double every two years.

These programs have provoked widespread controversy, with the grounds for opposition ranging from neo-Malthusian pessimism and peasant conservatism to sober doubts on the safety of nuclear fission reactors. In West Germany, atomic power station facilities have been stormed and exploratory drilling for waste storage sites has been halted by anti-nuclear protesters. In Sweden, the Social Democratic government's program for nuclear power became *the* issue in the final days of the national election campaign last September and was an important factor in the fall of the Palme cabinet.

In the U.S., a well-financed campaign by the atomic energy lobby, strongly backed by construction unions, last year defeated six state-wide initiatives seeking to tighten controls on nuclear power plant construction. Certainly the divisions on the nuclear power issue do not fall along simple class or political lines. In Europe opposition to nuclear power comes from such disparate sources as the Norwegian government, the Dutch Labor Party, the Swedish Center Party, West German Maoists and fake-Trotskyists, the British Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution and the conservative *Economist*.

As Marxists we generally strongly support the introduction of new technology, including the development, construction and operation of nuclear fission reactors. Certainly proponents of a socialist society based on material abundance have a vastly different viewpoint on this subject than ecological crackpots who in effect seek a return to pre-industrial society. At the same time we point out that the economic advisibility of nuclear fission power can only be judged within the framework of an internationally planned socialist economy.

There are very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors. As throughout industry, we demand union control of working conditions and, where there are specific hazards, action to shut down dangerous facilities. But beyond this we have no particular interest in determining how the bourgeoisie meets its energy needs. Those who assume that "wide public discussion" within the framework of capitalist rule will satisfactorily resolve this question are guilty of sowing the worst utopian/reactionary/pacifist illusions.

Why Nuclear Power?

The various bourgeoisies are embarking upon nuclear fission reactor programs in response to their perceived economic and military needs. Their efforts at fuel conservation have clearly failed: despite the ballyhoo surrounding Nixon's grandiose "Project Independence," U.S imports of foreign petroleum have increased since 1973.

It is a truism that petroleum will not be abundant forever. Given current rates of consumption, a number of experts predict that supplies of natural gas and oil will come close to depletion during the next century. (Such projections must be taken with more than a grain of salt, as new reserves tend to appear whenever there is a profit to be made.) In any case, what has the imperialist rulers more immediately worried is the prospect of a sudden drop of imported petroleum supplies, a very real prospect given the intense renewal of inter-imperialist rivalry.

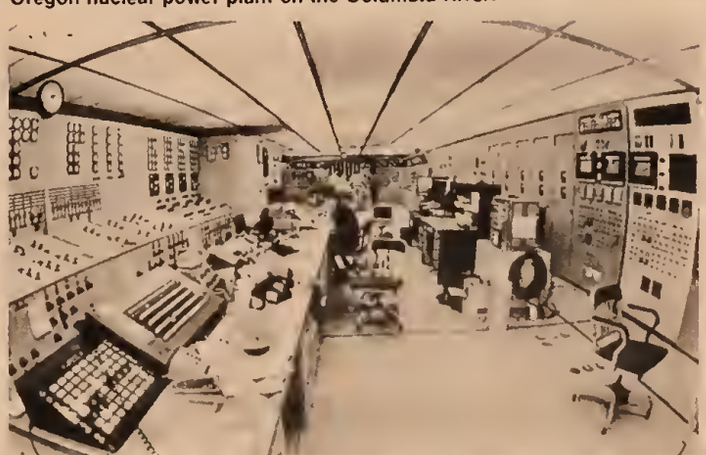
Among the Western powers, the move to nuclear fission power arises out of economic competition and is ultimately part of a trend toward economic autarky on the road to a new imperialist war. For smaller and economically backward capitalist nations, efforts to secure nuclear fission technology are a simple reflection of the desire to obtain the wherewithal to construct nuclear weapons. Israel, South Africa and India are cases in point.

Certainly, current-technology nuclear reactors touch only the immediate situation and offer no solution to the gradual depletion of fossil fuels. The single-pass-through uranium "burner" uses its fuel inefficiently, liberating only 0.5 percent of the stored energy, and is therefore far from being the "ultimate" power generator. Already there are "projections" that high-grade uranium reserves will be depleted in burners by the end of the century. Thus atomic power under capitalism may very well replicate the oil "crisis," even down to the dramatis personae: half of all U.S. uranium reserves are owned by the oil monopolies.

Such visions of future bottlenecks are not very appetizing to the rest of the bourgeoisie. This has led to proposals for conversion to a "plutonium economy," first via the recycling of fissionable plutonium wastes created in uranium burners, followed by the development of "breeder" reactors which convert non-fissionable U-238 into plutonium and produce more fuel than they consume. The energy gain over the current technology burners could be hundred-fold using the same fuel input. Moreover, because breeder-reactors can use lower-grade reserves, including possibly simple bedrock (U-238 comprises 99.3 percent of all uranium found in nature, and traces of it are found throughout the earth's crust), the total increase in potentially available energy would be greater by many orders of magnitude.

Time

Oregon nuclear power plant on the Columbia River.



Der Spiegel

Control center at Browns Ferry nuclear power station in Alabama.

Who Are the Nuclear Terrorists?

The spectre of a plutonium economy has been the primary catalyst for concern in bourgeois/technical circles with nuclear conversion programs. The dominant refrain one hears is that of physicist Alvin Weinberg's "Faustian bargain": energy at the risk of survival of the species. Since the lion's share of all energy research expenditures in the U.S. recently has gone to develop a liquid metal fast breeder reactor, critics worry that an "irreversible commitment" will precede careful evaluation of the risks.

Plutonium is a high-grade weapons material. There is fear within the bourgeoisie and its technical/scientific establishment that the necessity to reprocess, store and transport plutonium opens up the possibility of nuclear blackmail by an atom-bomb-wielding "terrorist" group. This fear is being translated into official policy with the announcement by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC—successor to AEC) of new security measures at nuclear facilities including guards with semi-automatic rifles and "full-field background investigations" of plant employees.

In addition, these same circles fear that export of fissionable material, reprocessing plants and or enrichment facilities will result in the proliferation of nuclear capabilities among former colonial countries. The recent outcry engineered by the U.S. following a French sale to Pakistan of such facilities reflected the futile determination of U.S imperialism to maintain the "big boys'" semi-monopoly on nuclear terror. A

penitent Giscard has currently sworn off future transgressions.

The fears of bourgeois critics and Manhattan Project alumni that conversion to plutonium-fueled reactors will result in a proliferation of nuclear weapons are sheer hypocrisy, inasmuch as the imperialists themselves are the greatest "merchants of death." One of the most immediate results of the booming incomes of Near East oil potentates since 1973 has been a mammoth influx of sophisticated Western weaponry to the region. And it should not be forgotten that it was France and West Germany who provided a nuclear potential to South Africa, Brazil and Israel.

One of the main spokesmen for the "nuclear blackmail" critics of expanding atomic power is Theodore Taylor, a leading U.S. weapons designer in the 1950's. He is obsessed with the possibility that terrorists will divert plutonium and use it to blackmail Western "democracies" for nefarious ends. (Taylor cites the case of a 13-year-old who claimed he had built an atomic bomb—and produced an accurate sketch to back up his story—threatening to blow up Miami if the city did not hand over $1 million.) But a more pertinent focus for Dr. Taylor's obsession would be the destructive capability he helped to provide for the U.S. bourgeoisie, which plutoniumed Nagasaki to rubble.

The greatest, most overwhelming nuclear danger confronting the world comes not from the existence of atomic power generating facilities but from the possession of nuclear weapons by the imperialist powers, first and foremost the U.S. The spread of nuclear weapons among the smaller capitalist powers does, of course, increase the danger that they will be used in national wars by desperate bourgeoisies. The threat to the world working class is obvious.

At the same time, we resolutely defend the necessity of nuclear weapons technology (including whatever attendant testing programs may be necessary) for the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and the other deformed workers states. The answer to the dangers of nuclear war is not to be found in imperialist/social-pacifist "non-proliferation" treaties or test bans, but in the destruction of capitalism by the revolutionary action of the international proletariat.

Bourgeois Eco-Hypocrisy

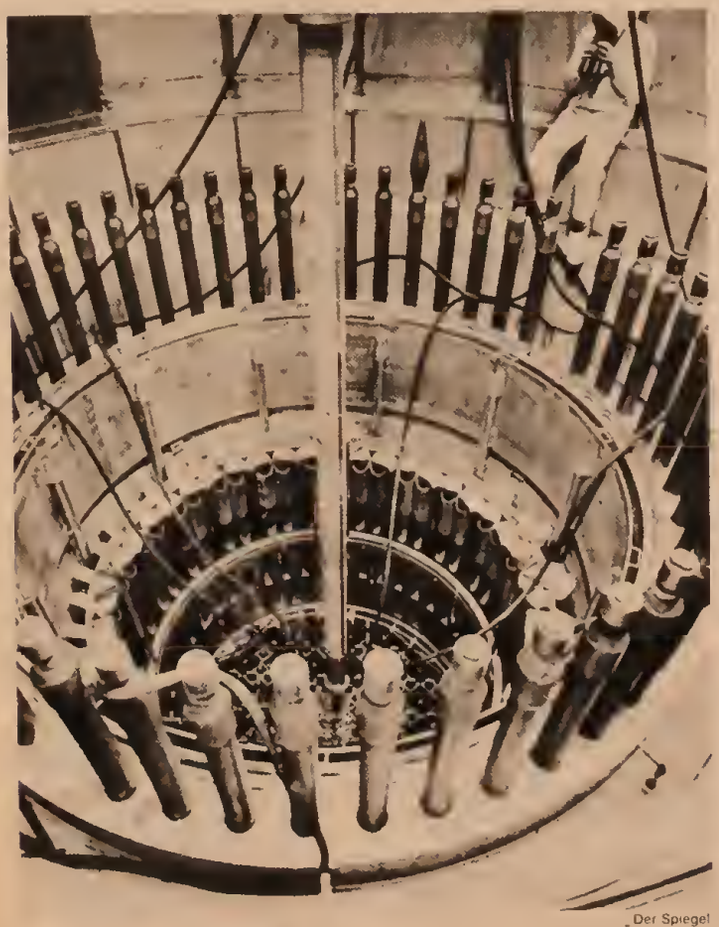
The anti-nuclear "movement" at least touches on reality with a concern for safety. Given the alacrity with which corporations cut corners in order to maximize profits while "regulatory" bodies look the other way, much more than vigilance is certainly required, since devastating nuclear "incidents" are in any case inevitable and subordination to the profit motive only tends to increase such ghastly events.

Even so, the anti-nuclear movement remains a liberal/utopian hypocritical sham and diversion precisely because it overlooks the real danger of nuclear war. The imperialists hold in their hands tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, the detonation of any one of which would in most cases make the most serious reactor accident look like a relatively minor mishap. Along with pious concern about the possibility of a major disaster arising from failure in fission reactor systems or leakages of waste storage facilities goes a touching faith in the supposed benign good will of the likes of John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, who together oversaw the butchery of millions in Southeast Asia.

The same hypocrisy, albeit on a more petty level, is shown by other fears of liberal ecologists. A case in point is the opposition to the Supersonic Transport (SST). An enormous outcry has been raised in the U.S. over the British/French Concorde SST. It's noisy and it pollutes the stratosphere we are correctly informed. So, we would hasten to point out, do the far more numerous supersonic military aircraft the U.S. military has been operating for over two decades.

The uproar whipped up over the Concorde has much less to do with the tranquility of Queens homeowners than with Boeing's sour grapes over cancellation of the American SST program and efforts to maintain the U.S.' near-monopoly on commercial aircraft con-

continued on page 8



Der Spiegel

Nuclear reactor core at Chalk River, Ontario

Conspiracy and Cover-Up in Atomic Industry

FBI Drops Inquiry in Karen Silkwood Death

The abrupt cancellation of the second Congressional investigation into FBI handling of the case of Karen Silkwood has added to a widespread belief that the facts surrounding the death of the young trade unionist two years ago are being covered up at the highest levels of industry and government. Silkwood, a laboratory technician at the Kerr-McGee plutonium processing facility in Cimarron, Oklahoma, and safety investigator for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW), died in a car crash on 13 November 1974 as she was driving to meet a *New York Times* reporter.

When the hearings into her death opened last April, Congressman John Dingell, head of the House Small Business Subcommittee on Environment and Energy, stated that his staff had "reviewed hundreds of statements which raised significant questions as to the adequacy of the Federal investigations into the events" surrounding her death. But in December the hearings were abruptly canceled. An article in the 13 January *Rolling Stone* reports that the final witness to appear before the Subcommittee, an FBI informer, testified that she had reason to believe that Silkwood, in the course of investigating falsification of company safety records, had stumbled on data concerning the theft of nearly a hundred pounds of plutonium, reported missing from the plant inventory by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) two years previously.

Silkwood, elected to the steering committee of OCAW Local 5-282, had been assigned to document the union's charges of massive company negligence in protecting plant employees from exposure to plutonium, a radioactive material so deadly that a few hundred millionths of an ounce can induce cancer of the lung. Conditions at the Cimarron facility were so bad that Dr. Karl Morgan, an expert on the dangers of nuclear radiation, later testified before the Dingell Subcommittee that between 1970 and 1974 there had been 23 reported plutonium exposures involving 89 workers at the plant, adding he had "never known an operation in the industry to be so poorly operated."

A few months before her death Silkwood and other OCAW representatives had presented to the AEC (now superseded by the Nuclear Protection Commission [NPC]) a list of 39 charges of company safety violations, most of which have since been substantiated by the Commission. Silkwood was enroute to present this documentation, and possibly new information as well, to *New York Times* reporter David Burnham, when her car mysteriously crashed. According to *Rolling Stone*, the state trooper who first discovered Silkwood's vehicle testified that he found a manila folder lying by the roadside near her car which he picked up and placed on the back seat. The folder has never been seen again.

Silkwood was exposed to radiation several times in the weeks before her death. Only days before the crash she showed evidence of contamination at work. At Silkwood's request her apartment was checked and found to be so "hot" that the entire contents had to be taken out immediately and buried! Kerr-McGee insisted that Silkwood had

Karen Silkwood

contaminated herself (!) in order to "embarrass" the company with her investigations. Moreover, the FBI, in its best J. Edgar Hoover style, "discovered" that Silkwood was bisexual, thus "proving" that any evidence she had gathered *had* to be unreliable.

But despite the rulings by both local police and the Justice Department that the death was accidental, OCAW has hired three separate investigators who, examining the dents on Silkwood's car, the tracks of the tires and so forth, all independently came to the same conclusion: that Silkwood's car was struck from behind by another vehicle and forced off the road. The OCAW paper summed up its position: Silkwood's death "might not have been an accident" ("Woman's Death Linked to A-Plant Safety Query," OCAW *Union News*, December 1974).

The Silkwood case caught the interest of both women's and ecology groups who in 1975 formed Supporters of Silkwood (SOS) to pressure for a Congressional investigation. The National Organization of Women declared "Karen Silkwood Day" on the first anniversary of her death and collected 8,500 signatures in favor of reopening the case. In late 1975 the groups succeeded in convincing Senator Lee Metcalf, a liberal Montana Democrat, to hold hearings through the Government Operations Subcommittee he heads. But the chairman of the board of Kerr-McGee then flew to Washington and met privately with Metcalf who subsequently announced he would give up the investigation. The case was then turned over to Dingell who was interested in pursuing it primarily because he had an old score to settle with Senator Robert Kerr, an old political rival of his father and a founder of Kerr-McGee.

New evidence was brought to light through the Dingell hearings, in particular raising again the question of the disappearance of a massive amount of plutonium. A cover-up was hinted at again when free-lance journalist and admitted FBI informer Jacque Srouji testified that she had seen 1,000 pages of documents gathered by the original FBI investigator, Larry Olson, on which basis she said she was "surprised" the Justice Department had closed the case.

continued on page 9

Nuclear Power...

(continued from page 7)

struction in the capitalist world. The real problem with the Concorde is its small passenger capacity.

Hypocrisy aside, there is a material basis for the bourgeoisie's increased "ecological" awareness, including its belated but genuine fears about the safety of nuclear power plants. Quite simply it has been found that the operation of many modern industries exposes not only the proletarians but all classes of society, including the bourgeoisie, to the deleterious effects of industrial pollution.

A severe accident in even a remote nuclear power plant might expose thousands to dangerous doses of radioactivity, including those residing in posh suburbs miles from the site of the plant. Whereas the capitalists disregard the most appalling working conditions in their plants, they do worry when pollutants from an industrial process are shown to effect not only their wage slaves but also themselves.

The Safety Question

The principal dangers attendant upon the operation of nuclear power plants are two. Should all reactor cooling systems fail, the reactor core will melt. This could ultimately lead to the release of enormous amounts of lethal radiation. No such "maximum credible accident" has occurred, although there have been any number of lesser cooling system malfunctions. Loss of coolant in a breeder reactor would be potentially even more destructive. The concentrations of plutonium in such a facility are great enough to allow the possibility of a low-grade explosion which would liberate tons of radioactive debris and explosive molten sodium.

Waste disposal is the second major problem. Plutonium, which is highly toxic, has a half-life of 24,000 years and must be isolated from the biosphere for several hundred thousand years. The U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) says that the technology exists to safely store highly radioactive wastes and permanent storage sites are being constructed in salt beds, but leaks have occurred at temporary sites.

The technical debate on safety has become a hysterical exercise in obfuscation—both by government and industry scientists and their opponents in the environmentalist movement. The resignation, shortly before the California referendum last June, of three General Electric engineers and an NRC safety inspector protesting against inadequate safety in the atomic power industry was met by a ringing endorsement of nuclear power by a panoply of Nobel physics laureates.

Likewise, the release of the "definitive" Rasmussen Report by the AEC, which ascribed a minute probability to a "maximum credibility accident," was countered by a number of scientists who doubted the quoted odds. The most extreme case of anti-nuclear anxiety has been in West Germany, where opponents of atomic power are publicizing as good coin the wildly exaggerated "findings" of a speculative government study which talks of 30 million dead as a possible result of a nuclear reactor disaster.

We do not wish to take a position on the technical issues involved, nor do we offer suggestions to capitalism as to which method of energy generation it would do best to use. As the recent natural gas "shortage" proves, the anarchy of production under capitalism makes the energy "crisis" inevitable.

Capitalism also makes it difficult to choose a lesser evil. Pollution from the burning of sulfur-bearing coal and oil probably results in thousands of deaths *per year*. Moreover, deaths among coal miners in the U.S. from industrial accidents and black lung disease are notoriously high (although West European, Polish and Soviet mines have drastically reduced them). As to major disasters, the collapse of a hydroelectric dam above Sacramento could result in an estimated 260,000 deaths. The near collapse of the Lower San Fernando dam in 1971 threatened 80,000 lives. Both the probability of occurrence and probable destruction from such a catastrophe could greatly exceed those of the "maximum credible accident." When one adds up deaths from sulfide pollution, mine accidents, black lung, dam collapses, etc., there is no guarantee that by reliance on fossil fuels and hydroelectric energy overall safety would be increased compared to widespread use of nuclear power. In fact, atomic power might well be safer.

Der Spiegel

Old salt mine used to dispose of nuclear waste in Germany.

We are in favor of safety everywhere and denounce capitalism's inability to provide it. On the one hand, evidence is lacking of a generalized danger posed by atomic energy of the sort that would be necessary to justify an outright ban on construction or operation of nuclear power facilities, as demanded by West German demonstrators, or even a generalized moratorium. On the other hand, we support the thrust of those recent voter initiatives which sought to remove the ceiling on corporate liability for nuclear accidents and restrict plant sitings prior to an adequate investigation of specific reactor safety and waste disposal hazards.

Such measures, which entrust final determinations to the state legislatures are certainly no guarantee of safety. The legacy of the nuclear industry—from the use of radioactive tailings for construction in Grand Junction, Colorado, to the death of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers safety inspector Karen Silkwood under suspicious circumstances (see accompanying article)—is an abomination. We demand trade-union control of safety conditions in all industrial situations.

Capitalists Back Off From Nuclear Power

Of course, decaying capitalism cannot deal with the gradual depletion of fossil fuel reserves. But the conversion to nuclear power for all electricity does not even pose the glimmer of an answer. Only one third of projected energy consumption for the year 2000 is for electricity. The rest—energy for transportation, space heating, industrial processes—will still be dependent upon fossil fuels.

The bourgeoisie's recent interest in nuclear power is in part based on the fact that (at least in France and the U.S.) it is now competitive with energy output from coal-burning plants. But the nuclear industry is itself increasingly shaky. The cost of nuclear power is skyrocketing. The price of uranium has quadrupled since 1973; the estimated capital investment for a 1,000-megawatt plant will have quadrupled within ten years. And there remains the unknown but necessary cost of decommissioning a reactor.

These costs, the propensity to relax pollution standards in the face of corporate complaints, the relative stabilization of petroleum prices and the promise of endless legal battles have had their impact on the plans for nuclear power. Thus while the political issue remains significant in a number of countries, there are signs that the bourgeoisie is having second thoughts.

Most significantly, in the U.S. no new orders for nuclear reactors were placed in 1976 and both Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter advocated a several-year delay in the full-blown commitment to plutonium. The British Commission on Environmental Pollution, buoyed by sanguine visions of North Sea oil, recommended a similar delay. At the same time, however, environmentalists could take little solace from Jimmy Carter's appointment as his energy adviser of all-purpose hawk James Schlesinger (who headed the AEC before moving on to the CIA and then the Defense Department).

While waffling is feasible for the U.S. and Britain, France's options are considerably more restricted; its resources are fewer and its commitment to a breeder program, the Phénix, is much greater. However, Giscard hoped to finance this program through the export of technology, a plan which appears less than acceptable to his NATO friends.

Neo-Malthusian Pessimists

There have been a number of alternatives proposed to the generation of nuclear power through fission—solar energy, fusion power, geothermal power, tidal power, oil from shale and windmills. Of these, a number have yet to be developed, partially because their development has not been adequately funded, while others require such massive initial capital and energy investments that their profitability is problematic in the short run. The real option at present is between coal (which will be abundant for centuries) and nuclear power.

The more pessimistic of the bourgeois critics such as the Ford Foundation's Energy Policy Project have urged massive economic changes to approach "zero energy growth" (ZEG). The Ford panel's suggestions are utopian in the extreme, assuming the validity of dubious economic models and a rationality which capitalism does not possess. For example, an important aspect of ZEG is the de-emphasis of the automobile in urban centers. This idea is not new nor is it necessarily invalid in the abstract. The hitch is that capitalist reality is moving in the opposite direction, i.e., toward the increased cost and decay of mass transit.

A number of environmentalists have also adopted a "zero-growth" position. Without the Ford Foundation's dubious econometrics, this is more realistically seen as a call for austerity. Thus the British magazine *Ecologist* lauds primitive societies and contains a lengthy polemic against Marxism which perceives socialism as founded upon what for a zero-growther is anathema—material abundance based upon advanced technology.

Ignored by the well-fed, well-paid "zero-growth" proponents is the fact that the overwhelming majority of humanity lives in abject poverty. Thus an environmentalist must recoil in horror from the prospect of a qualitative breakthrough in the worldwide standard of living such as would occur after an international proletarian revolution. Both per capita and total energy consumption must be orders of magnitude higher under socialism than they are under capitalism.

Most importantly, calls for zero growth as the solution to energy problems can only intersect the austerity program of a capitalist economy in a period of contraction. Unfortunately some in the left show little appreciation of this. Thus the Swiss section of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) sees in the zero growth movements "a promising dynamic," in that their "mass actions in practice challenge the normal functioning of the system." To experience this "promising dynamic" in practice one need only look to Sweden where the bourgeois Center Party's anti-nuclear "green dream" of rustic austerity helped provide a vehicle for the defeat of the Social Democratic government. The Swedish USec group's response was to accuse the Center Party of being insufficiently categorical in opposing atomic power.

Nuclear power is neither Pandora's box nor a panacea. It suffers the same fate as all other forms of technology under a system where the relations of production and national boundaries act as barriers to the development of the productive forces. There is no solution to the "energy crisis" under capitalism. In the short run, the working class suffers the pollution and shortages resulting from the anarchy of supply and distribution under capitalist production; in the long run it will feel the equally nefarious effects, environmental and economic, of the absence of rational scientific allocation of resources and technology.

The historical pessimism expressed by the zero-growthers does not reflect a law of nature but rather is deeply rooted in bourgeois society. The physical possibilities for energy production are virtually unlimited. The main known power source in the universe is nuclear fusion—the conversion of hydrogen to helium (i.e., the energy emitted by the sun, or as a local and episodical example, explosion of a hydrogen bomb). The obvious task of mankind is to obtain a direct and controlled access to this fundamental energy source.

What is required to realize these potentialities is an international proletarian revolution which will establish a social order where production is designed to satisfy human need. Half a century ago, some 16 years before Enrico Fermi succeeded in achieving the first controlled fission reaction, Leon Trotsky said of nuclear power:

> "The atom contains within itself a mighty hidden energy, and the greatest task of physics consists of pumping out this energy, pulling out the cork so that this hidden energy may burst forth in a fountain. Then the possibility will be opened up of replacing coal and oil by atomic power. This is not at all a hopeless task. And what prospects it opens up before us! This alone gives us the right to declare that scientific and technical thought is approaching a great turning point, that the revolutionary epoch in the development of human society will be accompanied by a revolutionary epoch in the sphere of the cognition of matter and the mastering of it."
>
> "Radio, Science, Technology and Society," March 1926

But unleasing the energy locked in the atom's nucleus has proved an easier task to accomplish than installing the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world. We are left with a tremendous concentration of nuclear destructive capacity in the hands of the rapacious imperialists, making even more pressing the crisis of revolutionary leadership and very real indeed the choice posed by Marx: socialism or barbarism. ■

Asylum for Anti-CIA Journalists!

Britain Moves to Deport Agee, Hosenball

LONDON, February 20—Last Wednesday, British home secretary Merlin Rees announced in parliament that the Labour government intends to go ahead with the threatened deportation of two American journalists—Mark Hosenball, who works for the London daily *Evening Standard*, and Philip Agee, the former CIA agent and author of the

Philip Agee — Terence Spencer

best-selling exposé of U.S. imperialism's secret police agency, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*.

The deportations are manifestly an attempt to curtail freedom of the press and to prevent any investigation of the murderous intrigue of the imperialist spy agency. Only three days after Rees' announcement, the Special Branch used the power of the Official Secrets Act to detain three men who were active in the work of the Agee-Hosenball Defense Committee in connection with inquiries into an alleged leak of secret information.

In upholding the deportation order, Rees repeated the original vague accusations against the two. Agee is accused of maintaining regular contact with foreign intelligence agencies, disseminating information harmful to Britain's security and aiding others to obtain such information for publication. Hosenball is accused of obtaining information for publication harmful to the national security and prejudicial to the safety of the "servants of the Crown." Neither man has been given any further information on the exact charges against them, and Rees refused to divulge anything more on the grounds that "the slightest information would have put at risk and made it easy to identify people from whom we got the information."

Since the original deportation orders were issued in November, both Agee and Hosenball have appeared before the Home Office Advisory Committee, and utterly fraudulent "appeal" body, whose only power is to "advise" the Home Secretary. During the hearings, neither man was informed in detail of the charges against them and thus they were only able to guess at what they were "guilty" of. The tribunal was closed, without even the minimum of judicial safeguards; the accused had no proper legal representation and the tribunal publishes neither its proceedings nor its findings.

Rees claims that "there has never been any representation from the American government or any American agency." Agee maintains however that the home secretary's action represents a "capitulation" of the British government to pressure from the United States, and is part of a general witchhunt of Agee and others who have investigated the sordid activities of the CIA.

The case of Hosenball indicates that it is not just the CIA which persecutes any who might dare to stick their noses into the work of the imperialist spy agencies. Hosenball argues that he is being deported because of an article in *Time Out*, a trendy London weekly guide to entertainment, which described methods of monitoring radio and telephone messages and gave the location in Britain of listening sites. Two paragraphs of the article suggested that the IRA had been using radio signals to detonate bombs and that if the army could capture the signal, they would detonate the bombs themselves. Reportedly, the Home Office Advisory Committee closely questioned Hosenball in connection with these passages. The

Mark Hosenball — Angela Philips

London Times (18 February) claims to have been told in November that the deportation might be connected with Northern Ireland and the naming of British agents.

Significantly, one of the three men detained by the Special Branch on Saturday is a free-lance journalist, Duncan Campbell, who gave evidence to the Home Office tribunal and who claims to be the actual author of the *Time Out* article. According to Campbell, all the information for the article is freely available and in particular the information for the citing of communications centers can be obtained in telephone books!

Another of those arrested on Saturday was an ex-serviceman, John Berry. Berry served with the Signals Corps from 1966 to 1970 where he worked on monitoring diplomatic and military radio traffic and was a special intelligence analyst directly concerned with processing information gained from the interception of radio signals. Since Rees' announcement, both men have announced plans to fight the deportations in the courts.

Over 80 Labour MPs have signed a petition condemning the deportation decision. The Agee-Hosenball Defense Committee has called for a demonstration on March 5, and asked all transport unions to refuse to work any craft taking the men from the country. All class-conscious militants must oppose the deportations of Agee and Hosenball, and demand the immediate release of the three detained supporters of the Agee-Hosenball Defense Committee. Down with the imperialist spy and secret police agencies, from the FBI/CIA/NSA to the Special Branch/MI5/MI6! ■

Silkwood...

(continued from page 7)

ment had closed the case.

Olson was brought in to testify before a closed session of the Committee, but after that the FBI and Justice Department refused to cooperate further. They said they could not testify because they are presently being sued by Silkwood's parents for conspiracy to violate her civil rights. Shortly afterwards Dingell cancelled the hearings. Furthermore, that same month a call-girl suspected of gangland connections coincidentally announced that Dingell was one of her clients, thus creating a scandal which gave the House Democratic Caucus an excuse to strip the Small Business Subcommittee chairmanship away from Dingell.

Whether there is anything behind *Rolling Stone*'s hints of cloak-and-dagger plutonium-smuggling conspiracies will most likely never be known. But her documentation of company negligence and falsification of safety records was damning to powerful interests and as long as the bourgeois courts and commissions are running the investigations of her death, the only results will be successive cover-ups of the cover-ups.

As the hundreds of thousands of industrial accidents and deaths incurred every year by American workers demonstrate, the capitalists are not interested in the safety of their employees, particularly when adequate safety precautions stand in the way of profits. In the nuclear industry such dangers are magnified enormously. The safety of the workers cannot be left in the hands of the capitalists, but must be protected by union safety committees with the power to close down hazardous plants. The complicity of the AEC/NPC with the profit-greedy nuclear industry proves that the disregard for human life and safety which extends from tiny sweatshops to the most technologically advanced industry to callous government welfare programs will continue until a revolutionary workers government sweeps away the capitalist system. ■

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Guardian...

(continued from page 5)

people furthers the American revolution."

Of course, we also pointed to the well-documented betrayals of the Stalinist Ho, such as welcoming the "democratic" imperialists back to Vietnam after the fall of Japan, stabbing the 1945 Saigon workers insurrection in the back and murdering its Trotskyist leaders. But while calling for political revolution to oust the Hanoi bureaucrats who repeatedly sought accommodation with imperialism (and abandoned their southern followers to the tender mercies of Diem in 1955), we never wavered in our defense of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state against the imperialist attack. We were, as readers of the *Guardian* may recall, the *only* political tendency to raise the banner, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

The *Guardian*'s arguments for boycotting "Ipi Tomhi" represent an intersection of New Left moralism with Stalinist censorship. But the *Guardian* editors might consider for a minute how they would be treated by Stalinist bureaucrats in power who follow their prescription for "Ipi Tomhi." If Gurley and his colleagues attempted to distribute the *Guardian*, suitably translated, on the streets of Havana or Peking, it would undoubtedly be suppressed as "counterrevolutionary" or even "fascist" propaganda. In Castro's Cuba, the *Guardian* would be suppressed for the crime of "anti-Sovietism," while in Maoist China it would be banned as apologizing for "Soviet social-imperialism" (e.g., over Angola)!

Nevertheless, as consistent adherents to workers democracy, the Spartacist League can assure the *Guardian* editors that we would defend them should they run afoul of the Stalinist bureaucratic political censorship they proclaim. ■

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Rhodesia...

(continued from page 1)

increasingly adept at sabotage and able to operate widely in the "tribal trust" lands which comprise about half the country. The opening last year of new infiltration points along some four fifths of the country's border has stretched government troops precariously thin. The influx of sophisticated Soviet weapons—recoilless rifles, mortars and anti-tank guns—and the ability to operate freely out of Samora Machel's Mozambique have allowed the guerrillas to intensify their activities in the past year beyond the low-level harassment and occasional ambushes that characterized the "war" up to early 1976. Rocket attacks on major roads, outlying towns and government military positions are frequent and becoming more effective. The discovery of a guerrilla camp near the eastern border with Mozambique sparked a running three-day battle in mid-December.

Ultimately, the fate of white supremacy is sealed by the sheer numerical weight of the black population. Although half the government's armed forces are well-paid black volunteers, it dares not draft Africans and is limited to conscription among the 270,000 whites. Despite heavy losses, the guerrillas' ranks continue to grow with fresh reinforcements from youths who leave the rural mission schools to fight for majority rule.

The Zambian-based forces led by Joshua Nkomo, longtime head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), have in particular been augmented in recent months since the opening of a guerrilla front in Matabeleland, the western Rhodesian province reserved for Nkomo's native tribe. The ZAPU military operations are intended not only to isolate the government but to strengthen Nkomo's hand if his "Patriotic Front" with Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) falls apart. This alliance between old political enemies was cemented by the five "front-line" African states anxious to milk Nkomo's access to Soviet aid while joining ZAPU forces to the large ZANU army based in Mozambique.

Imperialist Lies and Racist Hypocrisy

Nkomo's recent success in bolstering his military strength prompted Salisbury officials to charge that ZAPU is abducting hundreds of teenage youths. The British press, using rhetoric left over from the days of the Malayan and Kenyan colonial "emergencies," worked itself into a frenzy: "Nkomo men launch mass kidnapping drive to build up terrorist army" blared a headline in the London *Times* (21 January). Early this month, however, the shrill charges exploded in Smith's face. He had secured the co-operation of the Red Cross, the Botswana government and the parents to "rescue" 400 students allegedly forced at gunpoint to enter Botswana en route to training camps in Zambia. However, when the bus caravan arrived with great fanfare to pick up the youths, their parents were able to dissuade only about 50 from going north to join the guerrillas.

These youths, newly released from the paternalist control of religious schools, exchange textbooks for guns and are sent into the field with at best a few days' training. Such forces are neither very skilled nor very disciplined. Allowing for a significant margin of self-serving inflation, this accounts in part for the government's superior "kill ratio" and perhaps also for individual atrocities such as the killing of the Catholic missionaries.

But while the world bourgeois press screamed in outrage over the deaths of seven priests and nuns, Smith's stormtroopers in one week butchered 12 "curfew breakers" and 16 other civilians, eight of them women, accused of "running with terrorists" (*New York Times*, 14 February). To cap the rampant hypocrisy, the government dried its tears long enough to sentence Catholic bishop Donal Lamont to ten years in prison because he had instructed a missionary nurse (for her own protection) to not report guerrilla activities.

Hsinhua

Rhodesian guerrillas

The *New York Times* this week provided a rather more ludicrous example of two-faced imperialist "morality." A 17 February editorial applauded the Carter administration's admonition to Congress to repeal the Byrd amendment permitting the import of Rhodesian chrome. The logic was simple: technological innovations have reduced the U.S.' need for Rhodesian high-grade chrome and closure of the Mozambique/Rhodesia border in March has cut off the supply anyway! With absolutely nothing to lose, say these liberal pundits, the U.S. can now join the impotent UN boycott as a "diplomatic" gesture to "at last lay an essential foundation for restoring our credibility" in Africa.

Defending "White Rhodesia"

Smith's propaganda campaign will certainly not win over Rhodesian blacks. Nor is it intended to. Such products as the government booklet, "Harvest of Fear"—accusing the guerrillas of "horrific acts of murder, mutilation and even cannibalism"—are mainly for export. Their aim is to cauterize liberal imperialist sympathies for the Nkomo/Mugabe alliance after Smith's scuttling of the Geneva talks. He is now pursuing an "internal settlement" with the reactionary tribal chiefs recently organized in the Zimbabwe United People's Organization and angling for a deal with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the nationalist leader who was outmanouvered by his rivals at Geneva.

The so-called "Marxist" guerrillas, while they are by no means socialist, nevertheless cannot construct a black bourgeois regime without attacking the economic as well as political bases of white-supremacist rule. The talk of a "Kenyan" solution is only a pipedream, for the white minority will not countenance a black-dominated regime out of fear for their plantations, businesses, bureaucratic posts and economic privileges. The white Rhodesian population is simultaneously too large and economically entrenched to be relegated to political impotence (as in Kenya) and too small to impose a puppet black regime.

"White Rhodesia" could only be saved through a major South African military/economic bail-out and the connivance of the major imperialist powers to whom Salisbury addresses its propaganda. By flaunting the banner of defense of civilization against "godless communism" and "savagery," Smith and his supporters hope to save their doomed "way of life." The endless stream of guerrilla atrocity stories is accompanied by the government's whitewash of its own wanton butchery. On top of this is the ludicrous spectacle of Rhodesian foreign minister Pieter van der Byl attempting to portray the Geneva conference as a latter-day Munich and its British chairman, Ivor Richard, as a spineless Neville Chamberlain:

> "There comes that moment that came to England in 1940 where the total bowing of the neck to the conquerors' heel is too intolerable to contemplate and you fight to the last man and the last cartridge."
>
> —*New York Times*, 13 January

But the time is past when the image of "plucky little Rhodesia" will go over in Washington or London. Bourgeois *realpolitik* tells the imperialists to write off the colonial settler state as an anachronism and strike a deal with bourgeois nationalist elements. The capitalist powers, moreover, are well aware that Rhodesian whites have qualitatively less capacity than the South African to wage a genocidal last stand. They are a far smaller minority in both absolute and relative terms, nowhere as close as South Africa to economic and military self-sufficiency, and are not historically entrenched on the continent like South African whites. A majority of Rhodesia's whites are post-World War II immigrants—mostly British—and many still hold U.K. passports. A significant number of the rest are Afrikaners with ties to South Africa. In the near future Rhodesia will either have a black government or become a launching pad for a major international confrontation à la Angola.

The international workers movement must actively combat any attempt to aid the racist killers in Salisbury—whether it take the form of mercenary recruitment, covert military or economic assistance, a "humanitarian" military intervention like the UN Congo operation, or the daily lies and half-truths of the bourgeois press. The destruction of Smith's racialist rule is in the interest of the world proletariat, and the workers movement must support military victory for the nationalist guerrillas against the oppressor white settler regime.

But confining the struggle within the narrow framework of bourgeois nationalism will not liberate the black masses from poverty and wage slavery. On the morrow of victory, the Nkomos and Mugabes will prove as implacable class enemies of the workers and peasants as the white settlers. Only through the establishment of a Zimbabwe black workers and peasants government in the framework of a socialist federation of southern Africa, will industry and agriculture be put in the service of the oppressed. This requires construction of a Trotskyist party and concrete links with the massive and combative black proletariat of South Africa. ■

Down with the Shah—Defend the Iranian 18!

On February 15 six supporters of the Iranian Student Association (ISA) and the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) chained themselves inside the crown of the Statue of Liberty and dropped a banner from the windows proclaiming "Free the 18" and "Down with the Shah." The action was to publicize the case of 18 oppositionists rounded up during savage attacks last November 16 and December 21 against leftists (branded "Marxist guerrillas") in Teheran.

Hosefros/New York Times

An ISA spokesman says several of the oppositionists have already been executed and the rest are being held prisoner in the Shah's torture chambers awaiting trial as "terrorists." In addition to the prisoners, ten others were murdered in the bloody gun battles which led to their capture. Among those executed are members of the Confederation of Iranian Students in Foreign Countries and the Organization of People's Combatants.

The occupation was also a protest against the use of the CIA-trained Iranian secret police—SAVAK—to monitor the activities of Iranian students in the U.S. While there is a furor in the press over the so-called "Koreagate" (the success of South Korean CIA agents in bribing U.S. Congressmen), almost nothing is reported about the long-standing operations by the SAVAK who shadow Iranian students and arrange deportations of known leftists back to Iran where they are imprisoned and often subjected to prolonged and hideous torture. According to a November 1976 statement by Amnesty International, there are presently 25,000 to 100,000 political prisoners in Iran.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee call for the immediate release of all class-war prisoners held by the Shah's police state. Free the 18!

London Spartacist Group Forum

Leninism: The National Question and Ireland

Speaker: DAVID STRACHAN

Friday, March 11, 1977 7:00 p.m.

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square WC1

LONDON

Pitched Battle over Nuclear Power Plant in Germany...

(continued from page 1)

and order," these official thugs proceeded to club and mace sit-downers after the main body of demonstrators had departed. Those who attempted to flee were brutally attacked and then booked for "resisting arrest." An open-air religious vigil against the atomic power plant, held several kilometers from the construction site, was first buzzed by police helicopters, then subjected to an airborne tear-gas assault. Among those subjected to these strong-arm tactics were a number of local and state bourgeois politicians who had joined the protest.

The Citizens Initiative is by no means a radical group, but rather an umbrella organization set up by local residents (primarily milk farmers and nouveaux riches with country homes) and liberal professionals concerned about the danger of contamination by atomic radiation. With the increasing shift to nuclear energy in West Germany (already a dozen reactors are functioning), such groups have been spreading rapidly. At the town of Wyhl on the upper Rhine repeated demonstrations and confrontations with the police succeeded in halting construction of a planned atom power plant.

Determined that Brokdorf would not turn into another Wyhl, the Christian Democratic state government of Schleswig-Holstein has fortified the plant site so that it now looks like a World War II POW camp. In addition to the arsenal of armored cars, helicopters and water cannons, the property is surrounded by a 3-meter-high wall topped by a 2.5-meter-high wire-mesh fence. In front of the wall is a five-meter-wide moat and an initial barrier of rolled barbed wire. To add to the surrealist atmosphere, below the sign announcing that the site is private property is a second notice beginning, "our Brokdorf power plant...."

To justify the wanton police assault, broadcast in "living color" on West German television, Schleswig-Holstein's state prime minister Gerhard Stoltenberg claimed, "It was easy to see early on that increasingly radical, in part communist, forces directed from the outside had gained influence..." (*Der Spiegel*, 15 November). The state prosecutor's office at Itzehoe last week exonerated Stoltenberg from any criminal charges in the October 30 and November 11 shock-troop attacks on the peaceful demonstrators, but public opinion polls report that a large percentage of the population was horrified by the police assault.

Power and Profit

According to the pro-SPD *Der Spiegel* (14 February), the same polls show 47 percent of the West German public opposed to further construction of atomic power generating plants. This sentiment has doubtless been fed by the publication of alarmist reports, in the 13 January *Stern*, citing supposedly official secret documents that talk of 30 million dead—i.e., *half the entire West German population*—in the event of a major nuclear plant catastrophe. But leaked reports of disaster contingency plans that call for the evacuation of a few prominent citizens and the sealing off of everyone else (if necessary by panzer divisions!) have certainly contributed to anti-nuclear sentiment.

Why is the West German bourgeoisie pushing atomic power so strongly? Of course, there are large profits for industrial giants such as Siemens who make millions of marks from state-subsidized research and can easily recoup massive "cost overruns" because of unanticipated technical problems. But low-cost German coal is readily available in vast quantities. The real interest is far more political: the German big bourgeoisie has never been reconciled to being simply a vassal of U.S. imperialism.

West Germany's expanding economic muscle has dominated the Common Market, so that Giscard must keep good relations with Schmidt and crisis-ridden Italy must submit to political conditions (no Communists in the government) in order to receive multi-billion-mark loans to bolster its precarious balance of payments position. Bonn has turned to atomic power to reduce German dependence on Near East oil, whose distribution is controlled by the U.S.-dominated "seven sisters" oil cartel. It also seeks to export nuclear power plants to backward countries in return for economic privileges.

While France and Germany have (for now) retreated under pressure from Washington in their aggressive export of atomic reactors, West Germany is now the only other capitalist country besides the U.S. which can deliver complete nuclear power plants. Moreover, its production is not profitable unless it assembles six plants per year, and domestic demand does not exceed three. The 5 February *Welt*, mouthpiece of reactionary press magnate Axel Springer and spokesman for the most revanchist sectors of the West German bourgeoisie, blustered:

> "Without a Franco-German entente there can be no united Europe. It is therefore incomprehensible why the new American administration apparently intends to use one of the most extensive sectors of competition among industrialized nations, the export of peaceful nuclear energy, as a lever to break up this understanding.... The French and the Germans now have a spectacular opportunity to demonstrate their unity and to defend common positions against American pressure...."

The imperialist competition is coming to the fore in current negotiations in Washington in which the State Department is trying to get Bonn to abrogate a 16-billion-mark deal for construction of four nuclear power plants and uranium enrichment/reprocessing facilities for plutonium production in Brazil. The Americans are threatening no more uranium shipments to West Germany, but part of the Brazilian deal is for West German participation in the exploitation of uranium ore deposits. A 1976 West German/Indonesian "technology exchange" agreement likewise called for German sharing in uranium production in West Sumatra. To the pressures of the Carter administration, West German under-secretary of foreign affairs replied categorically: "We're not contract breakers. We'll keep to our agreements."

New Left/Liberal Alliance

The widespread opposition to construction of new atom-powered electricity plants in West Germany has disconcerted the ruling coalition in Bonn, but it quickly inserted the anti-nuclear protests into the on-going witchhunt against "extremists." This includes the lengthy show trial of the anarchist Red Army Faction (referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"), and the infamous *Berufsverbot* (prohibition of public employment to "radicals"). Now the SPD and Christian Democratic leaders are presenting the protests against atomic power as "communist manipulated."

At the same time, social-democratic union tops have been able to mobilize hundreds of workers (mostly from the affected power industry) in counter-demonstrations against the environmentalist protests. Faced with the demand, "No atom power plant at Brockdorf or anywhere else," the workers are quite justified in fearing that jobs are threatened by eco-freaks willing to plunge the country into an energy crisis which would result in widespread plant shutdowns. SPD leaders can also point to the example of Sweden, where petty-bourgeois environmentalists mounted a campaign against nuclear power that played into the hands of the bourgeois opposition parties and brought down the Social Democratic government last autumn.

The international Spartacist tendency and its German section, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, are sharply opposed to "back-to-nature," anti-industrial ecology fads, which constitute an attack on the material foundations for proletarian revolution. While protesting the vicious police brutality at Brokdorf, we do not support the demonstrations against atomic power.

Virtually the entire West German left has instead enthusiastically jumped on the anti-nuclear bandwagon. The Maoist KBW, KPD and KPD-ML as well as the semi-Maoist KB played a prominent role in organizing the attempted occupation of the Brokdorf construction site, hoping to revive the spirit of the New Left student movement of the late 1960's. Tactically they have oscillated between adventurist folly (the KBW reportedly wished to storm the police barricades on Saturday) and purely symbolic confrontationism. The pro-Moscow DKP, on the other hand, has preferred the company of the respectable liberals of the Citizens Initiative.

But of all the "far-left" groups, the one which has most brazenly sought to tail after the petty-bourgeois environmentalist movement while burying its own pretenses to communism is the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM, German section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat). The GIM goes so far as to criticize the KBW for introducing any socialist politics at all, alleging that this "would simply exclude the many persons who do not yet oppose capitalism even though they oppose atomic power plants" (*Was Tun*, 9 December 1976).

Instead, the GIM proposes to build a "single-issue" campaign which, once it has won "tens of thousands" of adherents, will automatically unfold an "anti-capitalist dynamic"! Just as the "single-issue" "antiwar movement" led by the American SWP ended up building political support for the defeatist wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie, the GIM's hoped-for "mass movement" would at best merely build support for bourgeois environmentalists. More likely, in the more left-wing German political milieu, it will probably be self-defeating, leaving the field to the Maoists. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Spain: Powderkeg of Revolution

Speaker: SAM LEWIS
Workers Vanguard Staff Writer
Spartacus Youth League National Committee

Date: Saturday, 26 February

Time: 8:00 P.M.

Place: McBurney YMCA
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Spartacist League
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Wayne State University
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Wayne State

Sit-down strikers at Fisher plant in Flint mark last day of strike, February 11, 1937, on strike calendar.

WV Photo

Audience at Flint Memorial February 13.

40 Years after Flint Strike: GM-UAW Tops Fete Labor Peace

From Sit-Down Strike to Sit-Down Dinner

DETROIT—Forty years ago last week, the victorious sit-down strikers of Flint, Michigan, marched out of the General Motors plants they had occupied for as long as 44 days. That strike, one of the high points of the American class struggle, was decisive in the founding of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and a crucial event in the building of the CIO. However, the official celebrations of the strike held recently in Detroit and Flint were not intended to revive the "spirit of '37" but rather to bury it.

In a disgusting display of class collaboration, UAW bureaucrats co-hosted a "Contract Anniversary Dinner" February 11 at the plush St. Regis hotel in Detroit together with GM executives. Virtually indistinguishable from each other, corporation men and union leaders sipped cocktails, nibbled on shrimp and traded compliments on a first-name basis.

GM chairman Thomas Murphy took the opportunity to assert that "the days of class warfare in labor relations are over—as most of us sincerely hope, at any rate." General Motors vice president and chief negotiator George Morris, Jr. reflected that "the worst critics over the years have been those persons who not only would like to see constant conflict between management and unions but who also have advocated the overthrow of our governmental system. I, for one, am willing to stand up and say 'who needs them?'" Morris, of course, was not referring to UAW president Leonard Woodcock or Irving Bluestone, the UAW's General Motors department head, whom he singled out as responsible union leaders.

The UAW leaders, who fully accept their role of disciplining the workforce and helping the companies rid themselves of militants, lauded the deceptive sweet-talk of corporation spokesmen. Commenting on the appropriateness of the dinner, Woodcock observed, "The dire consequences they [GM executives] predicted at the time [1937] have not come true. I think this sort of thing could only happen in America, very frankly." To critics of the joint company-union banquet he answered simply that the UAW and GM split the expenses. According to Woodcock it is all right to wine and dine the bosses as long as union dues pay only half the bill.

The union's own memorial in Flint on February 13 was a lackluster affair—mainly an attempt on the part of today's UAW bureaucrats to annoint themselves as the legitimate heirs of 1937's heroic struggle. Two films and a play written for the occasion purported to place the sit-downs in the same tradition as Reuther's World War II no-strike pledge and his enrolling the union in massive construction of warplanes and tanks for the imperialists. The miserable 1976 contract was presented as a glorious fruit of the three-page document, won through bitter struggle in 1937, which granted the UAW a tenuous recognition.

While several hundred sit-downers and retirees attended the union's Sunday memorial, the virtual absence of younger auto workers was striking evidence of the vast gulf that separates today's union leadership from the rank and file. Many of the workers in the plants have never even heard of Flint 1937. For them, the banquet at St. Regis, with its homage to class collaboration, was par for the course.

The Reuthers and Woodcocks have done inestimable damage to the American labor movement. It will not be easy to revive the traditions of 1937, let alone to lead the working masses to genuine revolutionary consciousness. But the blows of the capitalists—the grinding speed-up, work intensification, the layoffs—will not go unanswered. It is not the tradition of class struggle, but the Reuthers, Woodcocks and Frasers who are outmoded and will be relegated to the graveyard of dinosaurs, together with their masters from the bourgeoisie. ■

Unionize J.P. Stevens!

The struggle to unionize the J.P. Stevens Company has an importance reaching far beyond even the desperate needs of the 44,000 workers employed by the company. A victory here will be a victory for the entire labor movement in the battle against runaway shops and a major step forward in organizing the masses of unorganized workers in the South.

In the past 25 years, this company, the second-largest textile manufacturer in the U.S., has closed down every one of its unionized Northern woolen mills to relocate in Georgia, North and South Carolina. There, workers earn wages 31 percent lower than the national average, noise conditions in the plants are intolerable, and thousands of workers suffer from byssinosis or "brown lung disease" because the dust levels in the plants are over three times that allowed by federal standards. Moreover, in the 13-year struggle, first by the United Textile Workers and now the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the company has had a notorious record of union busting—from firing union supporters to wiretapping phones of union organizers.

This is why the decision of the AFL-CIO to back up the ACTWU drive with a national campaign is so important. But tactics such as the planned consumer boycott or organizing hundreds of people to go into the stockholders meetings to publicize the struggle, can at best be only secondary. A large part of the company's textiles do not go directly to the consumer, but are transported by *union* labor to other manufacturers. While consumer boycotts sometimes take months to be even slightly effective, were the power of organized labor put behind the struggle through instituting the secondary boycott and refusing to handle the goods, the company would immediately be brought to its knees!

Victory to the organizing campaign! Hot-cargo all J.P. Stevens goods!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 147 4 March 1977

Hands Off Uganda!

Idi Amin

Katherine Young/Sven Simon

FEBRUARY 28—On Saturday, the *New York Times* carried a front-page dispatch from Washington which in its ominous understatement was more of an official U.S. government threat than a news item. The first two paragraphs read:

> "President Carter, suddenly involved in his first international crisis, expressed concern today about the fate of the 200 or more Americans in Uganda who were ordered to meet with President Idi Amin on Monday. Mr Carter also set in motion the machinery to deal with any deterioration in the situation.
>
> "Word was sent through diplomatic channels to Field Marshal Amin that the United States would not tolerate any attempt to use the Americans as hostages."
>
> —*New York Times*, 26 February 1977

Immediately, we remember Santo Domingo 1965, when Lyndon Johnson dispatched the Marines to put down a popular revolt led by "constitutionalist" army officers. His reason, said LBJ, was that "American lives are in danger." Or, closer to Uganda, the 1964 imperialist operation that took Stanleyville in the Congo (now Zaïre), the last stronghold of left-wing followers of slain Congolese nationalist premier Patrice Lumumba. Belgian paratroopers jumped from American planes while CIA-trained Cuban gusano mercenaries headed up a column of government troops in this "humanitarian mission." The pretext: rescuing some 500 European and American hostages.

Now, we again have the loaded issue of white missionaries allegedly being used as hostages by a hostile black African regime. And once again all eyes turn to the Marines. Idi Amin says there are 5,000 on board an aircraft carrier in the Indian Ocean. Nonsense, says the State Department, there are only 200 and the USS *Enterprise* was only paying a "good will visit" to the Kenyan port of Mombassa.

But behind the formal diplomatic denial was a fist. While stating that "there were no plans for any landings in Uganda" (for now), the *Times* article added: "A working group was set up at the State Department to monitor developments and the Pentagon considered possible orders to the Enterprise...." The White House press secretary told reporters that the U.S president would "take whatever steps he thinks are necessary and proper to protect American lives."

The working class must not be hoodwinked by Carter's pious talk of saving American lives. The real victims of Amin's murderous rule are the toiling peasants and workers, the schoolteachers and students whose life has been turned into a living hell of daily assassinations, economic ruin and tribalist blood feuds. The massive tribal killings reported by refugees in the last week led one of them to remark in Nairobi that the Ugandan people would welcome "anyone" who deposed Amin.

Communists must denounce the bloody massacre instigated by Uganda's mad dictator and struggle against his brutal rule. But we do not call on the American Seventh Fleet to topple Amin and install "democracy" in Uganda. The gendarmes of U.S. imperialism have already wreaked death and destruction on a vast scale which blood-crazed Idi Amin cannot even begin to emulate, bombing and napalming to death more than one million Indochinese during the Vietnam war. The establishment of a puppet regime or a client state of U.S. imperialism would be a step backwards for the Ugandan masses.

Proletarian internationalists unconditionally defend the national independence of the ex-colonial countries, chimerical as that may be in economic reality, against imperialist forays to subordinate them to direct control by the metropolitan powers.

Coup Attempt?

The current "Uganda crisis" began with Amin's accusation on February 14 that Anglican archbishop Janani Luwum had masterminded a coup attempt with backing from Israel and Tanzanian president Nyerere. Two days later Luwum and internal affairs minister Oboth Ofumbi and water resources minister Erinayo Oryema were hauled before a soldiers rally in Kampala (the country's largest town). Thousands of troops screamed, "Kill them! Kill them!" after Amin accused the three of conspiring to overthrow him. The next day Uganda radio announced that the "conspirators" were killed in an auto accident while being transported to an officers mess for interrogation.

Subsequent eyewitness accounts supplied by refugees arriving in Nairobi make it clear that Luwum and the two ministers were killed by Ugandan secret police, if not by Amin himself (as the Tanzanian government newspaper asserted). The London *Observer* (20 February) reported that Luwum "was shot dead by members of Uganda's State Research Department on Wednesday night soon after his arrest then his body was doused in petrol and burned ..." The "State Research Department" is a special police force personally controlled by Amin, whose agents bear a remarkable resemblance—both in appearance and their sinister methods of work—with the dreaded Tontons Macoutes of Duvalier's Haiti.

Why were they killed? The *Observer* had reported on 13 February, before the

continued on page 9

UPI

Ugandan soldiers stand over bodies claimed to be guerrillas slain near the Tanzanian border in 1972.

Camerapix Keystone

1973 execution in Uganda.

Nazis, Cops, Muggers

Fear and Violence in NYC

Violent crime and constant fear of assault are no strangers to residents of the decaying American metropolis. But in recent months, astronomical levels of youth unemployment and deepening poverty in the ghettos have sent crime rates soaring, particularly in New York City.

A sharp increase of brutal attacks in the mass transit system has produced a barrage of "Death Rides the Subways" headlines and an outpouring of rage and frustration from the city's victimized citizens. So far this year there have been four reported rapes on NYC subways. One particularly gruesome atrocity involved a Brooklyn College professor who was raped, sodomized and robbed for 21 minutes while an almost empty train made ten stops before her attackers finally fled.

But Sanford Garelik, chief of the transit police, claims that the public outcry is unjustified. After all, he points out, in both 1975 and 1976 there were five reported rapes on the trains, and this year there have been only four... in six weeks! Following publication of these figures, the transit police were ordered to redeploy half of the 200-man "fare-evasion unit" to train and station patrols. Garelik protested that guarding against fare-beaters was the cornerstone of his "anticrime" program that he claims produced 163,000 "apprehensions" and $16 million in "otherwise-lost revenue."

There has been a significant deterioration in the "quality of life" underground, as those forced to wait in the filthy stations for graffiti-smeared trains cannot help but notice. A huge increase in the number of mentally deranged, drug addicts, winos and bag ladies—clad in layers of rotting clothes with all their worldly possessions crammed in tattered shopping bags—has been evident in the subways as the bitterly cold winter has driven them underground from their usual refuges on park benches and sidewalk hot-air gratings.

As for robberies and muggings, those passengers on the "A" train who were held up on February 4 by three gunmen who went through a car during the express run from 59th to 125th Streets shovelling wallets and jewelry into a grocery bag, will not be reassured by Garelik's feeble defense that "the subways are safer than the streets." The truth is, crime rates are soaring *everywhere* in the city. Last year in New York there were more than 600,000 felonies reported, an increase of 15 percent over 1975. Almost every night the TV news interviews the latest bruised and battered victim of an assault.

In the midst of the furor over mounting subway crime, a horrible killing spree by a crazed Nazi creep further shocked the area's population. On February 14, Fred Cowan, a sexually defective, swastika-tattooed, muscle-bound walking time-bomb of social pathology slaughtered four workers at the Neptune Worldwide Moving Company in New Rochelle. Cowan, who had been suspended the week before, returned to the warehouse with an arsenal of weapons and proceeded to murder three black workers and one dark-skinned Indian while searching for his Jewish supervisor. He also killed one policeman before putting a bullet through his own head to end the hours-long shootout.

Muscle Training Illustrated

Frederick Cowan

Manning/New York Times

Arms, swastika and picture of Hitler found in Cowan's house.

Liberal Hypocrisy and Cop Terror

Public outrage over this escalation of random, almost casual, violence is being channeled by the bourgeois media into a campaign for more cops, stiffer prison sentences, the death penalty and the like. The fact that in America the urban lumpen population is overwhelmingly black creates an explosive intersection of anger against street crime with the poisonous racism which permeates society.

Thus in the case of the perverted kill-crazy Nazi, daily papers prominently displayed photos of the slain New Rochelle cop's funeral, while the deaths of the black workers got little or no attention. The liberal *New York Times*, which had initially refrained from mentioning the race of the slaughtered workers—although blacks were Cowan's obvious targets—brooded piously over where this Hitler-worshipper could possibly have gotten the extensive collection of guns discovered in his bedroom amidst Nazi regalia and war souvenirs.

American society is deeply irrational and violent. People who live in the real world—unlike *Times* publisher "Punch" Sulzberger—know perfectly well that criminals and homicidal nuts like Cowan have *always* had easy access to guns. In fact, outside New York City, some 40 percent of American households have some kind of firearms for protection. Despite the New York state Sullivan Law, legally restricting handgun ownership to those approved by the police department (which has only 550 pistol permits in effect for "civilians"), and a strict NYC ordinance that places endless obstacles in the path of an ordinary citizen seeking to register *any* kind of firearm, there are hundreds of thousands of guns available, as the numerous crime victims can attest.

Brooklyn cops arrest black demonstrators in front of Board of Education office.

The bourgeoisie's response to crime is to strengthen its own repressive apparatus, while disarming the citizenry. Sulzberger and his cronies—who are driven about in chauffered limousines and never have to descend to the subways—can advocate strict gun control knowing that they are protected by a host of private guards and cops while the masses are kept defenseless. And the main purpose of the capitalist state apparatus—the cops, courts and prisons—is not to protect the population but to maintain the oppressive status quo which breeds violent crime.

There are plenty of weapons in the hands of criminals...and the cops, who are one of the main sources of corruption, thievery and wanton violence in the cities. The policeman's badge and gun are his license to terrorize the ghettos—harassing, shaking down and murdering blacks. This was confirmed again last week when police officer William Walker was acquitted by an all-white Brooklyn jury of murdering a 22-year-old black student, beside whose dead body Walker had placed his own toy pistol to bolster his claim of "self-defense."

This is no isolated occurrence. In 1974 another all-white jury acquitted another NYC cop, Thomas Shea, of the murder of a ten-year-old black child; his guilt was so obvious that a departmental review subsequently removed Shea from the force. Now a third white cop is up on charges of slaying a 15-year-old black youth outside his Brooklyn home last Thanksgiving.

The New York Police Department's contribution to the bloodletting in the streets and subways does not end with gunning down innocent black youth. A high proportion of violent crimes are by drug addicts needing money for a "fix." Yet everyone knows the cops are up to their necks in New York's flourishing drug traffic, not only taking payoffs to look the other way, but even acting as pushers themselves.

"Law and order" campaigns do not stop crime—they are but thinly disguised attempts to maintain the racist status quo by giving free rein to the terrorists in blue.

Increase Welfare! Abolish Gun Control!

Although the social struggles of the 1960's have subsided and a sullen torpor seems to hang over American society, it must not be forgotten that the "law and order" campaigns were a direct ruling-class response to those struggles. Gun-control laws prohibiting carrying rifles or shotguns in public were passed by the New York city council specifically to prevent Malcolm X, whose life was obviously in danger, from carrying a .30-caliber carbine in his car. When Malcolm was assassinated at the Audubon Ballroom a few days after being refused police protection, one of his bodyguards, who had managed to wound one of the assassins, was jailed for violating the state's handgun laws!

The cops do not "protect" the citizenry—they terrorize the population! No guns for professional racist killers—Disarm the Cops!

Communists are not bleeding-heart liberals who preach "Christian concern" for the brutalized lumpen criminals marauding through the streets and subways, killing, maiming, raping and robbing hapless citizens. When the burnt-out rubble of the South Bronx begins to resemble Dresden after World War II, it is to be expected that the vast ghettos will produce depraved human beings, as the "Empire City" slides into

continued on page 8

London Spartacist Group Forum

Leninism: The National Question and Ireland

Speaker: DAVID STRACHAN

Friday, March 11, 1977 7:00 p.m.

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square WC1

LONDON

Militants Oppose Dues Hike at ILWU Warehouse Convention

SAN FRANCISCO, February 26—The 32nd annual constitutional and contract convention of warehouse Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) held today was dominated by preparation for the coming retirement of founding International president Harry Bridges and secretary-treasurer Louis Goldblatt. Besides reshuffling the top posts to ensure a smooth transition, the incumbent bureaucracy is pressing hard to ram through a dues increase scheme to assure a steady income from a declining membership battered by unemployment and defeated strikes.

In his opening report to the 359 delegates, Local president Curtis McClain noted that "certain things" had taken place which made him decide it would not be "wise" for San Francisco mayor Moscone to speak at this convention. Now seeking election to Goldblatt's post, McClain did not want to remind the membership of how he openly welcomed the mayor to last year's convention, only weeks before Moscone unleashed his cops against the S.F. city workers' strike. McClain noted, however, that he intends to continue to "work with the best of the Republicans and the best of the Democrats."

As for last June's disastrous master contract strike, which ended with 50 union militants convicted and fined on various charges, McClain simply stonewalled it: the three-year contract, he asserted, "provided some of the best benefits"; the strike committee was "damned tough," and so forth. Striking a humble pose, McClain admitted, "we made some mistakes." But he then asserted that "We did not *lose* this strike," and attributed the string of defeats at Nestlé's, Automatic Plastic Molding and Handyman (where a picketer was killed) to special circumstances.

Summing up, McClain emphasized the depleted treasury and announced a proposed slate of new International officers: Jimmy Herman (longtime head of Local 34) for International president; himself for International secretary-treasurer; Rudy Rubio (former president of Local 13) and George Martin (whose bureaucratic base is Hawaii) for International vice presidents. Such a crew hardly amounts to even a changing of the guard.

Militant Caucus Minority Report

In the discussion on the president's report only the Militant Caucus, represented by four delegates, openly stated that the sellout Bridges-McClain bureaucracy had to be replaced by a class-struggle leadership in order to save the union. Presenting a minority report as a member of the general executive board, Caucus spokesman Bob Mandel pointed out that the union's defeats were not due to "errors" but to conscious pro-capitalist policies. For example, the International and its flunkies squashed every proposal put forward by the Militant Caucus to come to the defense of the S.F. city workers' strike.

Mandel pointed out the stark realities: 15 percent unemployed in the Local; longshoremen working three-day weeks or less; Hawaiian sugar workers facing total unemployment; scores of union members convicted for strike activities, for the first time in 30 years, and scabs escorted through ILWU picket lines by the cops. These disasters are directly tied to the leadership's treachery: its support to capitalist politicians Carter and Moscone, its failure to mobilize the union for the picket lines, its opposition to Militant Caucus motions to "hot-cargo" Handyman products. There was even a goon-squad assault on Mandel under the noses of the Local officials at a stewards' meeting during the master contract strike.

All this indicates the need to throw out the class-collaborationist Bridges regime, Mandel asserted. A leadership based on class-struggle policies would fight for a union-wide strike for a shorter work-shift at no loss in pay, against all union raiding schemes, for union defense squads to prevent deportation raids, for militant strike tactics such as defiance of injunctions and hot cargoing scab goods and for a workers party to fight for a workers government. These policies were put before the convention in a series of Militant Caucus resolutions.

In contrast, all the other self-proclaimed union "militants" rushed to prove their loyalty to the bureaucracy. Communist Party (CP) supporter Franklin Alexander congratulated McClain on his candidacy, asserting that the Local 6 president is "head and shoulders above most labor leaders." Vern Bown, well-known supporter of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), echoed CP-style apologies by asserting that things are bad "not because the officers are bad, but because we face the capitalist system." Reflecting their general demoralization and disorientation, RCP supporters played a token role at the convention.

After the membership accepted the president's report, retired union leader Paul Heidi moved to immediately vote on the minority report. Despite protests over this undemocratic procedure designed to prevent the delegates from discussing the Militant Caucus resolutions, the minority report was summarily voted down.

Dues Increase Fraud

The hot issue of the convention was the question of a dues increase. (In 1975 the convention almost unanimously—except for Militant Caucus delegates—approved a dues hike only to see it turned down by the membership.) Local secretary-treasurer Keith Eickman, taking up where McClain left off, painted a gloomy picture of the union's finances. For the most part, this financial disaster is a product of the union's defeats, e.g., large fines for court convictions, loss of membership due to runaway shops and unemployment, etc. The bureaucratic answer to the financial crunch is not militant union action but a dues increase.

To avoid having to keep going to the membership for dues increases, McClain and Eickman were pushing a scheme to replace the current dues of $11 per month for employed members with a structure calculated on two straight-time hours of pay per month. Suddenly shedding a tear for the lower-paid ILWU members, Eickman argued that members who make $3.00 per hour are unfairly burdened by the flat fee system. Militant Caucus delegate Pete Woolston pointed out that such a scheme would violate the constitution by eliminating the membership's right to review dues increases, since they would now be tied automatically to pay increases, and opposed any increase as an endorsement of the leadership's policies.

At this point the bureaucrats panicked, fearing that widespread membership opposition to the dues hike might percolate to the surface. Bureaucratic hatchetman Karl Leipnik, an appointed International organizer, argued that only "defeatists" could oppose a dues increase. Well-known CP supporter Joe Lindsay, chief steward at Golden Grain who arranged for management to cross the picket lines last June, announced his support for the leadership proposal, and debate was quickly closed by another CP supporter.

In order to ram through the increase, McClain bureaucratically ruled that the proposed budget for the coming year could not be separated from the dues hike and lied to the membership by claiming that the increase was for one year only. The chair was challenged and a voice vote was taken followed by a standing vote. Despite the unclear results, Eickman quickly ruled that the chair was upheld. At this point a bureaucratic goon squad made a foray aimed at intimidating further opposition.

The vote on the dues increase quickly followed, but despite McClain's ruling that "the ayes have it," delegates demanded a standing vote. The budget and dues increase then passed by a large margin. But the fact that even at the convention, which is generally heavily weighted toward the bureaucracy, fully a third of the delegates opposed the leadership proposal indicates that when this undemocratic measure goes to the membership it is likely to face stiff opposition.

A Militant Caucus resolution calling for Spanish translations of important union documents—including the contract and the local newspaper—was tabled to the general executive board (on a motion by CP supporter Lindsay), even though one third of the membership is Spanish-speaking. Once again a quarter of the delegates voted against tabling, well aware that this meant

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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WL Exclusionism Wrecks Own Meeting

TORONTO—The tiny local branch of the Workers League (WL), reinforced by a goon squad of its cronies from Detroit, forcibly prevented members of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) from attending a so-called "public" WL meeting February 19 at the University of Toronto. Although a showing of the film "Trotsky: His Life and Work" was the drawing card for the meeting, its real purpose was revealed once the WL had corralled about 40 people inside. It was simply a forum to continue the vicious slander campaign of the Healyite International Committee (IC) against United Secretariat (USec) leaders George Novack and Joseph Hansen.

As usual, the Workers League was concerned above all with spreading its lies without having to face exposure by supporters of the international Spartacist tendency. At the entrance to the meeting a WL goon announced, "Everyone is welcome who is not a member of the Trotskyist League."

To protest this Stalinist exclusion, the TL and its supporters initiated a militant picket line, 40-strong, in front of the meeting site. They chanted: "Let the communists in," "Down with Stalinist exclusionism—For workers democracy," "On Sadlowski, Miller and Ho Chi Minh—IC and USec are brothers under the skin," and "Down with the Healyite slander campaign—Reforge the Fourth International."

Inside the meeting a supporter of the TL demanded to know why the Trotskyist League was excluded and protested this cowardly act as a blatant violation of workers democracy. WL goons immediately rushed him, pushing him out the door. Two others who protested the exclusion were also thrown out. WL honcho Fred Mazelis took the floor, ranting that anyone who disagreed with the exclusion should "go out and join the protest outside," at which point six more people left.

Mazelis cynically offered to let the TL have one speaker. But later when a TL delegation came to accept this offer, four goons at the door mumbled, "You're too late." The remaining audience was treated to over an hour of the WL's crisis-mongering and GPU agent-baiting of Hansen and Novack before the movie. When one person asked when the film would start, Mazelis replied: "If you don't like it you can leave." At that point ten more people walked out.

The Workers League's penchant for slandering and hysterical crisis-mongering is as notorious as its long-time Stalinist exclusion of opponent tendencies from "public" WL forums. Its recent hypocritical appeal against violence in the socialist movement (see "Look Who's Calling Us Comrade," *WV* No. 143, 4 February) is belied by its continuing practice of exclusionism.

The Workers League fortunately has no impact on the working class. Its capitulation to the right-wing social-democratic New Democratic Party and its chauvinist refusal to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination are but Canadian adaptations of its appeals to arch-reactionary labor traitors such as Meany and Abel to form a labor party in the U.S. However marginal this group is, its recourse to lies and slander instead of political debate is a poison that must be vigorously combatted, while its exclusion of and thug attacks against opponents on the left are Stalinist provocations that cannot be tolerated in the workers movement. ■

California ACLU Split on Legal Aid for Klan

No Defense of Camp Pendleton Fascists!

LOS ANGELES For the last two and a half months bitter dissension has wracked the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) over the decision of its San Diego chapter to defend ten Marine Ku Klux Klansmen who had been terrorizing black enlisted men at the Marine Corps' Camp Pendleton training base. The suit, which was filed in federal court February 9, seeks $775,000 in damages for the Klansmen, claiming violation of their Constitutional rights as a result of being transferred to other bases.

While the San Diego chapter is undertaking to defend the murderous Klan, seven ACLU attorneys from San Diego and Los Angeles have taken the side of the Camp Pendleton blacks, eight of whom now face courts-martial for disrupting a Klan meeting on November 13. Although Aryeh Neier, national executive director of the ACLU, maintains that "we've established that it is proper for us to be concerned with protecting the rights of people in both camps," the San Diego suit has resulted in heated emergency meetings in almost all of the Southern California ACLU's 28 chapters and has provoked a rash of protest resignations.

The November 13 action followed months of provocation by the KKK and other racist action groups on and around the base, which houses 32,000 Marines, 6,000 of them black. Although the Klan's presence was at first denied by Camp Pendleton brass, KKKers had been distributing anti-black and anti-Semitic literature and parading around openly wearing large hunting knives which they publicly referred to as "nigger stickers." According to the Southern California ACLU's *Open Forum* (March 1977).

> "...there was at least one incident in which blacks were shot at, reportedly by Klan members. A black sergeant's car was burned by whites; brakelines on blacks' autos were cut clandestinely. A black Marine, accompanying his white date on the base parade ground, was attacked by a white Marine....
>
> "The night before the November 13 incident, the Klan, it has been learned, was planning a 'run'—an assault on blacks and or the destruction of their property—for November 15, 1976. The blacks acted to protect themselves from the 'nightriders'."

The November 13 action left six white Marines hospitalized with stab wounds, and 14 blacks were charged with assault and conspiracy to commit assault. The Marine Corps claims that the white Marines were not KKKers, but in an interview with *WV* William Smith, one of the ACLU-affiliated defense lawyers, contradicted this assertion. In fact, one of the white Marines was among a group that had posed for a photograph at a Klan meeting the day before the incident, brandishing clubs and hunting knives.

Of the original black defendants, one has turned state's evidence and two pleaded guilty and received minimal 45-day sentences in return. Eight defendants, who are pleading not guilty, face up to 21 years in jail if convicted and given the maximum sentence. On February 18 they were finally released from custody pending trial, after having spent over three months in the brig, where they were held virtually incommunicado. According to Smith, their defense is based on the the argument that they acted in self-defense.

Cecile Podoloff, executive secretary of the ACLU's San Diego affiliate, defends the chapter's lawsuit on the grounds that "however repugnant the Klan and its white racism may be, it exists legally and its members are entitled to the same protection of their civil liberties as any other persons." This position is certainly in keeping with the ACLU's long history of defending such notorious fascists as the late George Lincoln Rockwell, who headed the American Nazi Party. In fact, according to the logic of the ACLU's civil libertarian philosophy, the "disruptive" action of the black Marines who sought to defend themselves against a racist terror gang is totally *indefensible*!

What the liberal defenders of civil liberties in the abstract refuse to see is that it is impossible to protect the rights of the blacks and at the same time defend the fascists who seek to kill them. What is involved here is not a question of freedom of speech but of *action*, for the KKK is above all committed to a program of *racial terror and murder*. Among other incidents, the Klan has been connected with the large cache of arms, explosives and anti-black, anti-Semitic and anti-communist literature recently discovered buried in the desert near Los Angeles.

KKKers pose at Klan meeting at Camp Pendleton.

Thus even though the Marine Corps at Camp Pendleton has claimed to back off from its original position of covering up and then openly condoning the "right" of the Klan to operate on the base, defense lawyers for the blacks say that scores of KKKers are still present.

Rather than rely on the state to "ban the Klan," workers defense guards based on the labor movement and the black and minority organizations are required to smash the KKK and the rest of the fascist filth. Of key importance at this time when fascist organizations are becoming bolder in their provocations is a militant defense of those who defend themselves from these racist killers. The SL defends the black marines and calls for their freedom, demanding that all charges be dropped.

The San Diego ACLU's defense of the Klan is a direct threat to the legal defense of the blacks. If the KKK really does have the right to organize, as the San Diego ACLU maintains, then blacks and others have no right to prevent it; i.e., they have no right to defend themselves against brutal assault and victimization. Pretending to wage a *classless* defense of abstract civil liberties, the ACLU is logically led to the

continued on page 11

AP

Committee Against Racism pickets attacked Klan Wizard David Duke outside pretrial hearing for three black Marines at Camp Pendleton in December.

Unlike the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Spartacist League does not defend the "rights" of the Klan or of other fascist organizations, but neither do we call on the state or its army to ban them. While the capitalists do not need these racist murderers at present, the time may come when they will play a central role in the bourgeoisie's attack on the workers movement. Ruling class "suppression" of fascist groups at most amounts to little more than a gentle warning not to misbehave too much.

PL Sectarianism Undermines Camp Pendleton 14 Defense

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—On February 19 the Pendleton 14 Defense Committee held a demonstration at the Marine Recruiting Office here demanding freedom for the 14 black Marines who are facing trial for disrupting a Ku Klux Klan meeting at Camp Pendleton last November. Although the protest drew about 80 demonstrators who marched and chanted militantly, it was marred by the sectarian exclusion of supporters of the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

The SL and PDC had brought a contingent of a dozen people to the demonstration. While the Committee, which is led by Progressive Labor (PL), chanted "Free the 14, Jail the Klan," SL supporters chanted "Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan, Only Workers Defense Guards Can!" Shortly after the picketing began, in an effort to quarantine "honest center" protestors from Trotskyist politics, Committee goons demanded the SL remove its signs, even though some bore slogans almost identical to the "official" demands.

Spartacist League spokesman Ayn Marin refused, pointing out that inclusion of all tendencies in the workers movement is key to building a successful defense. In order to avoid an incident, SL and PDC supporters thereupon withdrew and set up an adjacent picket line where they chanted "For working-class unity to free the 14!"

The PL-led Committee spouts militant and even adventurist slogans (such as "Turn the guns around now!"), while concentrating on writing letters to the Black Congressional Caucus and petitioning President Carter. The cowardly exclusion of the SL and PDC, a direct blow against a united defense of the Camp Pendleton 14, brands the Committee as one more example of the PL mixture of verbal super-militancy, reformist practice and Stalinist sectarianism.

WV Photo

Nazi poster plastered on window of Local 6 hall in Melrose Park last week.

Defend Bennie Lenard!

Fascists Plaster Swastikas on Chicago UAW Hall

CHICAGO—Last week fascist propaganda posters were plastered on the sides of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 union hall in suburban Melrose Park. This provocation came shortly after the union passed a motion establishing a Bennie Lenard Defense Committee to defend a black member of the union who was beaten unconscious by Melrose Park police on January 31. The victim of a blatant racist frame-up, Lenard is still hospitalized, unable due to the severity of his injuries to appear in court where he faces a barrage of trumped-up charges.

The 14 x 18-inch signs read "Niggers Beware" and bore a large skull-and-crossbones above a swastika. It is not the first time racist vermin have left their tracks at the Local 6 hall. This UAW local has a record of defending itself—something the cowardly fascists hate and fear. In 1975 it organized a defense squad around the home of union brother C.B. Dennis, who was threatened by vigilantes seeking to drive his family out of a white neighborhood. At that time similar signs appeared on the Local 6 hall. However, this did not intimidate the union, whose guard successfully stopped the racist night-riders.

Chicago Sun-Times

Bennie Lenard after beating earlier this month.

Although the formation of an officially sanctioned defense committee is an important step in mounting a militant defense of Lenard, the committee is hampered by the fact that it is organized on a volunteer basis and, having no access to union funds, must rely on donations for financial support. Local 6 president Ed Graham told *WV* that the only responsibility of the union in the case is "to make sure that his civil liberties have not been violated." But Bennie Lenard's brutal beating at the hands of the police and the trumped-up charges against him are *already* a violation of his civil liberties! The resolution establishing the defense committee demanded that all charges against Lenard be dropped. The union's

continued on page 11

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You Can't Land the 'A' Train at JFK

WV Photo

New York City subway

AP

Concorde

The article on nuclear power published last week in *WV* included an attack on the hypocrisy of opponents of the Supersonic Transport (SST), who are currently trying to stop the British/French Concorde from landing at New York's Kennedy Airport. Their "ecological" concern ignores the fact that thousands of supersonic *military* jets have been similarly polluting the airways for at least two decades.

But there was one aspect of the anti-Concorde arguments which particularly drew our interest, the claim of "excessive noise." We strongly suspected that we knew what that kind of noise was like.

Some quick research revealed that the Air France Concorde wings out of Dulles Airport near Washington, D.C., at an average decibel level of 116.5 and lands at a level of 117.5 decibels (*New York Times*, 14 December 1976). This is above the maximum noise levels currently allowed at JFK, where authorities require planes to stay under 112 decibels. But our suspicions were confirmed upon discovering that the decibel count of the New York City subway system is on a par with that of the SST: measured on the subway platform at 86th Street and Central Park West, when an "A" train thunders past it creates a noise level of up to... 117 decibels (*New York Times*, 22 January 1974)!

According to a standard authority on the subject (DeWeese and Saunders, *Textbook of Otalaryngology*), hearing damage begins when people are exposed to noise levels greater than 85 to 90 decibels—industrial workers exposed to these levels are required to have frequent hearing tests. Wearing earplugs can reduce the noise level reaching the inner ear by only 10 to 30 decibels—meaning that even if you wear earplugs on the subway you will still be well within the range where hearing damage begins. Moreover, because the perception of sound levels and the decibel system are logarithmic, a person on the subways is exposed to noise which is actually *1,000 times* the level at which damage commences!

The longer one is exposed to noise, the lower the decibel level required to produce hearing loss. Thus subway commuters who spend two hours per day in transit—and subway workers who spend eight or more hours per day in the subway system *plus* commuting time—are exposed to far longer and more intense periods of noise than someone underneath the path of an SST. Even if 10 SSTs per day flew directly overhead, this would add up to only about *three minutes* of noise-exposure total.

For what it's worth, the Concorde is not even necessarily the noisiest commercial plane in the air—both at Dulles and London's Heathrow Airport, Boeing 707s have recently been recorded at higher landing noise levels than the British/French SST. The U.S. bourgeoisie's concern is obviously not noise pollution but the fact that American manufacturers have yet to produce a plane to compete with the Concorde.

While Governor Carey's crocodile tears for the welfare of Queens residents have been dripping from the pages of the daily papers as authorities again debate opening Kennedy to the Concorde, where is the concern for the health of the masses of the New York City population forced to endure one to two *hours* of earsplitting subway noise daily? As subway riders in Paris, Berlin, Stockholm, Moscow, and Montreal and on San Francisco's BART trains know, it is possible to produce trains so quiet that one can actually carry on a conversation on them, something New York City commuters have long since abandoned as a utopian dream.

There are even some quieter trains in the New York system, but with the massive cutbacks in all city services the new trains have been deliberately pulled off the more "plebeian" lines and reserved for the "D," "E" and "F" trains serving middle-class areas—to "increase ridership" by enticing the more affluent to use the subway on their trips to Midtown offices or Bloomingdale's and Saks Fifth Avenue. The poor and working class obviously have no choice, so they are left with the 1930's-vintage wind-tunnels on wheels.

Given these hideous traveling and working conditions, it is small consolation to New York's commuters and subway workers to know that the "A" train can't land at Kennedy. ■

Spartacus Youth League Forum

The Anti-Marxist Theory of "State Capitalism": A Trotskyist Critique

Speaker: CHARLES O'BRIEN
Editor, *Young Spartacus*
SYL National Committee

Time: 7:30 p.m.

Date: 5 March 1977

Place: Rm. 145, Dwinelle Hall
Univ. of California
at Berkeley

BAY AREA

Trotskyist League of Canada Forum—

China Today: Mao's Heirs at Each Other's Throats

Speaker: CHARLES O'BRIEN
Editor, *Young Spartacus*
SYL National Committee

Wednesday, March 9 — 12:30 p.m.
Simon Fraser University
Pub Seminar Room

Thursday, March 10 — 7:30 p.m.
Britannia Library
1661 Napier

VANCOUVER

The Spanish Civil War and World War II

by James Burnham

It is not for nothing that both James P. Cannon and Leon Trotsky struggled to anchor James Burnham in the Trotskyist movement. Burnham was one of the ablest literary propagandists among the Socialist Workers Party's top leadership in the mid-1930's (cf. his "The People's Front—The New Betrayal" which is reprinted to this day).

Thus Burnham offered an amendment to the Fourth International's Transitional Program that in the United States we call for a "workers' government," not a "workers' and farmers' government," on the ground, inter alia, that in the U.S. there were already more dentists than farmers. (Farrell Dobbs of the by then degenerated and essentially reformist SWP finally made this formal change only in the 1960's.)

The present contribution by Burnham from the Trotskyists' public press, published under the title "Spain and the Coming World War" in the Socialist Appeal *of 2 October 1937, is a tightly reasoned "algebraic" examination of the qualitative variants facing the revolutionary proletariat in the Spanish Civil War. While Republican Spain was defeated by the Franco forces only months before the outbreak of the Second World War, the validity of Burnham's projections is revealed not only by the fate of Chiang Kai-shek's China in its subordination to U.S. imperialism during that world war, but also, in the recent Angolan conflict.*

In the Angolan case, several qualitatively indistinguishable national-tribal forces fought Portuguese colonialism. With the Portuguese withdrawal, some native forces slid definitively into the arms of American imperialism and South African racialism; but one, the MPLA, accepted Cuban and Russian aid instead. It was this formation that became uniquely militarily supportable—with all the strictures against popular frontism and for independent proletarian struggle that Burnham here well presents.

In an article published in last week's issue of the *Appeal*, I discussed the possibility that the new imperialist war might grow by a series of gradua stages out of present (Ethiopian, Spanish, Chinese.....) and future armed conflicts on the world arena, without any sharp gulf between "peace" and war, and without formal "declaration of war" by the great powers.

It should be emphasized that it is only a possibility that I am dealing with. In the last analysis, only the very realistic criterion of a sufficiently large number of the armed forces of the great powers in the field fighting against each other, can test whether or not the war has begun. By this criterion the war has not begun. None of the great powers is yet at war, with the exception of Japan; and Japan is engaged not in an inter-imperialist war, but in a war against the semi-colonial country, China. The extent of Italian and German operations in Spain is not enough to constitute war in the full sense from the point of view of Italy or Germany; their troops in Spain are an "expeditionary force", not "national armies".

England's Position

The great fact weighing against the possibility I have been discussing is, of course, the position of England—this along with the fear of revolution by all of the powers. England is not ready for war, and seeks consequently to delay its outbreak. England may succeed in keeping the Spanish and Chinese events sufficiently localized to prevent their spread into general war; and may even achieve temporary "solutions" for them. Even then, however, there are already France and the Near East approaching the boiling point. It is almost inconceivable that an analogue of the Spanish conflict, occurring in France—by no means unlikely, even in the comparatively near future—could remain within French national boundaries.

The key importance of understanding this possibility—and of preparing for it—is seen in this: that the attitude of Marxism toward inter-imperialist war is basically different from its attitude toward many other kinds of war. Marxism shows that the coming imperialist war, like the War of 1914-18, will be a struggle of two coalitions of the great powers over the "division of the spoils", over colonies, spheres of influence, means of exploitation. From the point of view of both sides, it will be a reactionary and decadent war, no matter how it may be dressed up under slogans of "resist the aggressor", "defend democracy against fascism", "defend the U.S.S.R.", or what not. Marxism therefore advocates in the coming war as in the last war, a position of defeatism with respect to both sides and all the respective governments, with the exception of the Soviet Union. The masses have nothing to gain from victory on either side.

But Marxism supports, in the present era, the armed struggles of colonies and backward nations against their imperialist oppressors. Politically, of course, in the case of colonies or backward nations as in the case of every nation, Marxism supports only the revolutionary program and its adherents. But materially it supports the struggle of the colony or backward nation as such, and rejects the conception of defeatism in these cases. It does so because these struggles weaken imperialism and because the road to the proletarian revolution in the colonies and backward nations lies through resistance to the imperialist oppressors.

Marxists, consequently support Ethiopia against Italy, and support China against Japan.

Fascism and Democracy

Even more obviously, in the case of a civil war which is not a mere palace intrigue or military-bureaucratic shift, do Marxists support the side of the workers and popular masses against the side of straightforward reaction. They do so not merely in the case of an outright civil war for proletarian power (tragically rare in history), but likewise when the class struggle assumes other forms: e.g., the form of an armed struggle between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Thus, Marxists support the struggle of the Loyalist army in Spain against Franco. They do make a distinction between the regime of Caballero or Negrin, on the one side, and of Franco on the other. Their tactics, with respect to Franco's government and armies, advocate defeatism, sabotage, boycott of supplies, etc.; the tactics with respect to Caballero-Negrin advocate none of these.

The tactics of the Marxists toward the Spanish events flow from their conclusion that the dominant character of the struggle is that of civil war, in form of a war between bourgeois democracy and fascism, in substance a defense by the Spanish workers and peasants of their rights and positions against the certain annihilation of these by the victory of Franco. Though this is the dominant aspect of the Spanish struggle, from the beginning it has also had as secondary aspects: (a) that of a war of aggression against a backward nation by Italy and Germany; (b) that of an episode in the world-wide inter-imperialist conflict, which conflict is destined to issue in world imperialist war. It is in spite of (b) and in spite of the bourgeois coalition government which heads Loyalist Spain politically that Marxists support the Loyalist struggle against Franco, that they fight to win in the Loyalist armies, that they send aid to the Loyalist workers and soldiers even at the risk that such aid, controlled by the government, will in part be used against the workers, that they attempt to boycott aid to Franco and to agitate for a defeatist position in his ranks.

Two Kinds of Support

The Marxists give such support to the Loyalist struggle "for their own reasons"; they give it in absolute independence of the Loyalist government itself and of all bourgeois governments; they give no political support whatever to the People's Front government; they defend the rights and conquests of the workers against the government; and by their propaganda they prepare politically for the overthrow of the government and the victory of a workers' regime when a decisive section of the Spanish masses shall have been won to the program of workers' power. Such support and such support only is the road to the revolution in Spain.

The Stalinists, social-democrats, and other types of reformists and social-patriots also support the Loyalist struggle, but their support is at the opposite pole from that of the Marxists. Their material support is subordinate to political support of the People's Front government. Since the People's Front government is a bourgeois government and thus ultimately counter-revolutionary in nature, political support of such a government is political treachery; it is, as the Barcelona events proved, not support of the Spanish workers but defense of a capitalist government, against the workers and the revolution.

Marxists support the Loyalist struggle, entailing for a period "defense of the government" against Franco, in order to aid the Spanish workers and to prepare the ground for the definitive victory of workers' power, thus for the overthrow of that same government. The reformists support the government precisely in order to defend capitalism against socialism as well as against fascism, to betray the workers and to prepare the ground for the complete liquidation of the revolution. This is the harsh reality.

In order to bolster up their case not merely Franco but also Hitler and Mussolini are making war against "the legitimate democratic government" of Spain; and that therefore all "peace-loving democratic people" should unite to resist the mad dogs of Nazism and Fascism, the "agressor nations" Germany and Italy. It happens to be false that Germany and Italy are making war against Valencia (though if true it would not at all alter the Marxist attitude toward the Spanish events), but the falsity of this contention is its least sinister aspect. Let us examine further.

The Call for Government Action

The conclusion that the Stalinists and reformists draw from their argument that Germany and Italy are at war with Valencia is not, primarily, that independent working class action should be taken against them, but that governmental action by the "democratic" powers should be taken against the "aggressor nations". "Collective action" of the democratic nations is the password; action by the governments assembled in the League of Nations or on the basis of the Kellog Pact, or through the Non-Intervention Committee, or the Nyon Conference—the mechanism chosen is incidental. In this country precisely the same conception leads to a demand essentially the same; invocation of the Neutrality Act against Germany and Italy, advocated alike by Browder, Thomas, Waldman, and the Socialist Call.

What is the meaning of this? Put simply and bluntly, the Stalinists and reformists are demanding war, imperialist war, and agreeing in advance to support it. Their entire international propaganda in connection with the Spanish events has, in fact, been consistently social-patriotic, and is merely a rehearsal for the betrayal to the new war. And their position could result in nothing else: they support, politically and materially, the Valencia government, and defend politically and materially democratic capitalism against fascist aggression, whether by Franco, Hitler or Mussolini. If allies come in—England, say, or France—to aid in defending Valencia and in attacking Hitler and Mussolini, they can only welcome this with open arms, and support these allies just as they support Negrin. And they will do so.

Marxists, on the direct contrary, are against all intervention by capitalist

Urgent PDC Fund Appeal:

Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Hubert Schatzl

Fernando Marcos (center) greets Mario Muñoz, persecuted Chilean union leader, upon his safe arrival in Europe last summer.

Fernando Marcos Arancibia, 30-year-old Chilean union organizer and workers' leader, is blind. Exiled in France by the bloody Pinochet terror, Marcos must have urgent medical attention. At stake: the last chance to recover his eyesight. The cost: $10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee is undertaking the responsibility of raising the funds necessary for Marcos' corneal transplant.

In 1971 while carrying out his union duties, Marcos suffered a catastrophic industrial accident which almost cost him his life and which left him completely blind. With the sharpening social crisis and mounting threat to the Chilean working class, Marcos refused to travel abroad for medical treatment. The 11 September 1973 coup found Marcos' health deteriorating due to the deliberate criminal neglect by an opthalmologist subsequently appointed by the murderous junta to the directorship of a major hospital.

Sentenced to death by the Pinochet junta Fernando Marcos was to take refuge in France with his compañera and newborn daughter. Although out of immediate danger, the conditions of exile for class-struggle fighters like Fernando Marcos are harsh, insecure and precarious. Isolated from friends, relatives and involvement in the struggles of the workers to which they dedicated their lives, and burdened with the language barrier and national chauvinism, exile is a lonely sojourn. Since those who stand on the side of the downtrodden and exploited are themselves often poor workers, and in exile they are often deprived even of their humble means of livelihood, they escape reactionary terror only to be hounded by the relentless persecution of poverty. Even their safety is perilous. Their asylum is at the sufferance of governments hostile to the cause they champion: the liberation of the oppressed. Exiles from right-wing terror are deprived of most democratic rights and are subject to continuous police harassment and the threat of deportation back into the hands of their would-be assassins.

It is not enough to win asylum for victims of right-wing repression: the entirety of their fate in exile must be of continuing importance. This concern is part and parcel of the tradition of class-struggle defense of the early International Labor Defense, which is the heritage of the PDC. Not only did the ILD energetically fight for the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti and labor militants of all political persuasions, but also regularly sent money to class-war prisoners and their families in order to provide for minimal human needs and at least partially alleviate their hardships. In addition to financially aiding numerous defense cases and campaigns, the PDC has also raised funds for workers locked out because of union organizing drives or temporarily deprived of their livelihood because of company harassment, and also the family of a longshoreman killed by a scab. The successfully concluded international defense campaign—co-sponsored by the PDC and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile—to win safe exit for the Chilean miners' union leader Mario Muñoz Salas and his family, raised the funds necessary to ensure their safe departure from Argentina and to provide for such basic human needs as food, clothing and shelter during the specially difficult early period of resettlement and exile. Financing the operations necessary for Fernando Marcos to regain his sight is an urgent aspect of the PDC's class-struggle anti-sectarian defense work.

This is Marcos' last chance. Previous operations in exile failed due to inattentive post-operative care, vividly illustrating the too-often catastrophic outcome of "charity medical care" upon which exiles are forced to depend. Both Marcos and the PDC insist on the best medical care available for this sensitive operation. As a consequence the excellent Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona, headed by the internationally esteemed Dr. Joaquin Barraquer, has been selected. Clinic specialists have determined that this is the final operation that can be attempted with any guarantee of success. The PDC has already financed the preliminary investigative appointment, including travel, which led to the determination that a series of three operations were medically necessary and feasible. The first procedure is scheduled for the opening months of 1977.

This valiant Chilean workers leader must not continue to suffer the brutal consequences of exile and deprivation. Your financial assistance today will determine the course of the rest of Marcos' life: left to a life handicapped, frustrated and circumscribed by blindness or one in which he regains his fullest ability to dedicate himself to the cause of the oppressed. Your immediate and generous financial assistance will guarantee that the PDC's compelling obligation is met. We welcome your support in this effort.

—February 1977

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of $_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (*Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund."*)

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governments in the Spanish struggle, and for working class aid only. If England and France should intervene on a large scale, if the Spanish struggle should thus be transformed into an inter-imperialist war, Marxists explain that under such circumstances, the dominant character of the Spanish struggle would be entirely changed; its aspect as a civil war would be subordinated to its aspect as one episode or phase in the inter-imperialist conflict. The imperialist "allies" of the Valencia government would be entering armed conflict only for their own imperialist interests, and the Valencia government would be in every respect subordinated to those interests. At that time, to fight loyally, to fight to win, in the Valencian armies, would in actuality be to fight to defend one set of imperialist interests as against another. The workers, then, could defend their own interest only by struggling, in every possible way, against the war, in Spain and in all countries. Marxists would go over to a position of defeatism with respect to the Loyalist armies, since only such a position would correspond with the changed character of the struggle itself.

Dangers of Spain

This change in the struggle, its complete subordination to the inter-imperialist conflicts, is possible even short of its transformation into imperialist war on a grand scale. In fact, the growing subordination of the progressive aspects of the Spanish struggle as a civil war, to its reactionary aspects as an episode in the inter-imperialist conflicts, is apparent during these last months, and corresponds closely to the growingly reactionary character of the Valencia regime internally. The inter-imperialist conflicts could become dominant not merely through war, but, for example, through large scale intervention by England and France either independently or through the League; or by a sell-out deal by Valencia with Franco engineered along the lines long ago suggested by England. Under any of these circumstances, the same conclusion would have to be drawn by Marxists: the continuation of struggle of the workers for their own interests and for the socialist revolution would become incompatible with any attitude even of temporary "toleration" or "defense" of the People's Front regime; that regime would have become indistinguishable, for practical purposes, from the regime of Franco and from the imperialist regime which controlled it. This situation has not yet been reached, and it would be altogether false to anticipate it in action. The way for the Spanish workers is still to beat Franco, which now means fighting loyally in the Valencia armies, without any confidence at all in the People's Front and its governments, and preparing politically for the establishment of workers' power which alone will carry the war to a successful conclusion in the interests of the masses. But if the workers not merely in Spain but on a world scale, are not to be caught in the web of social-patriotism later on, the political preparation must also look forward to these possible outcomes, which, from all indications, are neither far off nor unlikely. ■

Murry Weiss on Stalinism

"World Revolution" Without a Trotskyist Vanguard?

About 45 people showed up at the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) February 24 to hear Murry Weiss speak on the class nature of the Soviet Union. In Comrade Weiss's opening remarks he made a vigorous and orthodox presentation of the Trotskyist analysis of the "Russian question": i.e., that the Soviet Union still retains essential gains of the October Revolution, such as nationalized property forms, state control of trade and centralized planning, despite suppression of workers democracy in the USSR and international betrayals by the Kremlin.

Weiss took sharp issue with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) coverage in its paper, the *Militant*, of President Carter's screaming about "freedom and democracy" in the USSR. For the SWP to confine its criticism to pointing out the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism's claim to defend democracy misses the point, Weiss said. "This slogan is always accompanied by something more than just hypocrisy.... We have only to remember that under the slogan of freedom and fighting the tyranny of communism, American imperialism spent seven years in Vietnam."

Weiss continued: "When we speak about the Soviet Union and its character, I want it clear we are speaking from the point of view of those who are not simply for a scientific characterization of the USSR as a degenerated workers state, but stand also on a program for the defense of the Soviet Union." Weiss's remark that Trotsky's position on Soviet defensism could be found in the "excellent" recent article on the Russian question in *Workers Vanguard* ("Trotskyism vs. 'State Capitalism': From Kautsky to Mao," *WV* No. 143 and 145, 4 and 18 February) undoubtedly non-plussed the meeting's chairman, MEC honcho Arthur Felberbaum, who has been spearheading a drive to exclude the Spartacist League (SL) from the school.

The discussion of the nature of Stalinism today, said Weiss, is focused on the struggles in Angola and Portugal. He expressed "alarm" that the SWP's capitulation to social democracy led it to see the main danger in Portugal since 1974 as that of a Communist Party takeover. Weiss now traces the SWP's increasing Stalinophobia back to the 1953 split in the Fourth International (FI). The SWP's fight against Michel Pablo's liquidation of FI sections into the Stalinist parties, Weiss said, was a "mistake," an "erroneous issue" which was proved so ten years later when the SWP reunited with Pablo's wing.

During the discussion period, Jim Robertson of the SL central committee rose to reassert the Trotskyist position of Soviet defensism against the despicable "third camp" defeatism of a preceding Shachtmanite speaker. He went on to respond to Weiss's charge that the 1953 split proved to have no substance. He noted the importance of Weiss's own anti-Pabloist writings at the time. Both Murry and Myra Tanner Weiss were long-time leaders of the West Coast party branches. Myra was the SWP's perennial candidate for vice president in 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1960; Murry was the editor of *International Socialist Review*. It was the Weisses' political bloc with James P. Cannon against the Cochran faction (backed by Pablo)—at a time when the SWP regime of Dobbs, Hansen and Kerry was hesitating—which enabled the party to make its crucial intervention in the factional struggle in the International at the time.

Robertson pointed out: "One of the reasons that I went over to the SWP was because of what *you* wrote in the *Militant* in 1953: 'Hurrah, the German workers are rising! They need a Leninist party, they need soviets, they must drive out the Russians!' Then there was the Cochran position: 'Hurray, the Soviet bureaucracy is liquidating itself!' And then there were the poor staff writers of the *Militant* trying to reconcile these two lines. It was a major political difference: it was a question of self-reform of the bureaucracy or political revolution by the working people.... And I don't think that's such a small difference, to this day."

To Weiss's charge that the question of Pabloism was a false issue, Robertson pointed out that the United Secretariat (USec) majority position on Portugal was but a slightly more radical version of the CP attempt to ride to power on the coattails of the bourgeois officer corps. This brought a rejoinder from Weiss, who heatedly rejected the charge that "anyone who says about the Portuguese Communist Party that it's possible it can lead a revolution" is Pabloist. "Why? Why can't that happen?" he asked rhetorically.

Weiss went on: "We say that the Communist Party of Portugal has torn out of the orbit of the Stalinist monolith, is on its own power, is under pressures, and the struggle will decide."

Weiss's ambiguous attitude toward the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was marked by illusions in its left wing, particularly the populist demagogue Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. Carvalho is a nationalist, bonapartist figure not unlike Pilsudski in Poland or the early Perón in Argentina. As in those cases also, "Otelo" has awakened widespread illusions among ostensible communists. SL central committee member Joseph Seymour rose to speak on this point:

> "You mentioned in your talk, as an indication of a great Stalinist betrayal, the Chinese Revolution in 1925-27. You note that Stalin claimed that the Kuomintang under the 'anti-imperialist dynamic process' was the soviet....
>
> "We maintain, as Marx did, as Lenin did, as did Trotsky, that there is such a thing as the bourgeois officer corps, that it cannot be transformed into a Leninist vanguard. Yes, there is a left of the MFA, there was a left of the Kuomintang. Left and right, as you know, are relative terms having no intrinsic class content. Therefore, the policy is not to support the left of the MFA as some kind of proto-revolutionary proletarian vanguard, but to *split* the army; that is, of course, the call for soldiers soviets allied to workers soviets."

One of the last speakers was Felberbaum, whose intervention perfectly expressed the MEC's character—a would-be trendy miscellany of randomly floating, politically homeless individuals, an episodic formation uncomfortably situated in the terrain between Pabloist revisionism, Third Worldism and Stalinism. Behind Felberbaum's babblings about the "interplay between a discussion of categories of thought on one side and the life process on the other," his objection to taking "these categories to Olympian heights and to impose them upon the revolutionary process itself," was the claim that the MFA was not a bourgeois formation, but rather one whose character was in flux. Felberbaum's endless recitation about how one could not talk about finished categories, how everything in life was fluid, finally brought forth the exasperated outburst from an SL supporter: "Sure, and J. Edgar Hoover could make the American Revolution?"

A decade and a half ago Murry and Myra Weiss were right centrists in the SWP. Since then, their positions have remained basically the same, while the SWP has been moving rapidly to the right. Thus today the Weisses are to the left of the reformist SWP; the Weisses' talk of the possibility of a CP-led revolution in Portugal is only a more frank version of the USec Majority's views. While Weiss rails against the SWP for capitulating to social democracy, the USec Majority itself tails after the MFA in Portugal. The Spartacist tendency alone has refused to build illusions in either the social-democratic, Stalinist or military bonapartist demagogues in Portugal and thus offers the only valid revolutionary perspective: for an independent Trotskyist party. ■

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Violence in NYC...

(continued from page 2)

the barbarism of decaying capitalism. It is intolerable that such "human garbage," as Marx described the criminal elements of the lumpenproletariat, can terrorize the public at will.

Ultimately, the solution to spiraling crime rates is abolition of the capitalist system which breeds poverty and crime. In the meantime, it is a just and elementary reflex that the whole population (not just the well-heeled, cops and criminals) have recourse to firearms to seek protection from this hideous social irrationality.

In Albany, Governor Carey and the Republicans are debating how best to cut back welfare—a sure-fire way to exacerbate the explosive frustration and despair of the ghettos. We demand instead that there be *no* welfare cuts, that full services and benefits be restored and extended to all in need!

Furthermore, all gun control laws must be abolished. Down with the Sullivan Law and the NYC firearms ordinance! Criminals, nuts and the brutally racist cops all have guns—only the victims are defenseless. It is a simple democratic right for the citizenry to keep and bear arms, as even the U.S. Constitution stipulates. The police ultimately defend the ruling class, meanwhile pursuing their own unappetizing activites; the working people need arms to defend themselves.

While upholding the right of individuals to effectively defend themselves, we strenuously oppose any kind of vigilanteism, which could only become a racist pogrom. Gun-nut groups and ultra-rightist types who rail that the cops are too soft on "crime in the streets" are the advance elements of a fascistic movement. We do not call upon the working masses to implement the bosses' racist "law and order." But in a time of revolutionary upsurge—a dual power situation—a racially integrated workers militia, with recognized authority among the ghetto masses themselves, would certainly deal firmly and justly with lumpen violence.

Archie Bunker's suggestion on the "All in the Family" TV show to discourage terrorist hijacking by giving a gun to every airline passenger as he boards reflects a worldview deeply repugnant to righteous liberal magnates like the *New York Times* publishers, who from their majestic heights feel sure that the state will protect *them*. (We might remind the Messrs. Sulzberger, however, of the time some years ago when they were unable to deliver their newspapers because of a bonapartist cop mobilization against the impotent "civilian review board" which the *Times* had editorially supported.) But Archie Bunker's semi-humorous proposal contains a grain of truth. (Of course, handing out guns randomly has certain obvious drawbacks; we simply defend the right of those who already own guns and are familiar with them to carry them where they are needed for their self-defense.

It is profoundly dangerous and demoralizing to keep the population, white and black, in a constant state of helpless fear: such desperation spawns fascist mobilizations and racist vigilantes, as shown by the enormously enthusiastic response to the movie "Death Wish." Marxists must struggle against the monopolization of the means of violence in the hands of the bourgeois state while asserting the right of the working people to defend themselves, as Malcolm X said, by any means necessary. ■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism

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Uganda...

(continued from page 1)

arrests and assassinations, that Amin and cronies from his tribe, the Kakwa, had met at the capital on January 30 where they decided to eliminate the Acholi and Lango tribes. Protestant Christian leaders, other suspected opponents and Catholic leaders. On February 5, the archbishop's compound was searched for arms, as were the residences of two other Anglican bishops. The bishops responded on February 10 in a letter to "His Excellency Al Haji Field-Marshal Dr Idi Amin Dada, VC, DSO, MC, Life President of Uganda."

Although set in the most "humble" language, the letter courageously protested against the abuses of the omnipresent secret police. "Too much power has been given to members of State Research to arrest and kill at will innocent individuals." It also denounced "a war against the educated that is forcing many of our people to run away from this country...." Four days after the letter was delivered, Luwum was dead. The two other bishops whose homes were searched have been missing for days.

Tribalist Pogrom

While the fate of the archbishop held the attention of the bourgeois media—after all, as the bishops' letter noted, the Anglican church is a "world community" with powerful friends—a massive tribalist pogrom was unleashed by Amin inside Uganda. The targets were Acholi and Lango tribesmen and soldiers. These districts were the power base of former prime minister Milton Obote, a Lango, who was ousted by Amin in 1971. Luwum was a native of the Acholi district.

The two districts were sealed off by troops and at a prison in Kampala some 800 Acholi and Langi were reportedly killed on Amin's orders on February 22. In one Lango village, the home of a former Army colonel now in exile with Obote, 300 men, women and children were reported killed. Beginning on February 17 members of the two tribes living elsewhere in the country were systematically rounded up. On the same day an order was reportedly given to "eliminate" all Acholi and Langi in the army, air force and prison service.

Amin admitted to visiting British reporters that there were some shooting incidents in the army—impossible to deny in any case since machine gun fire was heard at the prison—but attributed it to a mutiny. "Some Lango and Acholi soldiers had decided to shoot other tribes," he said (*New York Times*, 24 February). The alleged rebellion was said to take place in the Tiger Battalion at Mubende, an outlying army post. Refugees reported, however, that 700 soldiers were arrested in Kampala and then taken to Mubende where they were massacred.

Altogether, at least 2,000 people were reported killed since mid-February, recalling earlier pogroms directed at the two tribes in 1971-72. The Acholi and Langi are small, comparatively backward northern (Nilotic) tribes who were preferentially selected by the British for military service in the Kings African Rifles, in order to control the more advanced southern tribes. Since Amin's takeover, however, his Kakwa tribe (also northern Nilotes and disproportionately represented in the army) has virtually eliminated the two victimized tribes from the armed forces and decimated their male population. According to a recent report by Amnesty International, between 50,000 and 300,000 have been killed under the madman dictator, most of them in tribalist pogroms (*New York Times*, 7 February).

"A Black Superpower in Africa"

In his "activist" foreign policy of preaching about "human rights" to the Soviet bloc states, President Carter had come under criticism from left liberals and social-democratic reformists (such as the Socialist Workers Party) for being selective in his "concern." Why had the State Department issued no declarations on Chile, Iran, the Philippines, North Korea or even China? Careful not to step on the toes of U.S. allies, Carter ducked the question; but to show his evenhandedness, the U.S. president added another nation to his short list of "unfree" countries: Uganda. At a press conference on February 23 he referred to the "horrible murders that apparently are taking place in that country."

This sparked an angry response from Amin the next day, when he barred all American citizens from leaving Uganda. They were told to come to Kampala for an audience by Monday, and regional administrative officers were instructed to prepare a list of the Americans' property, "including chickens, goats, pigs and other animals." Those who had engaged in Zionist propaganda and unfriendly acts would have to "take the consequences" he said. Most of the approximately 200 U.S. citizens in the country are reportedly missionaries, while some are crewmen of Amin's several planes. At the same time Amin sent a letter to Carter charging that the Marines were standing by to invade Uganda.

The letter is a typical piece of Amin bragadoccio and theatrics. He counseled the U.S. president not to be "used as exhaust pipes of the Zionist lorries [trucks]" and warned Carter not to be "blinded by those who may want to take your place even before you have seen all the rooms of the White House." It counseled, "You should therefore be like Field Marshal Amin, who is a black superpower in Africa."

It was cheap for Amin to point to the hypocrisy of U.S. "human rights" propaganda, telling the U.S. that instead of asking the United Nations to investigate Uganda it should ask the UN to investigate "the crimes which the United States has committed in the name of democracy in the various parts of the world...." Among these it listed assassinations of political leaders in the U.S.; racial discrimination in the U.S.; millions killed by napalm and B-52 bombers in Vietnam, Cambodia and Korea; and the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba.

Amin has used such bluster before in addressing his former colonial masters. At one point he ordered local British businessmen to carry him in a sedan chair, joking that this was "the new white man's burden." At another point Amin forced the British Labour government to send its foreign minister, James Callaghan (now prime minister), to Uganda to beg for the release of Dennis Hills, a teacher and author who had irked him. But this time, when he tweaked the nose of the "paper tiger" of U.S. imperialism Amin found it had nuclear teeth. The U.S. was a real "superpower in Africa."

Immediately after the State Department's warning, Amin and his flunkies began singing a different tune. The Ugandan ambassador assured the press that no harm was meant; the state radio said that the president merely wanted to thank Americans for their years of service; the next day Amin's top British aide said that his only complaint about the Americans was that there were not enough of them in Uganda. The scheduled meeting in Kampala was postponed to Wednesday and then indefinitely. Secretary of State Vance welcome these assurances in a low-key statement.

No U.S. Intervention!

But the threat of U.S. intervention was quite real and has not been eliminated. When asked whether he could "conceive of any circumstances" in which U.S. troops might be sent to Uganda, Vance replied with deliberation: "I do not want to speculate on something like that." The State Department "crisis center" continues to function and the nuclear aircraft carrier is in a holding pattern off the East African coast within striking distance of Uganda.

AP

Archbishop Luwum

Idi Amin is a menace to the Ugandan people. He is also an annoyance to U.S. imperialism, with his Russian army advisers, Libyan military hardware, Palestinian security guards and highly erratic foreign policy (e.g., he first opposed Cuban intervention in Angola and now hails it). But the Ugandan masses and the world working class certainly cannot make common cause with the imperialist powers. Their interests are diametrically opposed.

If U.S. imperialism can topple an Amin, then it can prop up another brutal dictatorship in his place, one which does its killing more discreetly than the flamboyant "Big Daddy." The longevity of the Congolese and Dominican Republic strongmen installed with the aid of the CIA and the Marines should make clear the bankruptcy of relying on the imperialist "democracies" and their UN tool. *And so should the horrifying rule of Idi Amin.*

Today the *New York Times* rages against his "evil politics"; the London press creates a furor every time Amin murders or arrests a British subject. But they seldom mention the substantial evidence that the 1971 coup which overthrew Obote and placed Amin in office was carried out with *Israeli aid and British approval.* Obote had begun talking of "democratic socialism" and was moving away from his previous pro-Israeli foreign policy (which included Israeli advisers for the Ugandan army commanded by Idi Amin). For the Marines to throw out Amin and replace him by a Mobutu, or even a tame Obote, means perpetuating imperialist domination, not opposing it.

There is a tiny Idi Amin lobby in the U.S., consisting of the most wretchedly pro-imperialist black nationalists such as Roy Innis' CORE. (In addition to praising the "black superpower in Africa," CORE last year tried to raise a force of black mercenaries to fight alongside the CIA-funded FNLA and South African troops in Angola.) But for almost everyone else, Idi Amin Dada is a supremely unsavoury figure. Under his rule the Ugandan rivers have run red with the blood of his numberless victims; every day new cadavers are fished out of Lake Victoria.

Amin's massacres are used by white supremacists as arguments to bolster their oppressive rule over the black masses of southern Africa. But national independence even under a blood-stained Amin is a historic advance over the colonial rule which prepared the way for Amin. Even if tens of thousands die and the standard of living of the masses is frequently *lower* than before, with the colonial masters out of the picture, the *class* struggle can come to the fore. It is no longer the foreign invader but the domestic tyrant who is the most immediate enemy.

The task of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Africa is not to replace the Amins with Mobutus or Obotes through the "good offices" of the imperialist butchers of Indochina. It is rather to sweep away all the neo-colonialist bootlickers, phony "Marxist-Leninist" colonels and megalomaniacal nationalist demagogues from the face of the continent and the world. Today this means resolutely opposing the threat of imperialist intervention in Uganda, which masquerades in the guise of protecting "human rights."

—Hands Off Uganda!

—Down with Idi Amin—For a socialist federation of East Africa!

ILWU Warehouse Convention...

(continued from page 3)

certain death for the proposal.

Another Militant Caucus resolution calling for an end to the restrictive rule on campaign literature—a rule unique to Local 6 in the ILWU—brought a tirade of abuse from business agent Joe Figueiredo, a well-known CP supporter. Figueiredo, who plans to run for Local president, puffed that Bob Mandel was playing the "bosses' game" by introducing "factionalism" (i.e., wanting open elections where Bridges-McClain supporters like Figueiredo would issue leaflets defending their rotten policies!). Stooping to the vilest personal slander, Figueiredo told Mandel, "You do not want to work." But the membership is well aware that Mandel has been blacklisted by the employers, and that the union bureaucracy has refused to arbitrate Mandel's grievances against the blacklist which have been outstanding since 1973.

Toward the end of the convention, International secretary-treasurer Goldblatt stepped in to pat the backs of his flunkies. Openly endorsing McClain to take his place, Goldblatt made snide comments about self-proclaimed "saviours." In a final goodbye sentence, Goldblatt managed to remember the words "workers of the world unite"—but this was clearly only a faint recollection of years gone by. The ILWU ranks need a militant new leadership for the class battles to come. ■

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147

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"Roots"

(continued from page 12)

participation and leadership in social struggle against that oppression—not in nostalgic individual escapism that black people will find their source of pride.

Cultural Nationalism in the Service of Liberalism

Roots was hailed by black capitalist politician Barbara Jordan:

> "Everything converged—the right time, the right story and the right form. The country, I feel, was ready for it. At some other time I don't feel it would have had that kind of widespread acceptance and attention—specifically in the 60s. Then it might have spawned resentments and apprehensions the country couldn't have taken. But with things quiet, and with race relations moving along at a rate that's acceptable to most Americans, we were ready to take in the full story of who we are and how we got that way."
>
> *Time*, 14 February

The contrast with the 1960's—a period of significant black militancy—is important. For Jordan, the *Roots* phenomenon heralds not only a general acceptance of that liberal capitalism which she represents in Congress, but the opportunity for black liberalism and cultural nationalism to get back together on the terrain of demoralization.

F.H. Meserve Collection

Frederick Douglass

In the 1960's it was not so easy to see that liberal integrationists and black nationalists were offering only different varieties of bourgeois ideology. The widespread black nationalist mood of a decade ago was a response to the manifest failure of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement. Many young blacks, recoiling from the blatant accommodationism of liberal gradualism, identified militancy with separatism and racial solidarity. Black nationalist and vicarious "back to Africa" sentiment was an illusory "solution" born of hopelessness in the face of the evident bankruptcy of integration struggles. But what was once a kind of political statement soon became simply a matter of style.

At the outset, mainstream liberals accepted the nationalists' identification of dashikis and African names with ghetto revolts and quivered with apprehensions that blacks in their mass might break from the traditional liberal organizations. But the usual techniques—tokenistic handouts combined with a virtual cop manhunt against black militants like the Panthers—prevailed. Soon it was not unusual to see the head of a government poverty program dressed like an African, administering the crumbs of capitalism to the impoverished ghetto population.

Roots closes the book on the apparent war between black nationalism and liberalism. Cultural nationalism, in its most vicarious and backward-looking form, has been rendered not only manageable but fully respectable.

Bettman Archive

During the Civil War 250,000 blacks joined the Northern army to fight for the end of slavery.

Roots is the pop-culture counterpart of cultural nationalism's smooth slide from radical rhetoric to tool of the poverty pimps and black elected officials.

The Romance of African Heritage

Roots treats the elements of "African identity" formerly associated with radical nationalism and black separatism as a sort of romantic genesis myth. The political and imaginative core of both the book and the TV series is the life and legacy of Kunta Kinte, the African warrior who represents resistance to slavery and whose memory sustains his descendants.

Kunta Kinte's "black pride" is based on the sense of tribal identity and "manhood" instilled in the ordered and idyllic world of his native Africa. He refuses to abandon his heritage: the Mandinka language, the Muslim religion, the customs he learned in Africa. The American-born blacks who are his fellow slaves are rootless and broken; he despairs of teaching them "why he refused to surrender his name or his heritage." When his daughter is born, he insists that she be given the Mandinka name Kizzy rather than "bear some toubob [white man's] name, which would be nothing but the first step toward a lifetime of self-contempt."

The proud African warrior refuses to accommodate. Confronted with the hideous reality of enslavement, he tries four times to escape. When he is recaptured the fourth time, the whites take horrible revenge by chopping off half his foot with an axe. Now crippled, he will never be able to escape. From this point on in *Roots*, resistance to the slave regime becomes symbolic rather than a matter of organized rebellion or even overt acts of individual resistance. It is the symbol of resistance, captured in a few African words and transmitted from generation to generation, which becomes the subject of *Roots*.

After the failure of his last attempt to escape, Kunta Kinte determines to pass on his heritage. He marries and has a child. He teaches her some Mandinka words and tells her stories of her ancestors. Kizzy in turn, as mother and grandmother, retells these bits and pieces of Africa to her family.

The TV script even invents some scenes to highlight the importance of the African tradition in resisting the degrading effects of slavery. A character who was not in the book, Kizzy's suitor Sam, is refused because "Sam wasn't like us. Nobody ever told him where he come from. So he didn't have a dream of where he ought to be goin'."

Haley has become the target of several black historians (notably Willie Lee Rose, *New York Review of Books*, 11 November 1976) for inaccuracies and anachronisms in his portrayal of the Mandinka village of Juffure (as well as of the antebellum South). But it is the ideal which is intended—a Garden of Eden world ritualized around the cult of manhood. *Roots* is not even myth, but romance: a deliberate idealization of the past to escape an unbearable present.

The Legacy of Slavery

There is some truth in the image of a rebellious African taken into slavery. Compared to blacks born into slavery in the U.S., those slaves transported directly from Africa prior to 1808 (when the slave traffic to the U.S. was officially closed) were quite "troublesome." They spearheaded the earliest slave revolts; the significant uprisings of the nineteenth century (led by Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner) were organized by freedmen or skilled craftsmen whose daily work brought them into contact with free laborers. Haley's acceptance of the centrality of the African heritage engages the old debate over the effects of slavery on the consciousness of blacks.

The relative absence of organized large-scale slave revolts in the U.S.—compared for instance with the massive 1791 rebellion which overthrew slavery in Haiti—precipitated a heated controversy among radical academics in the 1960's. The CP's Herbert Aptheker sought—mainly by redefining the category of "revolt"—to demonstrate a presumably "hidden history" of black resistance. Aptheker's antagonists, spearheaded by Eugene Genovese, advanced a plethora of factors to account for American slaves' relative quiescence—among them the overwhelming military superiority of the white American state power, the small size of most American plantations, the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Africans who became the slave population and their systematic deculturalization, etc.

Underlying the 1960's heat over a historical dispute was the closer-to-home ideological battle over resistance vs. accommodation, posed in terms of separatism vs. integration. The black nationalists saw the pacifist liberalism they hated as a carryover from slavery. They argued that it was in giving up their African heritage and aspiring to equality in white-ruled America that blacks had gone wrong. Dumping their "slave names," they accused the black liberals of accommodation to white "Eurocentric" culture and demanded "black history." This debate ended as liberals and ex-militants clasped hands over the academic tokenism of Black Studies departments.

The radical nationalists who rejected "Uncle Tom" and proclaimed an unbroken tradition of black resistance reaching back to slave times were making a fundamental mistake. The line between accommodation and survival in a militarily hopeless situation is not so easy to draw. If, faced by overwhelming odds against them, most blacks could express their seething hatred of slavery only by sabotage, malingering, petty theft, attempted escape, etc., this is a historical fact of previous centuries and not a prescription for the future.

Roots does more than acknowledge the blacks' need to accommodate to survive. It embraces it. Following the slave revolt led by Nat Turner, Kunta Kinte's grandson "Chicken George" and his master "both hoped fervently that there would be no more black uprisings." But the real highpoint of black resistance to slavery is the one which is left out of *Roots* almost entirely: the civil war, in which 200,000 blacks joined the Union army, despite its vicious racism, and took up arms against the slave South.

An All-American Success Story

Roots incorporates cultural nationalism into the "American dream." In the old Horatio Alger stories, even the poorest among the downtrodden can become rich through the work ethic and the beneficient workings of divine providence and capitalism. It is an old theme: the good are rewarded and the evil punished. In Alger stories the moral differential can be easily measured by an accountant. The moral implication of a fair market is clear enough: if you work hard, keep your wits about you and are decent you will succeed. So people who have prospered are obviously good folks, and there are some obvious implications about the poor.

Roots is a Horatio Alger myth on two levels. First, there is the token—Alex Haley, the former marine cook and struggling writer who is making a fortune. But the example of an individual black who goes from rags to riches is not likely to have much social impact among the black masses of Harlem and Watts. The myth of upward mobility has little credibility among the black masses, and Haley's life story is an obvious exception to the general rule.

But as a family saga, *Roots* can make a similar pitch and get away with it. Haley wants *Roots* to become "all of our stories." He himself says he identifies most with "Chicken George"—after his grandfather, Kunta Kinte, the most important character in the book. "Chicken George" becomes a trainer of gamecocks, a sporting man and entrepreneur. He conceives of the project of accumulating—through the crumbs which trickle down to him of his master's high-stakes cockfighting ventures—enough money to buy himself and his family out of slavery.

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Still a slave, "Chicken George" is sent to England to train birds for a lord. When he arrives back at his own plantation with money is his pocket, he finds that his family has been sold. His son Tom takes over as the patriarch, struggling to reunite the family. Tom manages to get his master to apprentice him to a blacksmith and uses the proceeds from his tireless skilled work to reunite the partially scattered family.

After emancipation, "Chicken George" and Tom move the family to Tennessee. When Tom finds that he will not be permitted to own a shop, he sets up as a travelling blacksmith and he prospers. His daughter marries a hard-working manager of a lumber company owned by an incompetent drunk. His prohity and sobriety are rewarded; he eventually takes over the company. The final link in the chain is this man's grandson, Alex Haley.

The route to success in *Roots* is entirely personal and familial. This presumably inspirational saga is an almost perfect contrast to the real life of a real black hero, Frederick Douglass, as he describes it in his autobiography. The *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* is the story of the development of *social* consciousness. Douglass learned to read by applying a simple rule of survival: the slave and the master had opposite social interests. So when Douglass heard his master give instructions that under no conditions must a slave be taught to read, Douglass set out to learn to read.

And when he learned to read, Douglass began to teach other slaves to read. He was committed not only to free himself, but to a social movement against the system of slavery. After escaping to the North, Douglass became a leader of the abolition movement. Rather than seeking to recover a lost African heritage, he learned to absorb the master's culture in order to change society. For him, historical identity meant not an inquiry into his geneological antecedents but social struggle in the present and for the future.

It is ironic that Haley's real literary achievement is not the maudlin if sometimes powerful *Roots* but his collaboration on the gripping and socially important *Autobiography of Malcolm X*—a work which, like that of Frederick Douglass, starts from personal experience as the raw material from which to generalize a social vision.

Malcolm X was a contradictory figure who personified the break with Martin Luther King-style liberalism, arguing for an African-separatist ideology and black self-defense. When he was gunned down on 20 February 1967 as he addressed a public meeting, he had broken from the religious obscurantism of the Black Muslims and was moving away from black separatist ideology. Had he lived, Malcolm X might have had enormous impact on the development of political consciousness among blacks. But for Haley, "Malcolm died tragically, but perhaps if there was a right time to go, for him, that was probably it" (*Penthouse*, December 1976). Haley's spitting on the example of Malcolm X is of a piece with *Roots*.

Rootlessness and Roots

For all its promises, *Roots* provides no real historic identification for American blacks. White and black liberals are saying to ghetto blacks that the rediscovery of an African heritage can make them "real Americans." The trouble, they presumably believe, is that blacks have had no Mayflower. But a "Mayflower tradition" is of use perhaps only to that tiny minority of blacks who, like Alex Haley, "make it" as individuals.

This is why the *Roots*-fed interest in geneology is primarily a fad. It is no more helpful in the fight against racial oppression than the daishikis were in the 1960's. Lineage is important in feudal societies in defining an individual's position in the society. For the owners of private property in bourgeois society, geneology is a matter of some legal as well as ideological importance. But for the virtually propertyless black masses, it has no point and is certainly not a form of struggle against the white-dominated status quo. At best it is a hobby, bearing approximately the same relation to the fight for black freedom as stamp collecting does to internationalism.

The longing for an African heritage in *Roots* is artificial but the nostalgia for rural Tennessee rings truer. Near the end of the book, "Chicken George" tells his family:

> "De lan' where we goin' so black an' rich, you plant a pig's tail an' a hog'll grow... you can't hardly sleep nights for de watermelons grown' so fas' 'dey cracks open like firecrackers! I'm tellin' you it's possums layin' under 'simmon trees too fat to move, wid de 'simmon sugar drippin' down on 'em thick as 'lasses...!"

More than any other group in the U.S. the black masses have indeed been uprooted—not only from Africa, but from their roots in the rural South. But this same rootlessness has made them potentially a vanguard element of the future American socialist revolution. Twice severed from his roots, the urban black worker is a motor force of an integrated proletarian revolution.

Certainly the *Roots* phenomenon shows a longing for historic identification. But that identification cannot center on nostalgia for the past. It may well be that for the Haley family, the mythologized memory of their African warrior ancestor and a few words of his language were a consolation in time of deep trouble and an effective source of "black pride" as a survival mechanism against the internalization of racist ideology. But what was perhaps a source of resistance in 1850 becomes a buttress for reaction in 1977. With the economic integration of the blacks into capitalism's factories, their future is bound up decisively with their white class brothers. U.S. blacks, more than any other group in this country, have truly "nothing to lose but their chains." ■

Ebony

Alex Haley on visit to ancestral village in Gambia.

Fascists Plaster Swastikas on Chicago UAW Hall

(continued from page 5)

full resources must be committed and the labor movement mobilized (beginning with the Local 6 membership) to achieve this.

The motion, which called for the firing of two cops who beat Lenard, was too strong for Graham. We pointed out in a previous article (*WV* No. 145, 18 February) that this motion "lets the entire state repressive apparatus off the hook, perpetuating the fatal illusion that the police are neutral or can be reformed." But to Graham the motion was "a little presumptuous.... Until the facts come out on it, we can't really judge a doggone thing as far as guilt or innocence, although we say that on the surface it appears that the Melrose Park police engaged in police brutality. I feel certain that after a complete investigation by the state's attorney these police will be dealt with."

This expression of confidence in the capitalist state to discipline its own armed thugs is a slap in the face against Bennie Lenard and the membership of Local 6 which supports him. It was Melrose Park cops who sat idly by while a scab ran over and killed the vice president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union on a picket line at the Capital Packaging Company a little over a year ago. Yet the scab was merely fined $25!

The workforce of Local 6, which is 40-50 percent black, must travel through this hostile all-white suburb from all parts of Chicago to the International Harvester plant at Melrose Park. Norman Lloyd, a Local 6 steward who was elected head of the Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, told us, "This is not the first time this kind of thing has happened. It has happened a number of times, but only since the Bennie Lenard case have a lot of people in the plant been talking about incidents that have happened. These things are just beginning to come out."

If the frame-up of Bennie Lenard, the frequent harassment of black members of Local 6 and the fascist threats are to be stopped, the Chicago-area labor movement must take up this fight. The membership of Local 6 must be mobilized as the core of a militant and aggressive defense of Lenard. Smash the fascist scum! Jail the criminal cops! All charges against Bennie Lenard must be dropped immediately! ■

Camp Pendleton

(continued from page 4)

defense of the bloodiest enemies of the working people. Such a position is ultimately suicidal for blacks, Jews, organized labor, socialists and others whom the fascists desire to annihilate.

The treacherous liberalism of the ACLU has also found its reflection within the left. A newly launched social-democratic newspaper *In These Times* editorialized (January 19) that the ACLU "in defending the Klan against the political ban, is right both in principle and in political intelligence." And Sam Manuel, SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, told *WV* that, "We have no position on the ACLU position to defend the KKK at Camp Pendleton. That's the ACLU's position on what they do." The ACLU position is completely consonant with the SWP position—in opposition to its own revolutionary heritage and in willful disregard of the tragic lessons of history—of defending "free speech" for fascists.

The workers movement must organize to defend itself, to smash fascist gangs and to defend individuals and groups such as the Camp Pendleton black Marines who come under attack by the state for their courageous self-defense.

Drop the charges against the Camp Pendleton 14! Smash the Nazis and the KKK! ■

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Speaker:
BONNIE BRODIE
Spartacist League
Friday, March 11 at 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Emerson 101
Cambridge

CHICAGO
Speaker:
TWEET CARTER
Spartacist League Central Committee
Saturday, March 5 at 7:30 p.m.
5615 S. Woodlawn
Phone: (312) 427-0003

CLEVELAND
Speaker:
RENA DREISER
Spartacist League
Tuesday, March 8 at 7:30 p.m.
KSU Student Center
Kent State U.
Phone: (216) 281-4781

DETROIT
Speaker:
KAY BLANCHARD
Women & Revolution Editorial Board
Spartacist League
Wednesday, March 2 at 12:30 p.m.
Wayne State University
Hilberry C, SCB
Phone: (313) 869-1551

NEW YORK
Speaker:
ELIZABETH KENDALL
Spartacus Youth League National Committee
Thursday, March 10 at 7:45 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Rm. 703
Columbia U.
Phone: (212) 925-5665

PURCHASE
Speaker:
ELIZABETH KENDALL
Spartacus Youth League National Committee
Thursday, March 17 at 7:45 p.m.
Conference Room, C.C.S.
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WORKERS VANGUARD

A Black Horatio Alger Story

Behind the "Roots" Craze

One hundred thirty million viewers, courses in almost 300 colleges, 1,400,000 copies in print, crowed a recent Doubleday ad. They were talking, of course, about *Roots*. Twelve years ago, professional journalist Alex Haley set out to create a novel based on his research into the oral and written histories of his own family. By the time the saga was dramatized and transmitted to the largest television audience in U.S. history, it had become more than just the popularization of some interesting (if not wholly accurate) research. *Roots* had become something of a social phenomenon.

The furor over *Roots* was not just the usual public relations hoopla, though there is plenty of that (New York's Mayor Beame and no less than twenty mayors in the South proclaimed "Roots Week" and the Texas legislature voted Haley an "honorary Texan"). Nor was it simply that *Roots* made effective use of the tested clichés of popular culture: a heady mixture of violence and suggested sex focused through the lens of the best-known melodramatic techniques of soap opera. No, *Roots* struck a nerve.

Slaves on slave ship in the television program "Roots."

The current intensity of the *Roots* craze will be short-lived, but the television series and book have tapped an authentic, widespread and seething reservoir of social passion. The passion is in the first instance over the subject: the brutal history of chattel slavery in America, the resurrection of an ancient form of labor for the enrichment of the commercial capitalists and textile lords of Europe and the masters of New World plantations. There is no more explosive subject in the U.S. than this. Only *Gone With the Wind* with its "magnolia, moonlight and banjos" version of the antebellum South has come close to equalling the audience which sat riveted before TV sets to follow the generational saga of a black family from West Africa to Tennessee.

Unlike *Gone With the Wind*, *Roots* is sympathetic to the victims of slavery, and seeks to view through their eyes the anguish of human beings who have become property. Even the sentimentalized, one-dimensional characterizations of *Roots* challenge the racist ideology of slavery: that blacks are subhuman and therefore do not feel as deeply or with as much complexity as their white masters. By presenting slave characters of obvious human worth and dignity uprooted, degraded, punished beyond human endurance, *Roots* breaks with the debasing "Sambo" traditions of ignorant but happy "darkies" stumbling into paint buckets and singing in the rain.

It is this psychological identification with the slaves which in part explains the impact of *Roots*. For over 100 pages (or two and a half hours on screen) the audience has followed the story of the hero, Kunta Kinte, as he grew to young manhood in his idyllic African homeland. It would be an unusually callous viewer or reader who could thrust aside the vivid image of young Kinte amid the blood, vomit, feces of the sick, starving, terrified blacks who lie shackled on the slave ship. It is one thing to know that it was far from uncommon for a third of the kidnapped Africans to die on board the ships carrying them to captivity. It is another to see it happen.

"There is no arguing with pictures," said Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which is certainly the moral precursor of *Roots*. Published in 1851, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* made an equally sensational entrance into public life. And like *Roots*, it was passionate in its partisanship of the slaves. It presented an upside-down moral universe in which the victims were infinitely good and the slaveholders the personification of evil. It was a weapon in the service of the abolitionist movement.

But that was 1851. The book's political purpose was clear, its political imperatives unmistakable to its friends and foes. Moved by the personalized indictment of slavery as an institution, the reader was meant to work for its abolition. But what is the political point of *Roots* in 1977? Is it intended as a model for struggle against the continuing oppression of black people in the U.S.? No, *Roots* is a testament to liberal accommodationism and a declaration of personal escapism. It is a sentimental American success story and a celebration of the usefulness of the themes of black nationalism to the racist status quo.

"Consciousness-Raising"?

The media responded to this media event with white guilt and "black pride," while the fake-radicals scurried along behind. The SWP's *Militant*, for instance, dubbed *Roots* "one big consciousness raiser" and thinks that perhaps its creators fooled themselves: "Certainly it wasn't in the minds of [ABC's] board of directors to encourage black pride or militancy. But I'm afraid that they may have succeeded in doing exactly that." And the *Militant* recounts this anecdote to illustrate what the SWP means by "consciousness":

> "A young brother stopping in a coffee shop before work said, 'I tell you one thing, those white folks better not mess with me today. I just might have to stomp one'."

The *Militant* approvingly reports a racial incident at a mostly black high school in which black youth, chanting "Roots, Roots, Roots," scuffled with whites. The SWP looks hopefully to *Roots* to "increase Black pride."

But the clue to the political meaning of *Roots* is precisely the incorporation of themes generally associated with cultural nationalism into the liberal melting pot of cultural pluralism. That is what the fuss is all about. That is why Haley "dedicated *Roots* as a birthday offering to my country."

Alex Gotfryd

Alex Haley

The *New York Times* (February 2) showed that it understood the real political thrust of *Roots* better than the *Militant* when it tried to pass *Roots* off as perhaps "the most significant civil rights event since the Selma-to-Montgomery march of 1965." But *Roots* is not a "civil rights event." It poses no perspective for social action of any sort. It prescribes the search for black "roots" as a substitute for struggle.

Roots flows directly from the failure of the liberal civil rights movement to provide anything more than the token gains which are coming under increasing attack under the pressure of a worsening economic situation. Now more than ever black people are being told that nothing can be done to alleviate their miserable oppression. Carter's government is not even making promises about the amelioration of the actual conditions of ghetto life. Instead of jobs, housing and social services, the blacks are being offered "black pride." This is Jimmy Carter's formula for a successful election and a moral America, applied to blacks.

The "black pride" which is being cynically pushed as an ersatz program is a diversion from struggle. Marxists' quarrel with the idea of "black pride" is not with the individual's feelings of dignity and self-worth that come from understanding. The internalization by blacks as well as whites of the racist stereotypes is a most pernicious effect of racism; Marxists solidarize with every genuine effort to expose the racist ideology which presents oppression as "natural" and even just. But it is through

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 148 11 March 1977

Thousands of students and workers marched in support of striking pressmen at Parisien Libéré in early December. Lutte Ouvriere

Far Left Bloc Tails Popular Front

No to the Union of the Left!

Break with Class Collaboration! Toward a Workers Government!

PARIS—As the campaign period officially opens for the mid-March French municipal elections, streets in the capital have become a massive billboard for slogans of the competing parties. "To Improve Life," wistfully promise posters for the Communist Party (PCF) ticket. "Socialism—An Idea That's Going Places," declares Socialist Party (PS) leader François Mitterand from an advertisement reminiscent of Marlboro commercials. One would hardly suspect that during the last year French workers have been subjected to sharp attacks on their standard of living. The government austerity program has frozen salaries and increased unemployment to 1.5 million, an unprecedented level for recent times.

In a country with long traditions of working-class political combativity, where barely suppressed memories of May 1968 haunt the bourgeoisie and its reformist labor lieutenants, the electoral campaigns of the mass workers parties have been so innocuous that attention has focused almost exclusively on the squabbling confrontation between President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Gaullist former prime minister Jacques Chirac (who is running for mayor of Paris).

Attempting to demonstrate their "suitability" for office, the reformist bureaucrats have imposed a moratorium on mass demonstrations and are keeping the lid on strike action. Pressures are nonetheless building up, posing the possibility of an explosion of sharp class battles at any moment. Recent strikes have frequently shown a high level of militancy, such as that at the state-owned Caisse d'Epargne savings bank, where the workers held out for three months (including an occupation of the bank) before the strike was sold out at the beginning of January.

At the end of January, union bureaucrats staged one of their periodic attempts to defuse labor militancy by calling a week of rotating 24-hour strikes in the public and service sectors. This time, however, these often marginally effective "strikes" were supported by as much as 90 percent of the workers in some mining districts and railroad sectors. But the bureaucrats remained fully in control and the liberal bourgeois *Le Monde* (12 January) could observe with satisfaction that "the various actions have rarely yielded results in line with the strikers' combativeness."

Although municipal elections are not usually a major political event in France, the upcoming two-round balloting (on March 13 and 20) is seen as a crucial test pitting the fraying, discredited Giscard government and neo-Gaullist forces led by Chirac against the popular-front Union of the Left. The government suffered a series of setbacks in cantonal elections last November, and there is widespread speculation that the Union of the Left might win over 50 percent of the popular vote, or make gains significant enough to raise the possibility of a left majority in the parliamentary elections scheduled for next spring at the latest.

As in Italy, the PCF is basing its strategy on enlarging the popular front to include "broad sectors" of the bourgeoisie, in this case dissident Gaullists such as Charbonnel, a former minister. But this has reportedly caused grumbling among the Communist ranks. In the case of Charbonnel, notorious for his anti-working-class policies in May 1968 and later, the Stalinist apparatus may have difficulty keeping its troops in line and turning out the vote.

The bitter harvest of the French popular front—which defeated the 1936 general strike and paved the way to Vichy and fascism—was as predictable as the price paid in blood by the Spanish proletariat during the Civil War and the holocaust which Chilean workers suffered in 1973. This lesson must not be lost. Electoral success for the Union of the Left will not be a victory for the working class. This class-collaborationist coalition, which ties the workers to the bourgeois Left Radicals and now a "fourth element" (the dissident Gaullists), cannot be a vehicle for working-class struggle. Rather it is a roadblock standing in the way of the independent mobilization of the proletariat around its class interests.

A vote for the Union of the Left is a vote for a *bourgeois* political formation, not for working-class independence. As a *minimum precondition* for electoral support to candidates of the PCF and PS, the workers must demand that the reformist parties break with their capitalist bloc partners and with the "Common Program" which provides the framework for this class-collaborationist alliance. But instead of fighting for the mobilization of the proletariat against the class enemy, the main would-be Trotskyist groups in France have been jockeying for position on the left flank of the popular front.

"Far-Left" Slate Tails Union of the Left

As the possibility of an electoral victory for the left in France has grown over the last two years, centrist forces have been searching for a way to "regroup" all those to the left of the mass reformist workers parties. Thus the

continued on page 8

Vladimir Bukovsky AP

Bukovsky on Parade for Imperialist Warmongers....7

FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND MALCOLM X: Developing a Social Conscience

I began, with the commencement of the year, to prepare myself for a final struggle, which should decide my fate one way or the other. My tendency was upward. I was fast approaching manhood, and year after year had passed, and I was still a slave. These thoughts roused me—I must do something. I therefore resolved that 1835 should not pass without witnessing an attempt, on my part, to secure my liberty. But I was not willing to cherish this determination alone. My fellow-slaves were dear to me. I was anxious to have them participate with me in this, my life-giving determination. I therefore, though with great prudence, commenced early to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition, and to imbue their minds with thoughts of freedom. I bent myself to devising ways and means for our escape, and meanwhile strove, on all fitting occasions, to impress them with the gross fraud and inhumanity of slavery. I went first to Henry, next to John, then to the others. I found, in them all, warm hearts and noble spirits. They were ready to hear, and ready to act when a feasible plan should be proposed. This was what I wanted. I talked to them of our want of manhood, if we submitted to our enslavement without at least one noble effort to be free. We met often, and consulted frequently, and told our hopes and fears, recounted the difficulties, real and imagined, which we should be called on to meet. At times we were almost disposed to give up, and try to content ourselves with our wretched lot; at others, we were firm and unbending in our determination to go....

We now began to feel a degree of safety, and to prepare ourselves for the duties and responsibilities of a life of freedom. On the morning after our arrival at New Bedford, while at the breakfast-table, the question arose as to what name I should be called by. The name given me by my mother was, "Fredarick Augustus Washington Bailey." I, however, had dispensed with the two middle names long before I left Maryland so that I was generally known by the name of "Frederick Bailey." I started from Baltimore bearing the name of "Stanley." When I got to New York, I again changed my name to "Frederick Johnson," and thought that would be the last change. But when I got to New Bedford, I found it necessary again to change my name. The reason of this necessity was, that there were so many Johnsons in New Bedford, it was already quite difficult to distinguish between them. I gave Mr. Johnson the privilege of choosing me a name, but told him he must not take from me the name of "Frederick." I must hold on to that, to preserve a sense of my identity. Mr. Johnson had just been reading the "Lady of the Lake," and at once suggested that my name be "Douglass." From that time until now I have been called "Frederick Douglass;" and as I am more widely known by that name than by either of the others, I shall continue to use it as my own.

—Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass [autobiographical]

I think that an objective reader may see how in the society to which I was exposed as a black youth here in America, for me to wind up in a prison was really just about inevitable. It happens to so many thousands of black youth....

I think, I hope, that the objective reader, in following my life—the life of only one ghetto-created Negro—may gain a better picture and understanding than he has previously had of the black ghettoes which are shaping the lives and the thinking of almost all of the 22 million Negroes who live in America.

—The Autobiography of Malcolm X

"ROOTS": Romanticizing an Individual Heritage

Then, under the moon and the stars, Kunta raised the baby upward, turning the blanketed bundle in his hands so that the baby's right ear touched against his lips. And then slowly and distinctly, in Mandinka, he whispered three times into the tiny ear, "Your name is Kizzy. Your name is Kizzy. Your name is Kizzy." It was done, as it had been done with all of the Kinte ancestors, as it had been done with himself, as it would have been done with this infant had she been born in her ancestral homeland. She had become the first person to know who she was....

Even beyond what she had hoped, George seemed to be building up his own image of his gran'pappy, and—to the limits of her endurance—Kizzy tried to help it along with tales from her own rich store of memories. "Boy, I wish you could o' heared 'im singin' some o' dem African songs to me whan we be ridin' in de massa's buggy, an' I was a li'l gal, right roun' de age you is now."... She said to George, "Yo' gran'pappy like to tell me things in de African tongue. Like he call a tiddle a ko, or he call a river Kamby Bolongo, whole lotsa different, funny-soundin' words like dat." She thought how much it would please her pappy, wherever he was, for his grandson also to know the African words.

—Alex Haley, Roots: The Saga of an American Family

The American Left Views "Roots"

The *Roots* craze (see *WV* No. 147, 4 March) has generated some controversy among (and evidently within) a number of fake-left groups. Typically their "reviews" of Alex Haley's book and its TV dramatization shed far more light on these opportunists' own political proclivities than on the social viewpoint of *Roots* or the reasons for its phenomenal popularity.

The most slavish in pursuing the *Roots* bandwagon have been the International Socialists (I.S.) and the Communist Party (CP). In the 31 January *Workers' Power*, the I.S.'s Kate Stacy offers no less than 27 paragraphs of plot summary and concludes with the comment: "It is a fine book, worth all 580 pages of reading. Haley's writing is flowery, but the content is fascinating. And he is an excellent story-teller." The CP's *Daily World* (5 February) lauded *Roots* and raised what must surely be one of the most minimal "demands" ever: the major networks should "draw the lessons" of *Roots* and "schedule quality, informative programs at prime viewing time." (The I.S., which speaks out of the left side of the mouth of reformism as the CP does out of the right, can certainly congratulate itself on being "in the vanguard" this time: some months ago *Workers' Power* called for prime time for another media hit, "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman"!)

On slave ship—scene from television show 'Roots.'

Meanwhile Progressive Labor (PL), attempting to stem organizational disintegration with another round of ritual "self-criticism," is openly airing its confusion in the pages of *Challenge*. An article in the 10 February issue noted that Haley appeals to racial solidarity rather than class unity; *Roots*, "a nest of distortions" filled with "racist and sexist stereotypes," "appeals to crude nationalism." But in the 24 February issue one "H.H."—perhaps a grizzled veteran of PL's numerous campaigns against racist textbooks—rebuked the earlier writer for a "non-dialectical and sectarian approach to culture." H.H., apparently a true believer in PL's anti-Marxist notion that the root of racial oppression is racist ideas, evidently noticed that *Roots* effectively tapped the wellsprings of liberal white guilt to which PL's "anti-racism" campaigns are geared: by "making racism a mass issue," *Roots* enables "communists to put forward revolutionary conclusions within that discussion." Elevating idealism to new heights of absurdity, H.H. contends that *Roots* "represents a *reform* of bourgeois ideology vis a vis racism" which "is analogous to a wage increase on the economic front"!

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has the dubious distinction of having solidarized with *Roots* first in the name of vicarious race war and then, more guardedly, on behalf of liberal "Ellis Island to the suburbs"-style ethnic pluralism. First came Omari Musa's review of the TV show, which saw the leading black characters as some kind of freedom fighters and predicted *Roots* would foment an upsurge of what evidently constitutes militancy for Musa; describing the show as "one big consciousness raiser" that "will increase black pride," he gave two examples:

> "A young brother stopping in a coffee shop before work said, 'I tell you one thing, those white folks better not mess with me today. I just might have to stomp one.'... four Black students at Harrisburg Middle School were suspended after a shoving match with some white students. The Black students had been chanting 'Roots, Roots' before the scuffle began."
>
> —*Militant*, 11 February

Perhaps Musa thought the SWP was still courting militant-talking nationalist hucksters instead of ultra-respectable black ministers and liberal politicians. Musa's more calculating comrades must have realized that stomping white folks would not set well at NAACP headquarters, for the *Militant* (4 March) abruptly switched to a new interpretation of *Roots* in Malik Miah's book review.

Although hedging his bets by criticizing Haley for not paying enough attention to "the big political and social developments in the period he writes about," Miah locates the source of "black pride" in *Roots* in ... genealogy! Miah actually calls genealogy "a subject of immediate concern to all Black Americans" which "shows where we are from and why we are in the situation we find ourselves in." That this petty-bourgeois hobby can be offered as an antidote to racial oppression speaks volumes about the tame reformism of the SWP.

But in neither incarnation can the SWP show the feeblest grasp of what *Roots* is all about: the "African heritage"—pushed in the 1960's as the alternative to bankrupt civil-rights reformism—now so smoothly reconciled with accommodation to the racist status quo. *Roots* is the pop-culture reflection of daishiki-clad black administrators doling out capitalism's crumbs to the impoverished black masses. The past and present enthusiasts of black nationalism are incapable of understanding that nationalism and liberal integrationism share the same class standpoint; thus, either can serve as the ideology of black petty-bourgeois advancement, depending on the prevalent social-political climate, and elements of each can be easily grafted onto the other.

Apparently working on the assumption that "130 million Americans can't be wrong," the "Third Worldist" *Guardian* editors were loath to sharply criticize *Roots*. Instead, they sagely advised "Marxist-Leninists" to unite with the good aspects (whatever they may be) and struggle against the bad (ditto).

But while the *Guardian* cautions that *Roots* may evoke "narrow Black nationalism," the Maoist October League (OL) attacks it for being insufficiently nationalist! Articles in the OL's *Call* (14, 21 and 28 February) take Haley to task for failing to depict "the development of the Afro-American nation out of the many African peoples," citing for example the "process" which led to the "forging of one common language out of many" African tongues as "one of the features of slave life" that generated a distinct black nationality in the South.

continued on page 10

Sino-Soviet Clinch in the Lawyers Guild

NORMAN, Oklahoma—As about 300 participants met here for a three-day conference of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) national executive board on February 18-20, opportunist politics were once again in command. The question was, whose?

Was there a "two-line struggle" in the NLG, as Peking-loyal Maoists contended? Or was a "non-sectarian" "third force" emerging, as aging New Lefters hoped? Through it all, Communist Party (CP) supporters remained deliberately unobtrusive, but managed to win the key votes. The conference demonstrated the capacity of the NLG's chummy petty-bourgeois radical milieu to accommodate wildly divergent political positions ... so long as they stay within the limits of smooth-talking class collaboration.

However, "peaceful coexistence" is becoming increasingly difficult as organizational squeeze play follows bureaucratic hatchet job in the ongoing Sino-Soviet tug-of-war in the NLG. The uneasy stalemate reached at the 35th Guild conference in Houston last winter, between supporters of the Maoist October League (OL) and Brezhnevite friends of the Moscow-loyal CP (see "Détente in the National Lawyers Guild," *WV* No. 98, 27 February 1976), has given way to a bitter guerrilla war of maneuvers, threats, back-stabbing and red-baiting.

Maoist Hundred vs. Trotskyist "Gang of Three"

The battle lines were drawn on the first night of the conference. Feeling its oats in Oklahoma, close to its southern base, the OL aggressively announced a meeting to "Build a Fighting Guild." Although called "to unite" around four OL slogans (including "Oppose the two superpowers!" and "Oppose the CPUSA!"), leaflets for the meeting claimed it was open to all, including NLG members who "may be unclear about the exact meaning of some or all of these slogans."

As OL-sympathetic chairmen abruptly shut down workshops so everyone could attend this caucus, it drew nearly a third of those attending the conference. But while the leaflet advertising the meeting had promised the "fullest possible discussion," it immediately became clear that the OL intended a policy of exclusion. The first agenda point was the proposed ejection of anyone sympathetic to the politics of the Spartacist League (SL)—obviously aimed at a staff counsel and two supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

"There are one hundred of you and only three of us," the SL spokesman pointed out. "What you are really afraid of is our politics, not 'disruption'." To which the Maoists could only respond: "Out, Out, Out!" But the exclusion attempt didn't work. While the OL has hardened up its following within the NLG, so too have its Moscow-Stalinist and social-democratic opponents. Irritated by the OL's organizational bullying, the few independent radicals in the room threw a monkey wrench into the proceedings by implicitly threatening to make an issue of this blatant exclusionism on the plenary floor. Mike Withey, who had been a speaker in an earlier workshop cut short by OL interference, shouted out that the Guild would not tolerate undemocratic exclusionism and asserted that Spartacist League supporters had every right to be at the meeting. He demanded to know whether the Maoists intended to call the cops to remove SL supporters.

The Maoists backed down for the moment and continued the meeting but made sure that no SL supporter was recognized during the discussion. During a "criticism-self-criticism" session following the first plenary, NLG president Bill Goodman angrily took the floor to blast the Maoists for disruption of conference activities and for the attempted exclusion, warning them that such behavior would not be tolerated in the Guild.

Two Lines or Three?

The confrontation revealed a familiar pattern. At the beginning of a typical NLG confab the OL comes on strong with organizational shenanigans appropriate to a takeover bid; but when faced with opposition it soon backs down. This occurred last winter in Houston and again at the August national executive board meeting in New Jersey when the OL failed to stop the NLG from endorsing the Wilmington Ten/Charlotte Three demonstration pushed by the CP-dominated National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

At their meeting the OL supporters argued that a "two-line struggle" exists between themselves and the CP "revisionists." This struggle is, however, really nothing other than an organizational dogfight reflecting the Sino-Soviet split—a falling out among Stalinists. The so-called independents generally vote in accordance with the views of the CP even without heavy-handed CP orchestration; their mainstream populist radicalism is more akin to the CP's bland appeal to "progressives" and "peace-loving people" than to lining up behind Peking's alliance with U.S. imperialism. Yet it is in the hopes of capturing a chunk of this sizable group that the OL has been posturing as a left pole of attraction.

The residue of New Leftists in the NLG is itself a mass of political contradictions. A recent position paper by six Guild "independents" indicated that like the "independent" *Guardian* this tendency wants to criticize the OL on international issues and the CP on domestic ones:

> "The international line of the OL objectively supports many facets of the foreign policy of the U.S. bourgeoisie. The domestic positions of the CPUSA legitimize the state apparatus of that same bourgeoisie. We must develop our own analysis, our own theory, our own direction and our own party."

But while the *Guardian* can pretend to "develop theory" by reprinting quotations from Lenin year in and year out, the "independents" in the NLG are called upon to vote resolutions, and in the post-Angola period they almost always vote with the CP.

More fundamental than the organizational maneuvering of the various Stalinist factions and their hangers-on is the political battle to draw the class line. There are only two sides in this battle, with reformists of *all* stripes—including the pro-Peking and pro-Moscow Stalinists and the "independents"—on the side of class collaboration while the SL and PDC stand for intransigent defense of the working class. Ultimately it is only their shared appetite for class collaboration which continues to unite the squabbling reformists of the NLG.

Helping Sadlowski Sue the Unions

The labor project workshop, comprising many of the "independents" who were later so distressed by OL supporters' violations of democracy, planned a panel on United Steelworkers presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski which excluded from the panel a militant steel worker who opposed Sadlowski from the left. During the discussion this steel worker challenged the positions of both the pro-Sadlowski CP and the anti-Sadlowski OL. What, he asked OL supporter Fred Klonsky, is the difference between Sadlowski and the United Mine Workers Arnold Miller? Unable to dredge up an appropriate quotation from Chairman Mao, Klonsky admitted that perhaps some errors had been made in the OL's support for Miller.

But if the feuding Stalinists and New Leftists cannot agree on support to aspiring bureaucrat Sadlowski, they have no difficulty in coming together on the treacherous policy which is the hallmark of the NLG's recent labor defense work: suing the union. In an outrageous display of political hypocrisy, the reformist lawyers followed their silver-tongued orations on how the courts are instruments of bourgeois class rule with instructions for taking "tactical advantage" of them by bringing them into union affairs. Only the Spartacist League and the PDC have fought in the Lawyers Guild for a principled stand for the independence of the trade-union movement from the capitalist state.

When a resolution was introduced advocating NLG legal assistance to Sadlowski's "Fight Back," an SL supporter pointed out that this not only indicated political support to Sadlowski but it failed to distinguish between suits against the company and suits—such as Sadlowski has brought in the past—against the union. Despite their formal opposition to Sadlowski, the utterly unprincipled OL supporters voted *for* the motion.

NLG Ducks Soviet Dissident Issue

During the discussion on international issues, OL supporters presented a motion supporting the "Azanian [South African] people's just and heroic struggle." This in itself was fine with the "Third Worldist" NLG, but the resolution added a call for resistance to "all forms of intervention"—a disguised attack on Soviet intervention. The resolution was quickly amended to replace criticism of "both superpowers" with an attack only on "all forms of U.S. intervention." Recognizing that their "main enemy" was slipping off the hook, the Maoists voted against this motion, which was passed by the usual bloc of CP supporters and New Leftists.

The PDC introduced a resolution on Soviet dissidents which, if passed, would have put the NLG on record against the continuing cold-war hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism, while expressing political hostility to the "Stalins, Brezhnevs and Maos" (for the text of the PDC resolution see box this page). But, since China regards even the most reactionary, tsar-loving dissident as a hero while the Moscow Stalinists see them all as villains, the Guild dodged the issue completely by ruling the PDC resolution "out of order" and later voting it down with little discussion.

Instead, the convention passed a resolution of uncritical support to the Vietnamese "re-education camps," which have lately come under critical attack by liberal doves and anti-communist "peaceniks" seeking respectability. The resolution, which praises the "spirit of moderation, restraint and clemency" of the Vietnamese, is, in effect, a blank check of political support to the Stalinist bureaucrats of Vietnam.

For United-Front Defense to Free Gary Tyler!

In domestic defense work the NLG displayed yet more cynical opportunism. The main issue was the defense of Gary Tyler, a black youth facing life imprisonment on a murder frame-up in Louisiana. The OL wanted the NLG to support its defense campaign and sponsor a tour for a speaker from the OL-dominated Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

The OL-supported resolution made

continued on page 10

PDC Resolution on Soviet Dissidents

The National Lawyers Guild strongly condemns the crusade by anti-communist elements regarding "Soviet dissidents" now taken up by President Carter and the U.S. State Department. This crusade demonstrates its utter shameless hypocrisy and its direct subservience to U.S. imperialism by ignoring the ruthless suppression of democratic rights in reactionary regimes supported by U.S. imperialism (e.g., South Korea, the Philippines, Iran, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay).

In countries where capitalism has been abolished (the Soviet Union, China, Eastern Europe, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba) the "dissidents," prisoners, refugees, ethnic militants, etc. are often saturated with legitimate grievances against the repressions and pervasive oppression of the societies ruled by authoritarian, nationalistic bureaucracies. As a touchstone, those "oppositions" who center their appeals toward the "Western conscience" willy nilly and with a logic of inevitable fulfillment are tools of capitalist imperialism.

Therefore the NLG goes on record for the defense of the "forgotten" militants, those mostly faceless and nameless communists, often directly from the working people, who struggle—generally in the name of Leninism—within their own societies to remove the Stalins, Brezhnevs and Maos in favor of a just and egalitarian socialist order.

Implementation: That the NLG not participate in or sponsor projects or activities for the defense of "Soviet dissidents" which are subordinated to a cold war propaganda mobilization.

Partisan Defense Committee
Jacob Braun
Valerie West
Rachel Wolkenstein
18 February 1977

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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NYC Forum

Spain: Powder Keg of Revolution

NEW YORK—Over 100 people attended a Spartacist League forum here February 26 on the explosive prerevolutionary situation in Spain and the tasks facing Marxists. The speaker, Spartacus Youth League national committee member and *WV* staff writer Sam Lewis, described the bonapartist regime's precarious balancing between fascist provocations and massive working-class mobilization. The Suárez regime remains in power only because of toleration from the reformist leaders of the working class and their popular-front strategy of a negotiated transformation of the Francoist dictatorship.

There has seldom been a government with such a narrow base of support, Lewis said, and its clientele is dwindling rapidly. It is trying to buy time by making concessions, first to the right, then to the left. But every concession to the left cuts away another layer of the extreme right, and every concession to the right leads to a militant protest by the workers. The state apparatus is increasingly hostile to the cabinet.

"The hatred of Francoism is so intense that virtually any mass gathering of a cross section of the Spanish population can turn into a political demonstration against the government. You can't have Catalan or Basque cultural events. In the Basque country it has become a tradition during soccer games, with thousands and tens of thousands of people in the stadium, for someone to take out a Basque flag and begin to wave it. At that point the entire stadium will begin to chant, 'Prisoners into the streets—Cops into the jails!'"

The speaker cited as an index of the spread of political activity by the workers the sharp rise in strikes last year. "In 1976, one out of every two workers in Spain participated in strike activity," an extremely high figure since many workers are in outlying regions. "And one must remember that in Spain every one of these acts was an open defiance of the government, since all strikes are illegal." Last year strike activity exceeded that of the last ten years combined.

These militant working-class actions have remained, by and large, regionally isolated. To the extent that a national structure has emerged, it has been in the workers commissions, under bureaucratic control from the Communist Party (PCE). With the eclipse of the "vertical" CNS state "unions," the PCE has decided to transform the workers commissions into a normal trade union. But this is only in order to more effectively clamp down on the seething ranks, Lewis said.

The speaker also remarked on the recent spectacular actions by GRAPO (Armed Revolutionary Groups of the First of October), noting the suspicions about the origins and provocateur actions of this obscure group. "This so-called leftist organization conducted the kidnapping of the fourth- and thirteenth-ranking cabinet ministers.... They held one for over two months and the other for eleven days. Here was a group with the capacity to kidnap a man whose schedule was a top secret, who was heavily protected, and then do it again. They granted interviews to the press, but the police could never find them."

"Then the police staged a dramatic rescue," he went on, noting that this came two days after the press began to say maybe these people weren't leftists, why hadn't anyone every heard of them, etc. "Only one shot was fired, and one of the 'captives' turned and kissed his alleged abductor good-bye. They both began to give stories, but they forgot to coordinate them. One of them said it was traumatic, 'we never knew whether we would live or die'; the other said they were wonderful people, 'I felt like a guest in a country house'." The big discrepancy is that Oriol said he never saw General Villaescuesa—the other kidnap victim—during the whole time, he only read it in the newspaper. Villaescuesa, however, says they spent eleven days together in confinement! "It's suspicious, to say the least," Lewis added.

A main theme of the talk was the popular front. "Spain will not be another Portugal," the speaker said. Here there already was a popular front and a civil war which is impossible to forget. Today the PCE and social democrats sabotage their own calls for general strikes in order to preserve their alliances with bourgeois politicians. One of these, he noted, is José Maria Gil Robles, "the butcher of the 1934 Asturian miners uprising and the man who appointed Franco head of the army in early 1936. These are the politicians the PCE is trying to pacify!"

An example of what the popular front in power would be, Lewis pointed out, is the behavior of the Republican government during the May Days uprising in Barcelona in 1937. Following the Francoist officers' rebellion in July 1936 there was a dual power situation. "The popular-front government had no repressive force of its own. It couldn't do anything—the workers militias were the only effective armed groups in Catalonia. But only eight months later, this government, which was dominated by the workers parties, had built up a force of 20,000 carabineros—police—to use against the workers."

The speaker quoted George Orwell's

continued on page 11

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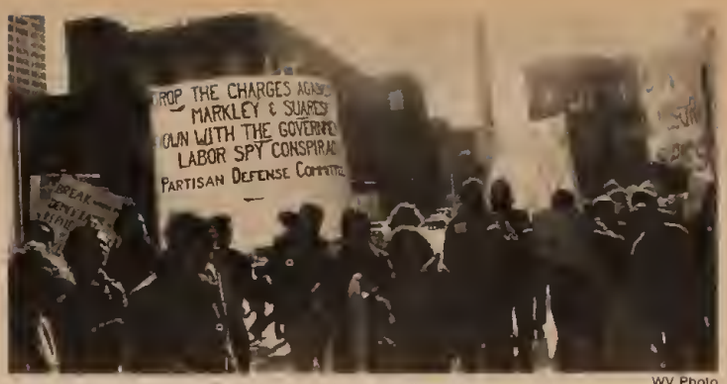

Rally Saturday in defense of Markley and Suares. WV Photo

UE Organizer Victim of Federal Labor Spies

Demo Demands Drop Charges Against Markley/Suares

SPRINGFIELD, Massachusetts—A crowd of over 200, largely trade unionists, marched through downtown Springfield Saturday, protesting the frame-up trial of United Electrical Workers (UE) organizer Alex Markley and his friend Tony Suares. The two men face years in prison on a phony conspiracy rap because of Markley's principled refusal to serve as a labor spy for the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF).

The militant demonstrators gathered at Court Square where they were addressed by Markley, representatives of the Massachusetts and Springfield-area labor councils, locals of all three electrical workers unions (UE, IUE and IBEW), a Boilermakers local and Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The speakers demanded dropping of the charges and Congressional investigation of the little publicized but massive build-up of the ATF's spy apparatus.

Despite the union officials' emphatic insistence that "friends of labor" like Congressmen Silvio Conte and Michael Harrington will protect labor from the government's secret police agencies, the rally served as an important demonstra-

Urgent PDC Fund Appeal

Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: $10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of $_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (*Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund."*)

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The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

tion of labor solidarity in the face of outrageous government provocation. A contingent of the Spartacus Youth League and Partisan Defense Committee participated, raising slogans such as "Courts/Cops/Spies, Hands Off the Labor Movement!"

Markley and his friend Suares were arrested last July by ATF agents and charged with "conspiracy to damage and destroy vehicles" and "transferring destructive devices." For 12 hours at the bureau's office, Markley was alternately threatened with jail and offered a payoff to induce him to spy on several unions in western Massachusetts. When he refused, the agents went ahead with the frame-up.

When the trial opens on March 14, the government's case is expected to hinge on the testimony of an ATF undercover agent claiming that the defendants supplied him with cardboard toilet paper tubes filled with black powder to "take care of" scab trucks during a three-month strike in Holyoke. Defense lawyers expect to easily prove that Markley and Suares had nothing to do with these oversized firecrackers. The fact that no violence took place during the strike, that eight months elapsed between the strike and the arrests and that *not a single UE member was questioned* during those eight months indicate the trumped-up nature of the government's case.

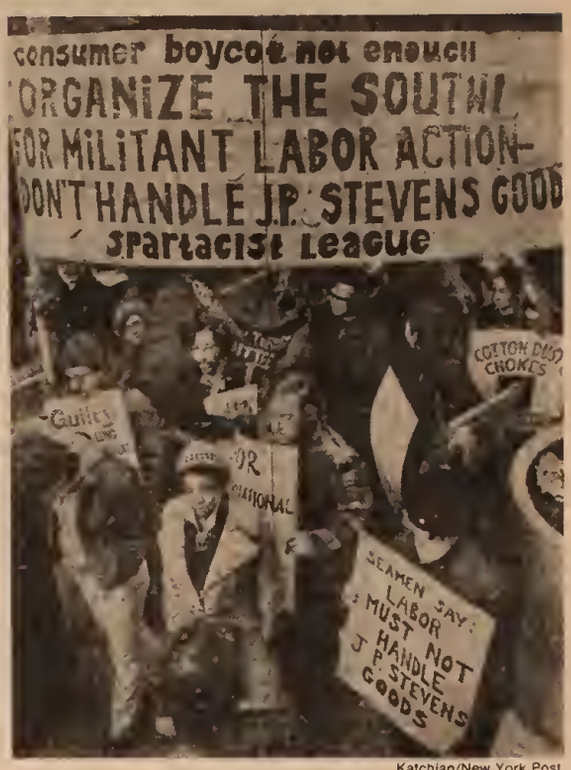
The ATF's only hope of conviction is on the catch-all conspiracy charge. Markley makes no secret of the fact that the ATF agent did try repeatedly and without success to involve him in sabotage of scab trucks. The agent, using an assumed name, had been introduced to Markley by a mutual acquaintance who, unknown to the UE organizer, was under indictment after being set up by the ATF on a weapons charge. The attempt to force Markeley into finking on fellow unionists is thus revealed as part of a vicious chain of entrapment, provocation and illegal spying by which the ATF, like the more notorious FBI and CIA, hopes to intimidate and break militant unionists, leftists and oppressed minorities.

Markley and Suares are not the only trade unionists feeling the brunt of government repression in Massachusetts. In December, after the defeat of the bitterly fought seven-month strike at Cambion-Thermionic Corp. in Cambridge, strike leader Sandi Polaski was sentenced to up to five years in jail for allegedly throwing a rock at a scab's car; strike supporter Mark Brier received up to two years. The sentences are under appeal. Since then, the company has succeeded in forcing an NLRB decertification election, which is to take place on March 9. This assault on the very existence of the UE at Cambion must be beaten back!

The Mass. labor movement must mobilize its full resources in struggle against the ATF frame-up of Markley and Suares and the vicious union-busting campaign at Cambion! ■

1,500 Demonstrate in NYC

Hot-Cargo J.P. Stevens Goods!



Demonstrators outside J.P. Stevens stockholders' meeting last Tuesday protested company's union busting practices.

Katchian/New York Post

MARCH 1—Nearly 1,500 demonstrators marched outside the Stevens Towers building in New York today during the annual stockholders' meeting of the J.P. Stevens Company. Organized by a coalition of liberal church groups and unions, the protesters were backing the AFL-CIO-endorsed consumer boycott against Stevens, the nation's second largest textile manufacturer and main organizing target of the recently merged Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). The dominant theme of the liberals and union leaders—both on the picket line and inside the stockholders' meeting, where about 100 union supporters dominated three hours of discussion—was a moralistic appeal to "conscience" explicitly patterned on the Cesar Chavez-led Farm Workers' boycotts of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

As could be expected, ACTWU spokesmen and the standard sympathetic luminaries (Central Labor Council chief Harry Van Arsdale, City Council president Paul O'Dwyer and perennial Democratic candidate Bella Abzug) paraded before the TV cameras with insipid and pointless appeals to Stevens to "obey the law" and "be fair." Nevertheless, the plight of tens of thousands of viciously exploited textile workers came through in the demonstration.

ACTWU members carried signs with the names of J.P. Stevens employees above the legend, "fired for union activity" (even the National Labor Relations Board has found Stevens guilty of at least 289 illegal firings over the past 13 years). Others carried placards calling attention to those stricken with "brown lung," a disease affecting an estimated *100,000* U.S. textile workers.

The low wages and miserable working conditions notorious in the largely unorganized textile industry also brought out at least token support from many local labor unions. Members (mostly officials) of the Garment Workers, Auto Workers, Transit Workers, Seafarers, Service Employees, Typographers and many others demonstrated their solidarity with the textile workers.

The real "strategy" and utter impotence of the cowardly labor hacks and their liberal friends running the boycott campaign was clearest inside the shareholders' meeting. Five church groups, who hold a piddling 42,000 of the corporation's over 11 million outstanding shares, joined with union backers to plead, beg, cajole and finally even "threaten" the company with boycott action.

But board chairman James D. Finley presided over the meeting with the arrogance of a tsar. When his many arbitrary rulings were challenged he imperiously informed the assembly that the meeting didn't operate under Roberts Rules but under "J.P. Stevens rules of order."

When asked if stockholders had a right to appeal his decisions, he replied coolly (and accurately): "You have a right, but I sit here with a vast majority of the proxy votes." And indeed, when two controversial motions (demanding company disclosures on racial and labor policies) finally came to a vote, they garnered less than 5 percent of the proxies.

Finley's naked assertion of power contrasted with the alternating moral appeals and blustering threats of the dissident stockholders and their union sponsors. Not surprisingly, no one challenged the company's "right" to exploit its workers. In fact, an officer of the ACTWU repeatedly stressed that he believed in free enterprise and the capitalist system.

Coretta King, quoting her late husband, said piously: "Our struggle is not for putting the...company out of business but to put justice in business." Finley thanked her courteously and went on to the next speaker. He was, Finley said, prepared to go on all night—and since he held all the cards, why not?

Labor Organizing and the Consumer Boycott

The labor movement must vigorously support the fight against J.P. Stevens and back the ongoing boycott. Not only are textiles the backbone of Southern manufacturing, but J.P. Stevens is the industry's outstanding example of anti-union and racist practices. It closed its Statesboro, Georgia, plant rather than recognize the union and has refused for over two years to agree on a contract at its seven-plant complex in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. A victory at Stevens could spearhead the unionization of the South.

Labor militants must also realize that the consumer boycott campaign comes after years of organizing failure. The weak-kneed and flabby unionization attempts of the ossified AFL-CIO leaders have proved little match for employer intransigence: only one textile worker in ten holds a union card. The ACTWU bureaucrats are now putting all their eggs in the consumer boycott basket only because reliance on NLRB elections has been futile: they have lost 13 out of 14 certification votes since 1963.

But the consumer boycott is a diffuse and usually marginal weapon in labor's arsenal, particularly so in this case. Only about 30 percent of Stevens' sales are marketed directly under its many labels and almost half go directly to other manufacturers. Finley confidently told Wall Street analysts last summer that

continued on page 11

WV Photo

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Rosa Luxemburg flanked by portraits of Marx and Lassalle speaking at SPD meeting in 1907.

International Women's Day, 1977:

Women's Liberation Through Proletarian Revolution!

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY FORUMS

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

BOSTON

Speaker:
BONNIE BRODIE
Spartacus Youth League National Committee

Friday, March 11 at 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Emerson 101
Cambridge

NEW YORK

Speaker:
ELIZABETH KENDALL
Spartacus Youth League National Committee

Thursday, March 10 at 7:45 p.m.
Hamilton Hall, Room 703
Columbia University
Phone: (212) 925-5665

PURCHASE

Speaker:
ELIZABETH KENDALL
Spartacus Youth League National Committee

Thursday, March 17 at 7:45 p.m
Conference Room, C.C.S.
State University of New York
Purchase

TORONTO

Speaker:
PAT SHEPPARD
Trotskyist League of Canada

Thursday, March 10 at 12 Noon
York University
Ross Building, S130

Wednesday, March 16 at 7 p.m.
University of Toronto
Morning Room
International Student Center
Phone: (416) 366-4107

From "Decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist International" Moscow, July, 1921:

"What Communism offers to the women, the bourgeois women's movement will never afford her. So long as the power of capitalism and private property continue to exist, the emancipation of woman from subservience to her husband cannot proceed further than her right to dispose of her property and earnings as she sees fit and also to decide on equal terms with her husband the destiny of their children.

"... The right to vote does not remove the prime cause of women's enslavement in the family and in society. The substitution of the church marriage by civil marriage does not in the least alleviate the situation. The dependence of the proletarian woman upon the capitalist and upon her husband as the economic mainstay of the family remains just the same. The absence of adequate laws to safeguard motherhood and infancy and the lack of proper social education render entirely impossible the equalization of women's position in matrimonial relations. As a matter of fact, nothing that can be done under the capitalist order will furnish the key to the solution of the problem of the relationship of the sexes.

"Only under Communism, not merely the formal but the actual equalization of women will be achieved. Then women will be the rightful owner, on a par with all the members of the working class, of the means of production and distribution. She will participate in the management of industry and she will assume an equal responsibility for the well-being of society.

"In other words, only by overthrowing the system of exploitation of man by man and by supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist organization of industry will the full emancipation of woman be achieved."

Grand Jury Witchhunts Puerto Rican Nationalists

The FBI is continuing to use the grand jury system as a vehicle for its campaign to smash the Puerto Rican independence movement. Last week two members of the Episcopal Church National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, Raisa Nemikin and Maria Cueto (executive director and secretary respectively), were imprisoned for refusing to testify before a New York grand jury "investigation" of the Puerto Rican nationalist group Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

Meanwhile, the *Chicago Sun-Times* (7 March) has reported that several persons face possible contempt-of-court charges for refusing to testify about the FALN in grand jury hearings running concurrently in that city. Among those facing imprisonment are Myrna and José López, teachers in the "Rafael Cancel Miranda High School" which the government claims some alleged members attended at one point. (Rafael Cancel Miranda is one of four Puerto Rican nationalists unjustly imprisoned for a 1954 machine-gun raid on the U.S. House of Representatives.)

Frustrated in its attempts to bust up the FALN, the FBI is now incredibly attempting to smear the Episcopal Church with financing the group! The FBI alleges that Carlos Alberto Torres, an unpaid worker for the church's Hispanic Commission in 1975, is a member of the FALN; it claims to have found a cache of explosives in Torres' Chicago apartment last year. Now Nemikin and Cueto, who are accused of no connection whatever with the FALN, face up to 14-month prison sentences simply for stating that they could not testify because the FBI's witchhunt violates their religious ethics as lay ministers.

Sauro/New York Times

Raisa Nemikin (left) and Maria Cueto

Serious questions are raised by the statement of Nemikin and Cueto that they have nothing to say to the grand jury since they already told the FBI everything they knew when questioned last November. However, their refusal to testify before the grand jury is principled and courageous. Socialists must demand that all charges against them be dropped.

The church hierarchy initially backed up the two women, arguing that the

continued on page 10

Feminists vs. Spartacists in Australia

At a January 18 planning meeting for International Women's Day in Sydney, Australia, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ, section of the international Spartacist tendency) attempted to return this socialist celebration to its revolutionary heritage by proposing a genuine united-front demonstration around concrete *class-struggle* demands addressed to the immediate needs of workers, including: "Jobs for all through shortening the workweek with no loss in pay!" "Free abortion on demand!" "Free 24-hour child care!" "Free quality health care for all!" and "Reverse the cut-backs!" Our comrades also proposed a speakers' platform where the differences confronting the women's movement could be openly raised and debated instead of being papered over by phony "sisters unite" slogans.

Although this proposal was eventually sabotaged in favor of one more classless, pointless crawl for "sisterhood," the January 18 meeting overwhelmingly endorsed it.

Despite their professed differences, reformist supporters of both the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had no qualms about working together to defeat the SL/ANZ motion. The CPA dropped its usual opposition to the SWP's liberal demand to "repeal all abortion laws," and the two organizations mobilized their supporters, members of the SWP-dominated Women's Abortion Action Coalition and other feminists in a rotten bloc to pack the following week's meeting and reverse the vote.

The initial support for the SL/ANZ's proposals for a class-struggle International Women's Day demonstration was so threatening to a variety of pseudo-Marxist class collaborators that at the February 27 general meeting of Sydney women's liberation a proposal was put forward by Margo Moore, a "Marxist"-feminist academic at Sydney University, to expel the Spartacist League. This anti-communist exclusion, which comes up for a vote at a special meeting on April 17, must be opposed by all socialists and by everyone committed to struggling for a program for the emancipation of women.

The Spartacist League maintains that working women must be mobilized around the same program as working men—the Trotskyist Transitional Program. As a recent article in *Australasian Spartacist* points out ("Fight Women's Oppression Through Class Struggle," *ASp* No. 40, March 1977):

> "Only this program links the immediate felt needs of the working class and all the oppressed to the struggle for socialism and the eradication of all forms of social oppression through the independent mobilisation of the proletariat. Special organisational forms, linked to the revolutionary party, are crucial vehicles in reaching out to specially oppressed strata of the population. Thus a key aspect of the strategic task of awakening the masses of women from centuries of subjugation is the construction of a non-male-exclusionist communist women's movement, section of a Trotskyist vanguard party. The banner of women's liberation is the banner of the reborn Fourth International!" ■

Ukrainians greeted invading Nazi army in 1941. Nazis began by killing Communists, Jews, Russians and finally the Ukrainians themselves. This is the sort of "democracy" imperialists are calling for.

Bukovsky on Parade for Imperialist Warmongers

On March 5 in New York, the social-democratic accomplices of the bourgeoisie's hypocritical crusade for "human rights" in the USSR were treated to a graphic display of the reactionary menace which lurks beneath the "classless" rhetoric of pro-imperialist anti-Stalinism. A large contingent of Eastern European emigrés was on hand at Stuyvesant High School when Vladimir Bukovsky (exiled from the USSR in December 1976 for his dissident activities) addressed an anti-Soviet "human rights" rally organized by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

These Black Hundreds, the losers in Hitler's World War II, enthusiastically greeted Bukovsky's declaration that "totalitarianism is a direct consequence of the communist idea." And they were equally vociferous in rejecting the "democratic socialist" verbiage of imperialism's "left" apologists, hooting and howling when the democratic avowals of some speakers did not accord with their blood-thirsty ultra-rightism.

Since joining the growing army of "dissidents" who are performing yeoman service for the U.S. State Department as props in Carter's "human rights offensive," Bukovsky has been a busy man. Within the last two weeks he has addressed the AFL-CIO Executive Committee in Bal Harbour, Florida, testified before a U.S. Commission on Europe, breakfasted with Walter Mondale and met with Jimmy Carter. Before a committee chaired by Florida Congressmen Dante Fascell, Bukovsky urged economic and trade sanctions against the USSR. At a press conference in Washington, he called for a "firm, relentless and consistent stand by the West" to force the Soviet Union to its knees. Even starvation is not too ugly a weapon for this "humanitarian," who stands to the right of the U.S. government in opposing the sale of grain to the Soviet Union.

To highlight its appeal to "all people of good will," the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners invited, in addition to Bukovsky, an array of speakers which included pseudo-Trotskyist Ralph Schoenman, "democratic socialist" Michael Harrington, and the son of former Soviet general Pyotr Grigorenko. But the reactionary audience that Bukovsky attracted was in no mood for leftist window-dressing. Even veteran anti-communist Harrington was savaged by this audience.

Harrington began his speech by launching an attack against "the bureaucratic nationalization of property in the Soviet Union." Speaking as "an American socialist" he expressed his "delight that the President of the United States is speaking out on behalf of human rights in the Soviet Union."

Such touching jingoism earned him a few minutes of grace—but only a few. His mention of the "struggle for socialism" in the Soviet Union quickly netted a rising crescendo of boos and yells of "shut up." When he referred to the "responsibility" that "we have ... in this society for the repression of human rights in Chile," Harrington was blasted with cries of "Communist propaganda" and "get him off the stage."

Schoenman, who lies within the orbit of the SWP, fared even worse. Describing himself as a "revolutionary socialist," he attempted to placate the crowd by comparing the method of rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies with that of fascists in power. But despite these efforts, Schoenman was not spared. His downfall came when he uttered the word "Lenin." The response was instantaneous. A red-faced, black-robed Orthodox priest thundered "shame on you!" The "freedom fighters," increasingly frenzied, followed this lead, chanting "Out!, Out!" Disconcerted, Schoenman appealed, "Comrades." It was an unfortunate word to use. "There are no comrades here" somebody yelled in a thick Slavic accent.

At that point, the rally had clearly taken on the atmosphere of an Einsatz reunion; there was no mistaking its politics. Schoenman's allusion to the "brutal rule, now fifty years old" in the USSR was met with a loud "sixty!" By the time Schoenman was driven from the podium, there was virtual pandemonium. The audience was so rabid that they turned on the next speaker almost preventing him from being heard.

The sight of wretched social democrats attempting to conciliate a host of Hitlerite counterrevolutionaries and being hysterically rebuffed was pathetic and ominous. But Bukovsky who claims to advocate "democracy" in the USSR, sat through it all with what the *New York Times* described as an "amused" look on his face. Since being freed from imprisonment in Stalinist "psychiatric hospitals" last fall, with his jokes about exchanging Brezhnev for the butcher Pinochet, his calls on the imperialists to use economic (and other) blackmail against the USSR, and his association with the most reactionary cold warriors, Bukovsky has shown an anti-communist fervor that puts him in a class with Solzhenitsyn, nostalgic for the days of the tsars.

It is logical that social-democrats build a movement for "democracy" that features a Bukovsky and attracts blood-thirsty fascistic dinosaurs. The Russian Mensheviks launched their Georgian republic in the heat of the Civil War, while Kornilov aimed his blade at the heart of the Russian workers movement. It was the German SPD that collaborated in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

There is clearly nothing democratic about Bukovsky's movement for "human rights." Its goal is not workers democracy but the destruction of the Soviet Union. The March 5 meeting evoked the spirit of the Ukrainian peasants who welcomed their Nazi "liberators" in 1941 and gleefully participated in the slaughter of Communists and Jews. The Nazi conquest unleashed home-grown anti-semitic fascists among the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, etc., who often outdid the German Nazi butchers in their zeal for exterminating every Jew in the East.

The struggle for workers democracy in the deformed workers states must begin from a commitment to the defense of the gains of the October Revolution against reaction. There is no classless struggle for democratic rights just as there are no classless democracies. As Trotskyists, we defend the rights of even a Bukovsky against repression by the Soviet bureaucracy. But the restoration of workers democracy in the USSR will be accomplished only by a proletarian political revolution, certainly not by the U.S. State Department. Those who cynically prate about uniting "all people of good will" against "totalitarianism" are in the last analysis the "left" cover for the murderous counterrevolutionary frenzy which surfaced at the Bukovsky meeting. In this extreme but so logical case, these "democrats" have made common cause with the felt losers of World War II, who look to U.S. imperialism to bring back the "final solution" of Babi Yar. ■

WV Photo

Bukovsky speaking at meeting last Saturday.

Spartacus Youth League forum

Marxism and the National Question in North America

Speaker: Joseph Seymour
Workers Vanguard editorial board
Spartacist League Central Committee

19 March 1977, 7:30 p.m.

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French Elections...

(continued from page 1)

municipal elections have been the catalyst for an electoral bloc between the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT). This "far-left" slate will run candidates in over 20 cities under the title "For Socialism, Power to the Workers."

While the electoral agreement pretends to be a "credible" "alternative" to the popular front, like the Democrazia Proletaria bloc in last summer's Italian parliamentary elections it seeks to pressure the populàr front to the left. The joint LCR-LO-OCT declaration proclaims that a vote for the "revolutionary" candidates will "allow all workers to state...that they have no confidence in the left parties' policy of compromise, and that if these parties enter the government they are determined not to let them carry out the policy of the right, as they have done so often in the past" (*Rouge*, 22-23 January 1977). But at the same time, in order not to arouse the ire of the reformist bureaucracies, it explicitly states:

> "It is not our intention to prevent the PC and PS from conserving or extending their positions in the municipal governments against the right. We already state that this is what will determine whom we will vote for on the second round."

This "far-left" pressure group is more than a simple no-contest agreement; it is a full-fledged political coalition around a parochialist minimum program for the municipal elections. Proving that the centrists have learned a few tricks from the Union of the Left, the "United Manifesto of the Revolutionaries" (as *Rouge* headlined it) contains a ritual mention of socialism in its title, some economic demands (35-hour week, no factory shutdowns, rejection of the wage freeze) in the preamble—with nothing about how to implement them—and then a detailed campaign program of "community control" reforms.

This recipe for "popular" control of the cities is the translation of 1968-vintage calls for "red universities" into the arena of sub-parliamentary electoralism. The classic minimum program turns out to be "sewer socialism" of municipal reforms only slightly more "advanced" than that practiced by Labour-led local councils in Britain, the Italian Communist Party in its Bologna "showcase" of clean government and the PCF in 1,100 cities, towns and districts which have Communist mayors. In the capital, which has not had a mayor since 1871, the LCR-LO-OCT bloc would have its constituents believe that a "far-left" victory in the municipal elections would peacefully usher in an "autogestion" (self-management) version of the Paris Commune.

The "revolutionary" municipal program has a series of caveats ("a municipal government, even one headed by revolutionaries, would be unable to prevent money from continuing to confer privileges...") followed by a series of "howevers" which paints a rosy picture of municipal bliss. The "red municipalities" would "support striking workers"; they would "grant all aid to women struggling and organizing against their oppression and double exploitation" (providing birth control centers, "freedom of abortion," childcare centers, women's centers); there would be free transportation for the unemployed, full access to city facilities for the unions, etc. The "pact of alliance" even promises that "the municipal government will stand on the side of the workers in struggle in opposing the intervention of the official or parallel police...."

Of course, it notes, it is not possible for "a city [to] be transformed into an 'island of socialism'...." Beginning from this obvious fact, Leninists would put forward a program for struggle *by the labor movement* which would include local issues but extend to the national and international scale. This would include calling for strikes and plant occupations against layoffs and cutbacks and demanding that the PCF and PS break from the popular front (or, in the United States, calling for a workers party based on the unions). The LCR-LO-OCT pact, however, limits itself to reforms within the limits of bourgeois constitutionality. Thus it notes that to simultaneously build public housing, nurseries, schools, etc. is beyond the financial resources of municipal governments. The conclusion: "Nonetheless, the city budget will be subjected to the control of the entire toiling population...."

Leninists do not take office in bourgeois governments. Our program is for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a soviet regime based on democratic organs of the workers movement. For revolutionaries to come to power on a local scale would mean the establishment of dual power, which would have to be extended or be crushed. But the LCR-LO-OCT pact is electoralist; LO well knows what this minimum program of "popular control" amounts to and has raised the possibility that, if elected, its representatives might have to "resign in order not to succumb to reformism" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 19 February). On the other hand, Alain Krivine must dream of entering into a local government coalition with the PCF and PS, as have representatives of the Italian Democrazia Proletaria with the Stalinists and social democrats in the Milan city council.

Lutte de Classe

"Union of the Left" leaders Mitterand (Socialist), Fabre (Radical) and Marchais (Communist).

No Vote to the Democrazia Proletaria Under French Colors!

Not only is the "pact of alliance" program parochialist but, while criticizing the Union of the Left on several points, it never calls on the mass reformist workers parties to break with the bourgeois Left Radicals and dissident Gaullists. Moreover, in different ways, *all three of the "far-left" bloc partners are prepared to vote for even the bourgeois components of the popular front.*

The OCT, which was formed last year from a fusion of Révolution with the "critical Maoist" Gauche Ouvrière et Populaire, calls openly for a vote for all the candidates of the Union of the Left on the decisive second round (when the "pact of alliance" candidates will have dropped out of the running). Lutte Ouvrière claims to be Trotskyist, and in 1973 called for votes to only PCF and PS candidates on the second round. But now LO, too, has demonstrated its willingness to vote for bourgeois politicians in order to avoid the unpopular step of opposing the popular front. In parliamentary by-elections in Bordeaux last November, LO withdrew its candidate on the second round in favor of a Left Radical representing the Union of the Left. It explained quite frankly this unabashed opportunism:

> "We do not believe that the Socialist-Radical candidate is a representative of the workers. He is a bourgeois politician. And the illusions the workers have concerning such types might be very dangerous tomorrow. But Lutte Ouvrière is in solidarity with the overwhelming majority of workers who want the left to win. And it is out of solidarity that [the LO candidate] calls for a vote for the candidate of the Union of the Left."
>
> —quoted in *Rouge*, 20-21 November 1976

As for the LCR, it has wobbled from one capitulation to another in an effort to intersect the elusive "broad vanguard" of radicalized youth. In the 1973 parliamentary elections the Ligue called for votes on the second round to the Union of the Left as such. Under sharp criticism internally and internationally within the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), of which it is the French section, the LCR performed a grudging "self-criticism" and ran Alain Krivine in the 1974 presidential elections. However, it called for a vote on the second round to Mitterand, the single candidate of the Union of the Left.

Fauchard/Norma

Jacques Chirac

la Actualidad Espanola

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

In the 1977 municipal elections the LCR is calling for votes on the second round to those Union of the Left slates which are not headed by bourgeois politicians. (Under French election law, in towns of over 30,000 it is not possible to vote for individual candidates but only for the entire slate *en bloc*.) Thus in effect it calls for votes to Left Radicals and dissident Gaullists where they are in positions other than the top slot of the ticket. Clearly this is a purely tokenist and empty gesture of distaste at the presence of direct representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The attempt to form rotten-bloc electoral coalitions of the various centrist groups to the left of the popular front is common to the USec majority throughout Europe. (Ironically, many of these groups were formerly known as the "extra-parliamentary opposition" and at one time refused to participate in elections on principle!) In Portugal, when the USec majorityite Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI) joined in forming the so-called "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR), the LCR criticized it *not* for having entered this popular-frontist bloc (which called for support to the Armed Forces Movement and the Stalinist-influenced government of Vasco Gonçalves), but only because the terms of the accord were insufficiently leftist. And during the 1976 Italian parliamentary elections, both the LCR and Révolution uncritically supported Democrazia Proletaria, whose leaders called for what they themselves described as a bourgeois "government of the lefts."

The Key Issue: The Popular Front

To reconcile this endless opportunist maneuvering with their threadbare pretensions to Trotskyism, the USec majority has sought to deny that various popular fronts are just that. Following the overthrow of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) coalition in Chile in September 1973, Ernest Mandel & Co. issued a declaration denying that the UP was a popular front and instead labeled it "reformist." In the same year, the Ligue Communiste described the Union of the Left as a "global reformist alternative" and likewise denied it was a popular front.

In both cases the essential argument was that the bourgeois parties in the coalitions were numerically insignificant compared to the preponderance of the mass workers parties. But this would also "re-define" the Spanish popular front of 1936-39 out of existence since, in Trotsky's cogent phrase, it contained only the "shadow of the bourgeoisie" among the bloc partners. Now the LCR is trying to give its opportunism more of an orthodox appearance by claiming the Union of the Left has "class-collaborationist intent." But it still draws a qualitative distinction between this and the "classic popular front," denying that the Union of the Left is a *bourgeois* political formation.

This is at the level of the Mandelites' pseudo-theory. Their real argument against a principled position of refusing to vote for these popular fronts is that to do so would be unpopular with the workers. This was clearly expressed by the LCR majority during the debate prior to its recent second national conference: "If we call for a blank ballot, the workers will view this as the LCR preferring to see a slate led by the PC and PS beaten by the right rather than voting for it (while naturally regretting publicly the 'venal sin' imposed by bourgeois law).... The workers are electoralists.... This would distort the debates by forcing us to reply to a secondary question [i.e., voting for bourgeois candidates!].... Our audience will shrink..." 'Special Congrès, No. 7).

This attempt to dissolve the fundamental question of the class nature of the Union of the Left into intricate "tactical" decisions is typical of Pabloite justifications for tailing after non-proletarian leaderships. And in this endeavor Krivine and his crew have gotten plenty of "theoretical" ammunition from Mandel himself. Interviewed recently in an LCR journal, he outlined the USec majority's perspective toward the current wave of popular frontism in southern Europe:

> "In a situation as complex and delicate as a left government which the masses identify as a government of working-class organizations, the policy of the united front implies that the attitude of revolutionary Marxists toward such a government must be carefully calculated even to the fine shadings.... Such a government would be a bourgeois-*workers* government, and the masses would see it as such. It would be sectarian and completely unproductive

to adopt toward such a government an attitude identical to that toward not only a bourgeois government but even a popular-front government....

"When this kind of government begins to repress the masses, the attitude of the revolutionaries would change. *But as long as the government doesn't do this, we must adopt an attitude that I would term a critical 'attitude of tolerance,' of propagandist and pedagogical opposition, so that the masses will go through their own experience.*" [emphasis in original]

—*Critique Communiste*, September 1976

Thus, it is not objective criteria which determine the class character of a political formation, but how the masses see it! This is an open door to supporting such populist formations as the Peronist Justicialista party (seen for decades by the Argentine masses as representing the downtrodden "shirtless" masses), or even the U.S. Democratic Party (the capitalists' reputed party of the "common man"). And until the moment

François Mitterrand

when the bourgeois popular front actually begins breaking strikes and locking up workers' leaders (France 1938-39 and 1947, Chile 1946) or is overthrown by the reactionary forces it has conciliated (Chile 1973) it should be "tolerated" by revolutionaries *instead of ruthlessly exposed as an enemy of the working class.* Such "leadership" the proletariat can do without!

OCI: Backhanded Support to the Union of the Left

In the current political maneuvering in France, all of the major "far-left" formations are attempting to find their appropriate niche in the event of a left electoral victory. The left-social-democratic PSU majority is angling for an invitation to join the Union of the Left; the LCR-LO-OCT bloc is trying to cover the area just to the left of the PCF, and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) is following its usual policy of tailing after the Socialist Party. It is currently doing so with a barrage of "orthodox" denunciations of the popular front, vehemently declaring that "the OCI will not call for a vote to the slates of the Union of the Left" (*La Verité*, February 1977).

The OCI correctly states that Trotskyists must call for the workers parties to break with the popular front, insisting at great length that the presence of Radicals such as Fabre, bankers like Filippi and dissident Gaullists like Charbonnel is the bourgeoisie's guarantee that a "left government" would behave itself. But then, in the same breath that it denounces the Union of the Left as a popular front, the OCI urges a vote to the coalition's candidates except for the small number of actual bourgeois politicians.

The election law requiring voters to select an entire slate makes this somewhat difficult, so the OCI is calling for a vote to the Union of the Left in those districts where its list contains no capitalist politicians. But it does so in a way that highlights the absurdity of its attempt to pick and choose among the popular-front candidates:

"Thus in the 13th, 17th, 18th and 20th districts in Paris, the toiling masses will vote massively for the slates presented by the PS and PC, without Gaullists and Left Radicals."

—*Informations Ouvrières*, 23 February 1977

What about the remaining 16 districts of the capital? Are we to believe that the workers will *not* vote massively for the Union of the Left there? There may be discontent over the presence of the bourgeois politicians, but the working masses understand—even if the OCI does not—that the Union of the Left is a real political formation. One either votes for it or not. Trotskyists do not vote for the popular front; centrists try to squirm out of this elementary obligation by ducking the issue.

Still, the OCI does make at least a half-hearted attempt to preserve its virtue, if not forswearing the "venal sin" of voting for the popular front, then at least by renouncing the "mortal sin" of actually calling for votes to bourgeois politicians. This contrasts with the LCR, LO and OCT, all of which have declared their willingness to vote for Left Radical and Gaullist candidates of the Union of the Left. Candidates running on the OCI's positions could merit critical support from Trotskyists as a partial and deformed opposition to the popular front. *But there are no OCI candidates in the municipal elections, and not by accident.*

The OCI's preferred tactic for cozying up to the reformists has been to denounce the popular front in the abstract while not putting up any candidates of its own (thus avoiding the charge that it siphoned off votes from the Union of the Left). When in 1974 the OCI called for a vote to Mitterrand on both the first and second round, it justified its refusal to present candidates on the grounds that to do so would aid the right (which, of course, is exactly what the PCF and PS say about *any* left opposition to the popular front): "Helping the [Gaullist] UDR (even unconsciously) is not our job. That is why the OCI is not running a candidate" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10 April 1974).

This continues to be the thrust of the OCI electoral policy. Defending it against left criticisms by OCI militants, a long article in *La Verité* (December 1976) insisted that Trotskyists should not present candidates if that would mean: "deciding to confront the union leaderships, risking cutting ourselves off from the masses who do not see the need for this confrontation.... We must not brutally confront the masses' preoccupations." Having maintained this back-

continued on page 11

20 Years Ago

When the OCI Said No to the Popular Front

In the 1974 French presidential elections, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) called for a vote for François Mitterand, Socialist candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left. The OCI claimed that voting for the candidates of the reformist workers parties was not inconsistent with opposition to popular frontism.

But this position was diametrically counterposed to the stance taken two decades earlier by its forerunner, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI). In the legislative elections of 2 January 1956, the PCI refused to vote for the candidate of a reformist workers party in a popular front: Guy Mollet, leader of the Socialist Party (SFIO, now PS).

Those elections took place in the wake of a massive strike wave in August-September 1955 and in the context of the rapid escalation of the Algerian war, marked by widespread demonstrations against the recall of the reserves in fall 1955. It was clear that the new government would be called upon to take repressive measures against the working class and to beef up the French colonialist expedition in Algeria.

For the elections, the SFIO formed a popular-front electoral bloc, the "Republican Front," with two bourgeois formations, the wing of the Radicals led by Mendès-France and the small Gaullist party, which had recently suffered major splits and defections. The SFIO slates were even linked with the Radical Daladier, one of the key figures of the 1936-39 popular front, and Jacques Soustelle, "butcher of the Algerian people" and later one of the leaders of an attempted right-wing coup against DeGaulle in 1961.

The Communist Party (PCF) called for a new popular front along the lines of 1936 and requested admission into the "Republican Front." The PCI pointed out that the PCF's "speeches asserting that there can be no 'left majority' without the PCF are unequivocal" (*La Verité* No. 385, 16 December 1955) and refused to vote for *either* of the workers parties committed to the popular-frontist formation. Although its argumentation tended toward ultra-left abstentionism (it did not run candidates on the grounds that the elections were a "disgusting farce"), the PCI was correct to refuse to vote for the SFIO and PCF and to counterpose a class-struggle perspective:

"We must draw our inspiration from August 1953 and August-September 1955. The position taken by the CGT and FO leaderships toward the postal strike demonstrates that their participation in this election campaign is part of a policy which implies putting working-class demands, the aspirations of young soldiers, the struggle for independence by colonial peoples, into cold storage."

—Stéphane Just in *La Verité* No. 386, 23 December 1955

The French Pabloists, capitulators then as now, took up the 1936 Stalinist popular-front slogan against the "200 families" and called for a vote for the PCF. They retained only the barest figleaf to cover for their accommodation to popular frontism, claiming to oppose it only "as long as the popular front has not been realized in fact"—leaving the door open to support it when it did come to power.

The Socialist-led government which emerged from the elections soon called for "special powers" to help suppress the Algerian uprising and, with the PCF voting in favor, parliament duly granted the government a free hand on 12 March 1956. Shortly thereafter, the government proceeded against both the Pabloists and the PCI, arresting and instituting suits against leading figures.

The principled, if flawed, response of the PCI sharply contrasted with the Pabloites' capitulation—and with the present position of the OCI! The OCI's 1974 electoral stance signalled its consolidation around right-centrism and prefigured its present attempts to sneak back into the Pabloist "United Secretariat" through a deal with the latter's reformist right wing, the American SWP. The "continuity" of the anti-Pabloist struggle of the PCI tendency in the early 1950's resides not in the OCI but in the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency.■

LCR Ducks Soviet Defense

Guilty Whispers

At a recent press conference called to launch the LCR-LO-OCT lowest-common-denominator electoral bloc, a simple question from the representative of *Le Bolchèvik* (organ of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) brought on a fit of squirming from the fake-Trotskyist LCR. The question—"What would your position be in the event of a war between the Soviet Union and France?"—elicited the following dialogue (transcribed from a tape recording of the meeting):

"*OCT:* First of all, we should say that that is absolutely not part of the agreement on the city elections [laughter]. No, I don't know, I have the impression that...

"*Krivine, LCR:* ...that the problem isn't posed [relieved laughter].

"*OCT:* ...yes, [not] right away.

"*Krivine, LCR:* Generally, we have to try, I think, when one is a revolutionary militant, to pose the problems which are posed, and thus to give political answers to the problems which are posed; and I think that we have the weakness of believing that it [the question] isn't directly current presently, so that it can be dealt with at another press conference.

"*OCT:* In any case, we wouldn't see how the normal course of the city election campaign could be upset by such a...

"*LO:* Of course, we have positions on these problems, just as we have positions on many other problems, but I think we have come together here to discuss the common policy which we have agreed to in the framework of these city elections.

"*Métain, LCR* (whispered aside to Krivine): We will be denounced if we reject the question ..

"*Krivine, LCR:* (inaudible)

"*Métain:* We reject the question."

Thereupon the press conference was terminated in short order.

The question of defense of the USSR against imperialist attack is far from academic. Soviet dissidents like Plyushch and Amalrik are all over the French political scene with denunciations of Stalinist totalitarianism—which, in addition to acutely embarrassing the Communist Party (PCF) on the eve of the elections, have a far more sinister thrust as part of the world bourgeoisie's hypocritical outcry over "human rights" in the USSR, objectively serving to prepare the ideological groundwork for an imperialist "holy war" against the deformed workers states. The PCF itself has jumped on the "anti-repression" bandwagon in its "Eurocommunist" maneuver to reassure the French bourgeoisie of its independence from Moscow as part of its bid for trusteeship of the bourgeois order through the popular-front Union of the Left.

The LCR-LO-OCT minimum-program propaganda bloc is a test run for an unprincipled "regroupment" of the "revolutionary" movement. The Russian question is a good index of just what a zoo such a rotten "regroupment" would be: the Pabloist LCR, the left-social-democratic PSU, the soft Maoist OCT (which considers the USSR "imperialist") and LO (which considers the Soviet Union a degenerated workers state but East Europe "state capitalist") will achieve nothing but a living demonstration, in microcosm, of the futility of "peaceful coexistence." They can look forward only to an endless vista of dodging principled questions, under the fire of revolutionary criticism from the authentic Trotskyists of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

British Ranks ...

(continued from page 12)

people consider the most politically powerful in the country, neither the SWP supporter nor the WSL leader has one word to say about British imperialism, even concerning Ireland! In fact, the "left" Jones supporter John Miller has taken a more forthright stance in his campaign by calling for British troops out of Northern Ireland than has the "Trotskyist" Alan Thornett.

The significant difference between the WSL and SWP does not lie over programme for class struggle in Britain. Claiming to be an orthodox Trotskyist group, the WSL maintains that the Soviet Union is a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, and as such should be defended against imperialism. Tony Cliff's SWP considers Russia to be "state capitalist" and it takes a "third camp" position in the cold war. However, this important difference has not impinged on the T&GWU election since *neither* candidate raises *any* demands against British imperialism. Neither calls for withdrawal from NATO, or even from the Common Market (which is actually a popular demand). Neither opposes trade protectionism or other forms of economic nationalism.

Both platforms have a few sentences about the rights and interests of women and of coloured immigrants. But this is strictly for the record, not a major campaign issue. Significantly, Thornett's mass flyer dropped any mention of the woman question in catering to his backward, male-chauvinist constituency. This can hardly be dismissed as irrelevant in the aftermath of the hard-fought Trico strike for equal wages for women workers (see *Women and Revolution* No. 14, Spring 1977).

Even on domestic economic policy, Thornett's programme does not go beyond left reformism. The call for nationalisation of failing industries does not even specify "without compensation"! Particularly in Britain today, compensated nationalisation of unprofitable plants is by no means necessarily an anti-capitalist measure. Furthermore, the call for nationalisation is limited to bankrupts. There is no mention of the general expropriation of capitalist industry by a workers government.

Neither Thornett nor Riley seriously confronts the question of state power. Riley ignores the question of the Labour government altogether, implying that through militant industrial action British workers can force Callaghan to do their bidding. This is in keeping with the syndicalist line which the IS/SWP has followed in recent years.

Thornett, by way of contrast, calls for "the removal of Callaghan and Healy by left MP's" to form a government to carry out Thornett's demands. There is the little problem here that the "left" Labour parliamentarians—Tony Benn and the Tribune group—support wage restraint in principle, oppose a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and do not favour the nationalisation of unprofitable firms, even with compensation.

However, even if a group of Labour MP's emerged which did support the left-reformist programme outlined by Thornett, this would still be a qualitatively inadequate basis for supporting them against their more right-wing social-democratic colleagues. The essentially economistic, and ultimately chauvinist, nature of the WSL's policies is revealed by its willingness to politically support conscious agents of imperialism, like Eric Heffer and Tony Benn, provided they improve the conditions of British workers.

The WSL's capitulation to British social democracy is further revealed in its revision of the Trotskyist Transitional Programme. Not only does the WSL demand that "the 'lefts' fight to remove the Callaghan-Healy leadership, and themselves take responsibility for forming a leadership answerable to the working class," but it associates this demand with a "workers government" (*Socialist Press*, 19 January).

A left-Labourite government based on a bourgeois parliament is seen here as a kind of weak version of a workers government. There is no mention that a workers government must be at least a dual power counterposed to the capitalist state, based on the independent organs of proletarian rule—factory committees, workers militia, soviets. There is no sense that a workers government requires a communist vanguard to win over the mass base from the reformist labour traitors. In short, this perspective denies that a workers government is the popular expression for the dictatorship of the proletariat, even if in embryonic form.

Critical Support

The election of Jack Jones' successor can be an important focus of political struggle within the British workers movement. It is therefore desirable for revolutionaries to actively intervene through critical support rather than advocate abstention. Critical support is neither tailing the illusions of the ranks (as the U.S. left did with Arnold Miller or Ed Sadlowski), nor is it a vote of confidence in the individual candidate. Rather, critical support is a means—a tactic—for the Trotskyist vanguard to win support for *its* programme and authority by voting for a candidate who represents, even if only in a partial and contradictory way, a class-struggle opposition *to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy*. This must be expressed programmatically, in raising at least some key element(s) of the Transitional Programme.

We have asserted that the Social Contract is the central question facing the British proletariat at this moment. Workers who vote for Riley or Thornett are consciously opposing and breaking with the principal form of class collaboration in Britain today. Therefore a vote for Riley or Thornett, despite the overall economistic nature of their programmes, is supportable and preferable over abstention. In order to smash the pro-capitalist alliance between the trade-union bureaucracy and the Labour government, the British working class must go beyond the nationally limited industrial militancy espoused by the SWP and WSL.

Workers Press

Alan Thornett

Because of Thornett's reputation as a leading union militant, certain ostensibly Trotskyist groups have sought to seduce him ever since he broke with Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party in 1974-75. Prominent among Thornett's suitors are the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat; and the centrist confusionists of the International-Communist League (I-CL). The T&GWU election is a perfect opportunity for the IMG and I-CL to show Thornett that they are the best political friends he has. Normally the IMG and I-CL support IS/SWP candidates running on programmes similar to that of Riley. But now they have discovered that Thornett is a "real socialist alternative," while maintaining that Riley does not go beyond trade-union militancy. Although the WSL is a serious centrist formation, while Tony Cliff's IS/SWP is a cynical left-reformist outfit, their electoral campaigns for the T&GWU general secretaryship are *indistinguishable*.

The IMG's support to Thornett is so enthusiastic one might believe that he is a member of their organisation. The I-CL, at least, recognises that Thornett's electoral platform is something less than a revolutionary programme. They attribute such omissions as workers control, expropriation without compensation and opposition to British imperialism to "space limitations" and observe that such lapses occurred "unintentionally no doubt" (*Workers Action*, 10 February)! We might point out that a large fraction of Thornett's campaign literature is given to building up his own personality cult as a trade-union militant.

Under conditions of severe economic crisis and a mounting revolt against the Social Contract, the T&GWU election reveals that the British "far left" remains bound to the traditions of left-Labourite economism and narrow trade unionism. It is the task of a British section of the international Spartacist tendency to establish a truly revolutionary opposition, one which does not tail, echo or foster illusions in British social democracy ■

ABONNEZ-VOUS

Le Bolchévik

publication de la Ligue Trotskyste de France

pour toute correspondance

Pascal Alessandri, B.P. 336, 75011 Paris, France

Lawyers Guild ...

(continued from page 3)

clear the sectarian basis of its campaign, which ties the defense of Tyler to agreement with the OL position of "self-determination for the Afro-American Nation." The OL-supported motion was finally amended to eliminate this relic of early 1930's Stalinism (when the CP, on Stalin's orders, called for a "black republic" in the deep South) and sponsorship for the OL-preferred speaker, as Maoists and CP supporters reached a rotten highest-common-denominator program designed to be a basis for exclusion from their sectarian defense activities. The PDC's call for a united-front defense under the slogan "Free Gary Tyler!"—which could build a powerful movement to free Tyler while allowing all participants to raise their own politics—was ignored.

Whither the NLG Convention?

One of the hottest battles at the conference was over where to hold the next NLG convention—Seattle or Chicago? Intense and lengthy debate over which city was more "democratic," culminating in the only roll-call vote at the conference, resulted in a majority for Seattle. This was not surprising, considering that the OL national headquarters are located in Chicago.

It is difficult to say how long the increasingly uneasy détente in the NLG will last. One thing, however, is certain: the class-collaborationist defense work to which the NLG is committed will do much to suppress the crucial political issues in the name of "keeping the Guild tradition." Suing the unions, offering political support to petty-bourgeois nationalists and one or another Stalinist bureaucracy, refusing to participate in non-sectarian united-front defense work—all this reflects the NLG's fundamental willingness to cross the class line. This is the rotten core of the NLG tradition of popular-front politics.

Those NLG members who do not simply want to tail after some current of Stalinism in the NLG but who seek to draw a *class* line in defense work, should look now to the principled political defense work of the Partisan Defense Committee. ■

"Roots"...

(continued from page 2)

What this new language is, in contradistinction to English, is conveniently left unsaid.

The OL's lengthy presentation of "The Story 'Roots' Forgot to Tell" is an attempt to manufacture "black history" to refurbish the "Third Period" Stalinist call for "self-determination" for the "black belt." As we pointed out in our last issue of *WV*, there are plenty of historical inaccuracies and omissions in *Roots*. But the *Call*'s repeated assertion that "history reveals" an unbroken tradition of "continuous mass rebellions and organized armed resistance to slavery" is a Stalinist fairy tale. Black historian W.E.B. DuBois, whose "revolutionary stand" the OL salutes, noted the relative quiescence of slaves in the U.S. and contrasted this with the massive organized revolts which repeatedly rocked other slave colonies of the Americas. DuBois noted a key factor—the overwhelming military might of the whites:

> "The system of slavery demanded a special police force and such a force was made possible and unusually effective by the presence of the poor whites. This explains the difference between the slave revolts in the West Indies, and the lack of effective revolt in the Southern United States.... Gradually the whole white South became an armed and commissioned camp to keep Negroes in slavery and to kill the black rebel."
>
> —*Black Reconstruction in America*, 1935

The OL rails that "Haley's story is the story of the 'house Negro'" and not of "the millions of slaves who picked the cotton and tobacco and were the backbone of the liberation struggle."

Puerto Rican Nationalists...

(continued from page 6)

attempt to force them to testify was a violation of the constitutional separation of church and state. However, it was reported in the newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, *Claridad* (20 February), that on orders of the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, all records of the Hispanic Commission have now been turned over to the FBI.

The FALN has been credited by police with a total of 43 bombings since 1973. In many cases it has left notes demanding Puerto Rican independence and freedom for five long-imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners held in U.S. jails. While most of the bomb attacks have been directed against symbols of imperialism (banks, giant corporations, etc.), the FALN also claimed credit for the 1975 bombing of Fraunces Tavern in New York's Wall Street district, in which four innocent patrons were killed.

This anti-working-class act of indiscriminate terror is completely indefensible and must be condemned. (To be sure, it pales in comparison to the indiscriminate terror of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico.) But the grand jury fishing expedition against the FALN is an attempt to break up the Puerto Rican independence movement. Despite its misguided and impotent terrorist strategy, the FALN and all fighters for Puerto Rican independence must be defended against bourgeois repression!

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee call for the immediate release of Cueto and Nemikin, for dropping of the contempt charges against Myrna and José López and others who refused to testify before the Chicago grand jury, and for an immediate end to the grand jury-FBI witchhunt of the Puerto Rican independence movement! ■

That Kunta Kinte and his descendants were relatively privileged slaves (a gardener, a coach driver, a gamecock trainer, a blacksmith, etc.) is true and a key to understanding that Haley's "Saga of an American Family" is a black Horatio Alger story. However, the OL's myth of the field slave as "backbone of the liberation struggle" is a simple-minded ideological projection of the Third Worldist fallacy that the most oppressed are the most revolutionary. If this were true, the Bolsheviks should have joined the Narodniks in looking to the priest-ridden, backward and immiserated Russian peasantry, rather than to the combative urban proletariat, to lead the revolution.

Real "black history" punctures the OL's balloon. The leadership of the significant slave revolts of nineteenth-century America was drawn from among the more privileged and skilled slaves, in contact with broader social reality. Nat Turner was a foreman; Gabriel Prosser was a blacksmith; Denmark Vesey was a freedman whose lieutenants included an overseer, house servants and skilled mechanics; the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass was an escaped house servant. These leaders of what was effectively a form of class war under the most desperate conditions displayed the personal courage, organizational capacity and social consciousness which are prerequisites for the formation of class leadership.

The vicarious black nationalists and NAACP cheerleaders join in embracing the *Roots* version of "history." The destruction of racist myths about the innate docility and backwardness of black people is important; a Marxist understanding of history is a crucial weapon in the arsenal of the working-class movement. But the legacy of centuries of brutal oppression will not be wiped out by a romantic genesis myth of "African traditions" transmitted down the generations. It is wrong at best; at worst it is a deliberate diversion from struggle for the black workers who will play a vanguard role in the U.S. proletarian revolution.

The "tradition" which shows a way forward for the oppressed black masses is neither the consoling pastoral, warrior myth of Kunta Kinte nor the individual/family "up from slavery" saga of his descendants. Rather, it begins from the development, out of the experience of oppression and injustice, of social consciousness, as indicated for example by Frederick Douglass and Malcolm X. While neither of these authentic black heroes (products of different epochs) espoused the cause of the proletariat as a class, the conscious vanguard of an integrated socialist revolution will embrace as its own their struggles for black freedom. ■

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Spain Forum...

(continued from page 4)

comment, in *Homage to Catalonia*, that "A government which sends boys of fifteen to the front with rifles 40 years old and keeps its biggest men and newest rifles in the rear is manifestly more afraid of the revolution than of the fascists."

During the May Days the Barcelona proletariat rose up against a provocation by the Stalinist gendarmes and in defense of workers control. The only political groups which stood with them, however, were the small left-anarchist "Friends of Durruti" group and the even tinier Trotskyist nucleus, the Bolshevik-Leninist Group. They issued a joint leaflet calling for the workers to disarm the Republican National Guard and Assault Guards and extend the general strike to all except essential war industries. But the masses kept waiting for the support of the anarchist unions and the centrist POUM; the uprising was crushed.

Lewis cited recent declarations by the PCE and social democrats in which they join Prime Minister Suárez in calling for calm and "reconciliation" in the aftermath of the murder of five Communist Party members last month. No less disgusting was a declaration by a cabal of "far-leftists" in Catalonia together with bourgeois liberals calling on the Francoist dictatorship to establish democracy. These charlatans, among them self-proclaimed Trotskyists, are repeating the betrayals of the POUM. An authentic Trotskyist party which fights an irreconcilable battle against popular frontism is necessary to lead the revolutionary struggle for a Spanish workers republic, he said.

He concluded with a quote from Leon Trotsky, writing on Spain 40 years ago: "There are three conditions for the victory of the working class—the party, the party and once again the party. So long as the leadership of the Spanish working class rests in the hands of the reformists and centrists the red in the streets of Spain will not be the color of the new state power's flag but will be the color of working class blood that has been spilled." ■

CORRECTIONS

We apologize to our readers for the fact that lines were dropped at the beginning of a paragraph in two of our recent issues. In "Maoist OL Somersaults Over Sadlowski" (*WV* No. 144, 11 February) the opening sentence of the final paragraph should read: "There is another reason beyond mere jockeying for position." And in the article, "For a Strike Against NYC Subway Cutbacks!" (*WV* No. 145, 18 February), the paragraph at the bottom of the third column on page 10 should read: "There is a felt need in this beleaguered city, not only among the workers and poor but extending to large sections of the petty bourgeoisie as well, for a militant fight against the banks and corporations who triggered and have greatly profited from the NYC 'fiscal crisis'."

Also, in "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps" (*WV* No. 139, 7 January), we wrote that several of the World War II camps still exist and could be reactivated in a "national emergency," when "under provisions of the anti-communist McCarran Act thousands of 'potential spies and saboteurs' on a 'master pick-up list' can be arrested overnight." The detention provisions of the notorious McCarran Act were repealed in 1971. But despite this formal housecleaning, the act still stands, the camps still exist and the FBI still maintains an "Administrative Index" listing "individuals who pose a realistic, direct and current danger to national security."

French Elections...

(continued from page 9)

handed support to the popular front for almost three years now, it is not surprising that the OCI leadership had to spend a good deal of time at a recent meeting of its trade-union supporters answering many objections from militants, who wanted to know why it refused to vote for the Union of the Left.

Likewise, the oppositional Tendency A of the LCR, whose positions closely parallel those of the OCI, while opposing the formation of the LCR-LO-OCT electoral bloc and calling for votes to PCF and PS candidates, put up only the most token fight on the question of the popular front at the recent Ligue congress. To date, it has not yet submitted its major document on the question—although usually reliable sources report that it will soon do so.

For a Trotskyist Alternative!

The fundamental line of Marxist politics is the struggle for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie. When the revolutionary forces are small, they can seek to gain a hearing from the workers who follow the mass reformist parties by giving critical support to the latter's candidates running in opposition to the capitalist parties. But when the bourgeois workers parties are part and parcel of a popular front, such as the Union of the Left, the class contradiction within them is suppressed; the reformists' socialist pretensions and claims to represent the working class are nullified by allying with a section of the bourgeoisie. Frequently this is expressed in a formal document (like the "Common Program") explicitly limiting the coalition's actions to the framework of the capitalist state.

Under such circumstances, it is unprincipled for revolutionaries to call for votes to the *bourgeois* popular front, even to those candidates who are members of reformist or centrist workers parties. The same is true in the case of informal or disguised "corridor coalitions" when the reformists prop up bourgeois governments in parliament without formally being a member of a coalition. (The most notorious current example is the blatant support of Berlinguer's Italian Communist Party for the government of Christian Democrat Andreotti. Leftist Italian students have dubbed the minority cabinet the "Berlingotti regime.")

Where the Trotskyists are too weak to present their own candidates they can seek to advance the struggle for working-class independence by giving critical support even to other relatively small socialist tendencies. But when the historically evolved parties of the working class are participating in a popular front, in order to vote for the candidates of smaller leftist groups they must present at least a minimal opposition to popular frontism. Thus in the 1973 French parliamentary elections, even though LO and the OCI voted for PS and PCF candidates on the second round, unlike the Ligue Communiste they denounced the Union of the Left as a popular front and refused to call for a vote to the Left Radicals. It was therefore possible to give critical support to LO and OCI candidates on the first round, while abstaining on the second.

But in the 1977 municipal elections, no tendency of the workers movement is presenting candidates which oppose the popular front. The "pact of alliance" is simply a "left" cover for the Union of the Left. There is no choice for the class-conscious workers in this election.

The French Stalinists like to repeat that the "conditions are not ripe" to overthrow capitalism; consequently they engage in all sorts of parliamentary maneuvers and blocks with the bourgeois parties. For the French centrists, conditions are likewise never "ripe" for "confronting the illusions of the masses" in the reformists; therefore they crawl after the reformists and the popular front. The French workers, however, cannot defend their living standards and class interests by voting in a Union of the Left government. This will neither contribute to the independent mobilization of the proletariat nor avoid austerity policies, anti-communist repression and moves toward imperialist war.

With a new wave of popular frontism in the offing, the French centrists are maneuvering to play the treacherous role of the Spanish POUM, acting as tame "left" critics (and possible future members) of the popular front. These charlatans must be exposed so that in coming class confrontations the road is open to oust the reformist misleaders and organize the proletariat into a powerful striking force, led by an authentic Leninist vanguard. Today the first elements of such a party are assembling under the banner of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency.

No to the Union of the Left! No support for the "far-left" tail of the popular front! For a French Trotskyist party, section of a reforged Fourth International! ■

JUST OUT!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

Contents: **No. 14**

- Weather Underground Splits
- Supreme Court Wipes Out Gains for Women
- Murderous Sterilization Campaign in India
- International Women's Day Greeting of the Paris Action Committee, 1916
- Bottle or Breast? Poor Children Still Die
- Trico Workers Win Equal Pay
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J. P. Stevens ...

(continued from page 5)

there was no reason to believe a boycott could be effective "because of the diversity of the company's product mix, the non-identifiable nature of a large portion of our goods and the wide geographic dispersion of our customers" (*New York Times*, 15 August, 1976).

The Spartacist League was unique at today's demonstration in posing the key tactic necessary to aid the unionization drive: refusal by the entire labor movement to handle or transport J.P. Stevens products. While other left groups parroted the bureaucrats boycott chants, the SL's prominent banner proclaimed: "Consumer Boycott Not Enough, Organize the South! For Militant Labor Action, Don't Handle J.P. Stevens Goods!" If the entire labor movement were to "hot cargo" or refuse to work J.P. Stevens products, it could bring the company to its knees in a matter of weeks. Although ACTWU vice president DuChessi announced at today's post-demonstration news conference that the union was prepared to boycott for "20 years, if necessary," the masses of textile workers must not be made to suffer such prolonged torture. Unionize J.P. Stevens! Mobilize the labor movement to refuse to handle its products! Organize the South! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

British Union Ranks Rebel Against "Social Contract"

LONDON—Workers' anger is cracking the fragile social peace imposed on the British working class by its reformist Labourite leadership. The hottest spot at present is a militant month-old strike over wage restraints by workers at the British Leyland Motor Corporation, which has led government managers to threaten a shutdown of the nationalised car manufacturer.

In the most visible display so far of rank-and-file opposition to the Labour government's austerity policies, 6,000 protesting workers at Leyland's important Longbridge plant downed tools on February 11 to confront leading union bureaucrats Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon and Secretary of Industry Eric Varley. The disgruntled demonstrators were protesting the Social Contract ("voluntary" wage controls) of which Jones and Scanlon are the prime builders. When these former darlings of the left arrived at the plant for talks with management on speed-up, they were greeted with signs demanding, "End the Social Contract *Now*" and "Social Contract—Social Con-trick" among others.

The Longbridge demonstration was not an isolated incident as strike activity has climbed sharply in recent weeks and union leaders scrambled to put on a show of militancy in response to increasing opposition to the "social contract" on the shop floor. Proposals for one-day national protest strikes are now common. The Communist Party is making a vigorous attempt to "head in order to behead" the swelling tide of discontent, and has taken its Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions out of mothballs for the occasion.

Economist

Jack Jones

At the first public meeting of the London Spartacist Group last October, the speaker analyzed the factors which have led to this tense situation:

> "In Britain...one can see a massive explosion coming and practically name the month when it will occur. The financiers and Labour government already got a bad scare in September when, despite massive pressure from the Trades Union Congress, the Seaman's Union nearly struck to break the Social Contract.
>
> "'Now the workers are going to go through Christmas. They're going to have a cold New Year's and by February there ought to be ripping hell in Britain,' the speaker noted. 'Break the Social Contract—that's the key question now. And with a Labour government in power to take responsibility for what they've done, because they did it'."
>
> —*WV* No. 133, 12 November 1976

T&GWU Election

Behind the rising tide of class struggle lie the following conditions: in the last quarter of 1976, inflation outpaced wage increases by 18 percent (annual rate) to 12 percent; unemployment stands at a post-war record high of 5.6 percent (equivalent to 8 percent by U.S. standards); massive cutbacks in social services have been made and are projected to continue.

Under these devastating conditions, the members of Britain's largest union, the 1.8-million-member Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU), are electing their general secretary by balloting in the locals between 21 February and 19 March. This is a rare occasion in the massive T&G, as the general secretary—the only full-time officer of the union who *is* elected—is elected *for life*. The retiring incumbent is none other than Jack Jones, once hailed as one of the "terrible twins" of British "left" trade unionism. The former strongman of "left" Labourism today stands exposed as the chief architect of the increasingly despised Social Contract.

Fourteen candidates are standing in the fight for the top post of this key union, which combines not only transport and allied workers of all types, but also workers in the car industry, dock workers, rubber workers, oil and chemical workers, hotel and food workers and a myriad of other trades. The T&GWU is a "general" rather than an industrial union, admirably suited for bureaucratic control. Additionally, in many of the industries where it is present, it is not the only union in the industry.

With its economic muscle and numerical weight, the T&GWU is the single most powerful institution within the British labour movement. It accounts for one fifth of all votes in the Trades Union Congress and one sixth of the votes at Labour Party conferences. A recent Gallup Poll indicated that 54 percent of the voters regard Jack Jones, not Prime Minister James Callaghan, as the most powerful political figure in Britain today (*Economist*, 8 January).

The odds-on favorite to succeed Jones is Moss Evans, a colorless bureaucrat who is the present national organiser. The Tory *Economist* (26 February) describes him quite accurately: "happy to pay lip service to left-wing language, but round the negotiating table, a trimmer prepared to settle for less than the socialist vision demands."

While Evans has continued to back the Social Contract, the other contenders are trying to distance themselves from a policy of continued wage restraint in the wake of the factory-floor revolt. Three bureaucrats are particularly keen to don the mantle of loyal left critics: Alex Kitson, John Cousins and John Miller. In addition there are two candidates associated with ostensibly revolutionary socialist organisations: Alan Thornett, president of a T&G local at Leyland's Cowley plant who heads the Workers Socialist League (WSL), and Tommy Riley, a deputy convenor for Metal Box in Bolton, who is backed by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP—formerly International Socialists) and their "Right to Work" campaign.

Newsline

Auto workers at British Leyland plant in Birmingham demonstrate against the "social contract" last month.

Kitson, touted as the "left" with the best chance of scoring an upset, has produced an election platform which is a masterpiece of hot air, addressing not a single question facing British workers, including the wage restraint he now claims to oppose! John Cousins, the son of former T&GWU leader Frank Cousins, has only just left a government agency to return to the union proclaiming his new-found opposition to wage controls. Cousins' main programmatic point is advocacy of a "planned economy," by which he means class-collaborationist schemes for higher investment and productivity.

The most left of the several bureaucratic contenders for Jack Jones' throne is John Miller, national secretary of the Chemical, Oil and Rubber Trades group within the union. His platform comes out against wage restraint in a "capitalist market economy." This is ambiguous language, however, since Jones/Callaghan maintain that Britain under a Labour government is not a "capitalist market economy." But whatever he now says about the Social Contract, Miller's credibility is worthless since he fulsomely supports the Jones regime, of which he is a loyal component. To oppose the Social Contract while supporting Jack Jones is like opposing racism while supporting Enoch Powell. Needless to say, Miller's opposition to the Social Contract has not been strong enough for him to lead or advocate strikes and other militant actions to break it.

The "Revolutionaries"

The two self-proclaimed "revolutionary socialist" candidates, Tommy Riley and Alan Thornett, have programmes so similar they may well have copied from one another. Both predictably condemn the Social Contract and all forms of wage control or restraint. Both call for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. Both advocate occupations of closed-down plants and demand their nationalisation. Both heavily emphasise democratising the T&GWU. Both declare themselves socialists without further defining that much abused term.

Insofar as Riley's campaign differs from Thornett's, it is less serious and more willing to water down its mass agitation to the level of pure and simple trade-union militancy. Riley makes little pretence of being a serious alternative to the Jones bureaucracy, viewing his candidacy as a publicity stunt for the Right to Work Campaign. At a meeting in London on 25 February, he said jokingly, "I hope Moss Evans has a long and fruitful life. I don't want to go through this again."

Symptomatic of the unserious nature of Riley's campaign is that his employer's house organ, *Metal Box News*, ran a "human interest" story about him, "Checker Bids for Top Union Job." Riley and the SWP, of course, are not responsible for this article. However, given the light-mindedness of Riley's campaign, it is scarcely surprising that British capitalists view him as an interesting eccentric rather than a threat to their class rule.

Riley's official platform calls for nationalisation of bankrupt firms, opposition to discrimination against women and coloured immigrants, and for "socialist planning." However, a mass flyer put out by the T&GWU Right to Work Campaign contains *none* of these demands. This flyer contains absolutely nothing to justify Riley's claim to be a "revolutionary socialist."

Thornett is both a more serious candidate and a more credible and authoritative union militant than Riley. Yet the programmes of both can be summarised as *militant, nationally limited economism*. Running for an office which the majority of the British

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 149 18 March 1977

HANAFI MUSLIMS IN D.C.

Day of Wrath

Offended beyond reason and driven beyond reason, Hamass Abdul Khaalis tried to get his own back last week. For two horror-filled days, 134 people were held hostage by a small band of Hanafi Muslims. In one of the most sensational acts of indiscriminate terrorism in recent times, the Hanafi seized three downtown Washington, D.C., locations—the District Building, B'nai Brith headquarters and the Islamic Center.

The hostages were kept on the floor with their hands bound behind their backs while the captors, brandishing machetes and rifles, periodically threatened to chop off their heads and roll them out the windows. Male hostages were reportedly beaten and subjected to a steady stream of anti-Semitic abuse. In the first hours one innocent bystander (a black reporter) was killed and several people were wounded. The ordeal, which at any point could have become a hideous mass bloodbath, ended when a team of negotiators (including three ambassadors from Islamic nations) finally convinced the Hanafi to surrender.

The Hanafi, a small Sunni Muslim sect, were demanding that five Black Muslims responsible for the hideous 1973 massacre of their leader's family and those involved in the slaying of Malcolm X be turned over to them for revenge. "I want them to come here. They're not big people. They're roaches and rats and gangsters.... I want the killers here," demanded Khaalis. The Hanafi also demanded the closing down of the movie "Mohammad, Messenger of God" and the repayment to Hanafi leader Hamass Abdul Khaalis of a $750 contempt-of-court fine stemming from the 1974 trial of the followers of Elijah Muhammad who were convicted of murdering his children.

In response to the takeover, the bourgeoisie mobilized its full technical "crisis" apparatus, including besides the cops such specialists as its "threat analysts" to predict at what point the worst danger to the hostages was over and when the "Stockholm syndrome" (captives and captors starting to like each other) would take effect. There were the "silver-tongued" negotiators trained to reason with kidnappers without inflaming them. There were the three Muslim ambassadors from Iran, Egypt and Pakistan, backed up by Koran experts who managed to find passages which could be used to prove that the concept of vengeance is alien to Islam. When it was all over, there was only one fatality. A wholesale bloodbath had been narrowly averted.

A Frenzy of Despair

Coming on top of a recent rash of kidnappings and other bizarre terrorist acts, the terrifying incident was expressive of a growing mood of frustration boiling up beneath the surface of the deceptively calm American social climate. The bourgeois press has had a field day with the image of a population gone incomprehensively mad. But unlike the pathologically depraved "Manson family," these people seem driven to a frenzy of despair by real, deep-seated and desperate social grievances.

Another recent kidnapping also reflected the mounting pressure of social and economic decomposition on the population. Anthony Kiritsis, a 45-year-old Greek immigrant, auto salesman, homeowner and hithertofore model citizen in a small Indianapolis suburb, could no longer meet his mortgage payments. With visions of his house repossessed, Kiritsis struck out blindly against the most visible perpetrator; he kidnapped his mortgage broker demanding the debt be dropped. To the authorities' consternation, it was learned that most of the people in his home town were rooting for Kiritsis to win his demands.

Hamass Abdul Khaalis UPI

Then there was the case of Cory Moore, a gun-wielding 26-year-old recently laid off black auto worker, who held a white police captain and female police clerk hostage in Warrensville, Ohio. Moore gave up when he was promised a phone call from Jimmy Carter. The press played down his economic situation and played up his statement that "all whites" should "get off the earth." Moore's wife Leah told UPI that the Vietnam vet had become bitter about whites after leaving the Marines.

Behind the Hanafi takeover lay something far more comprehensible than the mysterious cult-warfare of fanatic black Muslim bands portrayed by the press. The Khaalis family had been hit by the Black Muslims just after the Hanafi had opened their new Washington center (bought for the group by basketball star Kareem Abdul Jabbar) and were embarking on a recruiting drive. Khaalis—who had been the number two man in the Black Muslims before breaking with Elijah Muhammad in 1958—founded his Hanafi sect in 1968 and by the early 1970's built it into something of a competitor to the Nation of Islam.

In the 18 January 1973 attack two adults and five children were killed. Four of these were the children of Khaalis, whose wife and a daughter witnessed the killings before they too were shot in the head and left for dead. During the recent incident the *Washington Post* (11 March) published a telephone interview with the Hanafi leader's wife, Khadyja Khaalis, who described the 1973 massacre:

> "*Khaalis:* Let me ask you something, do you believe in peace and love and harmony and so forth?
> "[*Post* writer Joseph D.] *Whitaker:* Yes.
> "*Khaalis:* Yes. Okay do you have children?
> "*Whitaker:* Yes. Two little girls.
> "*Khaalis:* OK. Would you like to come home and find your little girl in the tub, foam on the mouth, drowned?
> "*Whitaker:* No, I wouldn't.
> "*Khaalis:* A little violence would stir up in you wouldn't it?
> "*Whitaker:* Yes.
> "*Khaalis:* Okay. We're human beings. That's the way Hamass came in and found four babies stacked up in the tub, foam coming from the mouth.
> "He went upstairs and found my older son in the prayer room with his brains blown out. He was in the room, he found my other son with a coat tied around his head, shot in the head. He found my daughter coming down the stairs bleeding profusely. She was covered with blood.
> "He went to the basement, he found BeeBee down there covered with blood. And he found the other baby in the sink, shot and then drowned. Drowned in front of her mother. And the little boy was beaten and she heard his screams when they took her upstairs. Heard the little boy screaming and the man beating him, before they drowned him, 'cause he was old enough to fight back. He was three."

Later, at the killers' trial, the judge charged Khaalis with contempt of court because at one point he jumped up and interrupted the proceedings by screaming "You killed my babies. You killed my babies and shot my women." It was the $750 fine paid on this occasion that Khaalis was demanding be returned, insisting it was not a question of money ("hell we could've taken a bank") but of principle.

Khaalis—a 55-year-old black man in a racist society, a graduate of New York's City College who went on to make his living as a street cleaner. A long-time opponent of the Black Muslims' policy of white exclusionism; a man who was fined by the state for crying out in anguish during the trial of his children's murderers; a man driven by a desperate compulsion to avenge a crime of unspeakable brutality against his family. Behind his recourse to indefensible indiscriminate terrorism lay a real grievance of atrocious proportions.

"Disorders and Terrorism"

The Hanafi takeover occurred only weeks after the release of a major government report predicting the onset of renewed racial violence in the U.S.

continued on page 7

Augusto Pinochet, head of the ruling military junta since 1973.

The Long Arm of the DINA 6

WV Photo

International Women's Day rally in Union Square, New York City.

SL Holds Forums

International Women's Day—A Proletarian Celebration

BOSTON—One of the few public events commemorating International Women's Day here was a forum by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) at Harvard University. Speaking on the proletarian character of International Women's Day, Comrade Bonnie Brodie noted the failure of feminist and reformist "movements" to secure or defend the most minimal gains for women in the face of a wave of reactionary legislation and Supreme Court decisions. This has undoubtedly led them to prefer silence on this day that commemorates the battles of militant proletarian women.

"There is an all-out attack on various small reforms won in the last decade of social struggle," comrade Brodie said. In Boston, striking workers seeking union recognition at the Pre-Term Abortion Clinic have been viciously harassed by management and cops (see *Women and Revolution* No. 14, Spring 1977). Most recently, several Boston cops are under investigation for a brutal terror campaign against black prostitutes in District One—the notorious "Combat Zone"—where they have reportedly kidnapped black women, driving them in their squad cars to the all-white enclave of South Boston and then pushing them out onto the streets, honking their horns to alert racist "Southie" street gangs.

In this context, the response of local feminist groups has been pathetic. The SL speaker held up the Boston feminist monthly *Sojourner*, which endorsed Carter, as an example, pointing out that appointment of New York Stock Exchange member Juanita Kreps as secretary of commerce is small comfort to those striking Pre-Term women whose female bosses have used the cops against them.

Another "controversy" that has been dominating local feminist life here, the "Slice of Life" bread war, reflects the idiotic internecine squabbles to which New Left feminism has devoted itself. *Sister Courage*, another Boston feminist paper, gave the bread battle front-page coverage. The "great controversy" revolved around the expulsion of a male member from the "Bakery Collective." Not to be deterred, the enterprising male rose to the occasion by letting himself into the bakery in the dead of night, producing loaves of bread and selling them to local food co-ops, a statement of his position accompanying each loaf!

The speaker quoted from *Sister Courage*: "January 30th: A Rising Earth [food co-op] meeting is held to which Slice of Life is invited. The women leave early. One of Jeff's supporters yells 'We will continue to bake!'" *Sister Courage* concludes that it's "vital" to analyze food co-ops. While these difficulties of New Left entrepreneurial "alternate institutions" are occasionally good for a laugh, they are so far removed from the problems facing women in the real world that only the most retarded former flower children could possibly take them seriously.

But the programs of ostensibly revolutionary organizations have not been much better. In the current issue of the *International Socialist Review* (*ISR*), the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) laments Bella Abzug's vote in favor of the Hyde amendment, which bans the use of federal Medicaid funds for abortion except in cases of rape, incest or life-endangering pregnancy. But the speaker pointed out that the SWP played the key role in elevating Abzug to the leadership of its class-collaborationist Women's National Abortion Action Coaliton (WONAAC). And in attempting to justify its anti-Marxist capitulation to

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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UAW Local 6 Defends Bennie Lenard

CHICAGO, March 13—The defense of Bennie Lenard, a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 who was savagely beaten and jailed by suburban Melrose Park police last January, took a step forward today. Members of Local 6, who last month established an official Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, voted overwhelmingly for two motions in his behalf. One calls for the Local to match $955.85 collected at the plant gates. The other demands that the upcoming UAW convention support the demands of the Bennie Lenard Defense Committee and calls for the full resources of the International UAW and the rest of the labor movement to be mobilized behind this case.

Bennie Lenard is the victim of a blatant racist frame-up. After reporting a minor traffic accident, he was beaten unconscious by club-wielding racist cops. As is typical in such cases, where the victim becomes the accused, he was subsequently charged with a series of crimes: resisting a "peace" officer, striking a policeman, battery, etc. After nearly six weeks of hospitalization, Lenard now faces a barrage of legal persecution.

According to Defense Committe members, Lenard's employer, International Harvester, has also denied him all lost-time disability benefits. The company, unlike most corporations which carry medical policies through an independent insurance company, is a self-insurer and writes its own rules. It is reportedly pointing to a clause which stipulates no benefits in injuries that are "self-inflicted" or "involve a felony." Bennie Lenard clearly did not beat himself nearly to death on his way to jail, nor are any of the charges against him felonies. The UAW must insist that Harvester pay full and retroactive disability benefits immediately!

The motions passed at the membership meeting today were initiated by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), a class-struggle opposition group in Local 6. LSC supporters have been participating in the Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, seeking to gain the fullest support for his case. The Defense Committee demands that all charges against Lenard be dropped, that he and his family receive full financial restitution from the city of Melrose Park and that the cops who brutalized Lenard be discharged, indicted and jailed.

The pursuit of these just goals has been hampered by Local officials who, relying on promises of a state attorney's investigation, seek to skirt responsibility for the defense effort. In the spirit of its previous work in initiating and organizing the Local 6 Civil Rights Defense Committee—which provided day-and-night defense guards for many weeks to the firebombed home of union member C.B. Dennis—the LSC argues that the pursuit of all possible legal remedies must not be combined with illusions in the "justice" of the courts. The mobilization of labor's strength in protest, exposure and pressure is key to preventing Bennie Lenard from being further harassed and railroaded.

In particular, the LSC has demanded that the Defense Committee have access to union funds and legal assistance. Though Local leaders continue to resist this, today's votes show that the Local 6 membership supports greater efforts for their union brother.

Unfortunately, Local 6 members cannot be assured that any motions they pass will be aggressively fought for at the UAW convention. A recently concluded race for eight convention delegates resulted in the election of flunkeys and "loyal critics" of the International bureaucracy. They can be expected to show little fight during the stage-managed passing of the baton from Leonard Woodcock to Douglas Fraser planned for this May.

One of those elected, past Local president Norm Roth, is a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) and the seldom heard from "Auto Workers Action Caucus." Roth is characterized by occasional spurts of militant talk which he readily shucks to make clear his subservience to the UAW hierarchy. He supported Woodcock's re-election three years ago and spent most of his floor time at the pre-contract bargaining convention last year viciously denouncing a leaflet distributed by the LSC. Such soft-soap reformists are always horrified at the forthright presentation of class-struggle politics and end up as the left flank of mainline bureaucrats.

WV Photo

Local 6 pickets at International Harvester last October.

Roth was reportedly shocked again today when a series of convention resolutions proposed by the LSC all passed. Workers at the meeting told *WV* that Roth sat disbelieving in his chair complaining, "What are you doing? Why are you passing these motions?" as hands went up around the room. The resolutions, outlining a comprehensive class-struggle course for the union, included:

• "For a New Leadership"—which repudiates the class-collaborationist Woodcock/Fraser regime and calls for a new leadership based on a fighting program: jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for 40"); an end to racial and sexual discrimination, a union hiring hall and free 24-hour union-controlled childcare; the full right to strike over all grievances without International authorization; the independence of the unions from

Bennie Lenard needs and deserves your support. The Partisan Defense Committee urges WV readers to send their contributions to the official fund established by UAW Local 6:

BENNIE LENARD DEFENSE FUND, c/o Seaway National Bank, 645 East 87th Street, Chicago, IL 60619

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government intervention; militant strike strategy, including sit-downs and hot-cargoing of struck goods; international working-class solidarity against economic protectionism; full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers; workers control of industry; and a workers party fighting for a workers government to expropriate industry and run a planned economy.

• "Labor/Black Defense"—which backs the all-round integration of society, supports busing and its extension to suburbs and calls for the UAW to organize "mass integrated labor defense guards to combat racist police and fascist terror against blacks and other minorities wherever it may appear."

• "Workers Party"—which denounces the UAW leadership for its support to racist peanut boss Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party no less capitalist than the GOP; it calls on the unions to break from the bosses' parties and form a workers party to fight for a workers government committed to the expropriation of the capitalist industry and banks.

• "Smash Apartheid"—which demands militant solidarity action with the student and worker revolts in South Africa, including strikes against the "multinational" corporations with subsidiaries in South Africa to force recognition of black workers' unions. It also demands an international labor boycott of all arms shipments to the racist apartheid regime.

We can expect that the Local 6 leadership will either ignore these motions or mobilize voting cattle to reverse them. Certainly delegates like Roth and his bureaucratic cohorts will never fight to raise such resolutions at the UAW convention. But the politics expressed in these motions show the way forward for the discontented workers at the UAW's base. Driven by a corporate speed-up campaign, long hours of grueling overtime in many plants and the spectre of new layoffs, the Auto Workers ranks will not remain forever locked in the grip of their smooth-talking liberal misleaders. Consolidation for support to the class-struggle program upheld by the LSC in Local 6 is the key to a breakthrough for the UAW and the entire labor movement. ■

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Chavez, Fitzsimmons Sign Pact

SAN FRANCISCO—The peace pact announced last week by the United Farm Workers (UFW) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) is supposed to finally end the war in the fields that has hindered the organization of California agricultural workers for the last seven years.

The agreement signed by UFW leader Cesar Chavez and IBT chief Frank Fitzsimmons on March 10 at Western Teamsters Conference headquarters in Burlingame, California, provides that the Teamsters stop their union-busting raids on the Farm Workers. This was hailed in the liberal press as a major victory for Chavez, brought about by Fitzsimmons' desire to clean up his image in labor circles. The IBT can no longer be accused of being "the people suppressing the farm workers," said the Teamsters leader at a press conference announcing the pact.

The five-year agreement covers the 13 western states and recognizes UFW jurisdiction over field workers while leaving the Teamsters their traditional base in the canneries, food processing and produce trucking sectors. Present Teamster contracts covering field workers are to be turned over to the UFW as they expire, with a few exceptions for those companies under Teamster contract before 1970, like the giant Bud Antle lettuce company, which the IBT signed up in 1961.

The joint UFW/IBT statement was quite general, stating that "the Teamsters will maintain jurisdiction of all workers covered under the National Labor Relations Act [NLRA]. The United Farm Workers will have jurisdiction over all workers covered under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act [ALRA]." (The NLRA, which

El Malcriado

Teamster goons, taunting farmworkers, stomp on Chavez effigy.

dates from the 1930's, specifically excludes farm workers.) However, newspaper reports said that where an employer is "primarily" engaged in farming the UFW would have jurisdiction, even over truck drivers; otherwise the IBT would have jurisdiction, even over field laborers. This formula leaves a giant question mark over the hotly disputed Gallo winery.

The victory for the Farm Workers represented by this agreement is tenuous at best. From the beginning, Chavez has relied on the good will of outside forces—from the Catholic Church and Kennedy Democrats to George Meany—with predictable lack of success. Had the UFW led militant strike struggles instead of counseling pacifism and appealing to the conscience of middle-class liberals with its consumer boycotts, there would be no question today of who represents the agricultural workers. Even now, Chavez' legalistic acceptance of the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) as "neutral" arbiter means that all is not

UPI

Fitzsimmons (left) and Chavez after signing pact last week.

lost for the agribusinesses' decades-long battle against unionization.

The ALRB, established in 1975 to decide on representation rights, has been so bogged down in disputes and litigation since the first round of elections that it was virtually dysfunctional. The voting took place on a battlefield with gun-toting company and Teamster goons intimidating pro-UFW farm workers. Moreover, the ALRA specifically bans secondary boycotts and organizing strikes. Thus the ALRA, which we warned at the time was a threat to the independence of labor rather than the boon to farm workers organizing promised by Chavez, turned out to be a dead end from the very beginning.

California state legislators demonstrated its bankruptcy by cutting off funds to the ALRB in February 1976 as a means of counteracting the paper successes of the UFW in the 1975 representation elections. Learning nothing from the disaster, Chavez responded with Proposition 14, a voter initiative which was resoundingly defeated in the November elections despite the endorsement of Governor Brown and other liberals and the monumental waste of UFW resources on ballyhooing this proposal for state control of labor relations.

The employers had a mixed reaction to the IBT-UFW pact. Les Hubbard, a spokesman for the Western Growers Association, was quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* (11 March) as saying,

> "The big thing that concerns us is the mutual-aid agreement between the two. All those years (of past rivalry between the two unions), one thing that offered us aid and comfort was that the Teamsters didn't honor UFW picket lines. But now this agreement offers us a potential for a problem in future labor disputes."

The companies aren't too worried, however, since Chavez has not broken from his impotent boycott strategy to advocate militant labor action, such as mobilizing the unions to hot-cargo scab produce. Moreover, neither side has renounced the debilitating court suits which they have flung at each other in the past.

Hubbard welcomed the prospect of jurisdictional peace holding down the wage demands of the ranks, indicating that at least some growers figure they can deal with a "reasonable" Chavez: "the pact will lessen the upward pressure put on union contracts by the competition which had been going on between the two unions" (quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, 11 March). And many employers still hope to keep out the UFW with their usual strong-arm tactics. Don Curlee, a spokesman for table grape growers in the South Central Farmers Committee, denied that the pact cleared the way for the Farm Workers, adding: "The UFW still has to win elections and negotiate contracts."

With the federal government breathing down their necks on pension fund scandals, Teamster bureaucrats are undoubtedly interested in a public-relations facelifting. Moreover, however lucrative the sweetheart deals with the growers may have been for individual bureaucrats, the endless fight with the UFW has caused plenty of headaches for top IBT officials in return for very little in the way of dues money. Thus the Fitzsimmons gang may be genuinely willing (at least for now) to forego some unremunerative contracts for field workers.

The Teamsters' nauseating record of thuggery, raiding and other services to the agribusiness bosses puts even the backstabbing Meanyite officialdom of the AFL-CIO to shame. But although class-conscious workers stood firmly on the side of the UFW, demanding Teamsters out of the fields, Chavez also has left a trail of betrayals. His cowardly action in calling off the 1973 lettuce strikes, his groveling loyalty to the capitalist Democratic Party, his despicable use of the bourgeois courts against the Teamsters, his treacherous reliance on the ALRB and his scandalous (if short-lived) alliance with Immigration authorities to deport undocumented workers are the record of a sworn enemy of militant labor solidarity.

What is needed is a class-struggle policy. A real fighting alliance between the IBT and UFW could lame the bosses by halting the shipping and processing of scab goods, leaving them to rot in the fields. Militant defense of mass picket lines could answer the reign of terror by company gun thugs and sheriffs' deputies. By vigorously defending and organizing so-called "illegal aliens"—instead of appealing to the bosses' government to deport them—the UFW can lay the basis for effective organization of farm workers on both sides of the border and thus prepare for an effective fight against the growers' importation of scabs. ■

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NEW YORK

Der Spiegel

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Left: "Private property" sign on Brokdorf site. Bottom sign refers to "our Brokdorf power plant." Right: Cops use water cannons and mace to push demonstrators back from barbed wire fence surrounding site of proposed Brokdorf nuclear power plant in November.

Anti-Nuclear Hysteria and Police Repression in West Germany

Der Spiegel

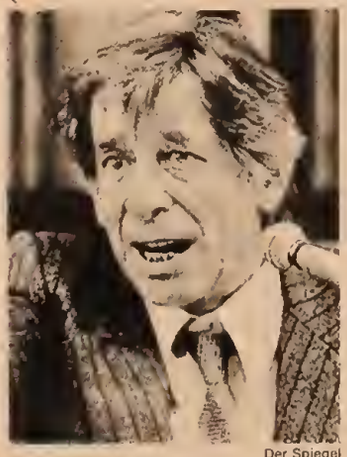
Demonstrators used utility poles to break through fences around Brokdorf plant site.

Last month more than 6,000 heavily armed West German police, 2,000 paramilitary troops of the "federal border guards" and members of sinister "mobile intervention commandos" (MEK's) managed to thwart tens of thousands of anti-nuclear demonstrators seeking to march on an atomic power plant site at Brokdorf, near Hamburg (see "Pitched Battle over Nuclear Power Plant in Germany," *WV* No. 146, 25 February). But despite massive repression, the atomic energy question has continued to dominate West German politics. During the last three weeks, revelations of a Watergate-style operation of illegal spying, bugging and burglary by the federal "Office for the Protection of the Constitution" (*Verfassungsschutz*) against a leading atomic physicist have provoked a major parliamentary scandal.

The demonstrators who assembled in the Wilster Marsh to converge on Brokdorf February 19 were met with 30 water cannons, 20 light tanks, 6 helicopters equipped to spray tear gas and machine-gun bearing squads of cops. To avoid falling into an obvious trap, march organizers turned back at the police barriers which closed off the area around the construction site. However, on their way back to the assembly point, individual demonstrators were brutally seized in the dark by the MEK's. Undercover cops dressed in blue jeans and parkas pulled out revolvers and donned masks as they dragged protesters out of cars, tying them hand and foot and forcing them to lie face down on the pavement as they were "questioned" at gunpoint.

The operation was hailed by Schleswig-Holstein state prime minister Stoltenberg as "the biggest police action in Germany since the war." With the participation of police from throughout the Federal Repuhlic, it was clearly intended by the authorities as a training maneuver for civil war conditions. But because it was directed at radicals and in the context of the witchhunt atmosphere in West Germany, this clear example of police intimidation and denial of democratic rights caused little outcry in the press or among bourgeois and Social-Democratic politicians.

However, a week later alarm bells went off when the generally pro-



Der Spiegel

Dr. Klaus Traube

government *Der Spiegel* (28 February) published an extensive dossier ("Bugging Attack on Citizen T.") on "Operation Garbage" carried out by the Verfassungsschutz, which suspected Dr. Klaus Traube of maintaining contacts with "terrorists." His telephone had been tapped since 1975 and in early 1976 his apartment near Köln was broken into, documents were photographed and an electronic bug was installed. Two months later the apartment was again entered and the bug removed. Nothing incriminating was learned from this illegal surveillance, and Traube was informed in writing by the government that he was not under suspicion of consorting with or revealing secrets to "atomic terrorists." Nevertheless, the physicist lost his job as head of a breeder reactor project for a subsidiary of the giant Siemens Corporation.

Free-Democratic interior minister Werner Maihofer confirmed the general outlines of the *Speigel* report, stating that he had approved the operation on an "emergency" basis. This is ironic since Maihofer, now considered a hard-liner on "law and order," had as a professor in the late 1960's demonstrated together with his students against the federal "emergency laws." The interior minister's weak attempt at justification was not sufficient to quiet critics in the Bundestag (parliament), where many Social-Democratic backbenchers were already uneasy over SPD defense minister Georg Leber's love affair with the aggressively anti-socialist Bundeswehr officer corps. The chairman of the Young Socialists labeled the Traube affair "a depressing proof of the loss of respect for civil liberties in the Federal Republic," and there are now reports that the coalition government is considering dropping Maihofer.

Left-Wing Anti-Nuclear Hysteria

Building on widespread opposition to atomic power plants (which the government has attempted to appease by a temporary court ban on further construction at Brokdorf and the promise of a major Bundestag debate on nuclear energy), ecology-minded liberals and petty-bourgeois radicals have mounted a vague protest against the "atomic state." "Environmental protection" has become the latest fad. Going far beyond protests over safety dangers, "back-to-nature" demonstrators at Brokdorf have demanded "no nuclear power plants...*anywhere*" and "the construction site must be turned into a pasture" (*Rote Fahne*, 23 February)!

Communists demand workers control of safety conditions in atomic power plants, as throughout industry, and may in certain instances oppose a dangerous project. But Marxists, who stand for technological progress, certainly do not oppose atomic power as such. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, neither joined the petty-bourgeois "ecology" mobilization against the Brokdorf nuclear power plant nor called for construction to continue. It is not the task of the workers movement to tell the bourgeoisie how to meet its energy needs.

In contrast, much of the West German left has been caught up in mindless enthusing over the reappearance of an amorphous, directionless "mass movement" reminiscent of the heyday of the New Left in the late 1960's. Thus the "critical Maoist" Kommunistischer Bund (KB) hailed the February 19 demonstration as a victory in a banner headline blaring, "30,000 in the Wilster Marsh" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 21 February). The Peking-loyal Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) upped the figure by 5,000 and labeled the uncompleted march on Brokdorf a success because "the peasants and toilers of the Wilster Marsh were among them [the demonstrators] and stood by them." One cannot escape the impres-

sion that these Maoists and semi-Maoists see the cow pastures and farmsteads of the lower Elbe as a center for revolution in the industrial powerhouse of Europe!

The one radical group which considered the Brokdorf march a defeat was the Maoist Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW). During the demonstration the KBW reportedly shouted adventurist slogans ("The [police] barrier is child's play, Brokdorf's our goal" was one quoted in *Arbeiterkampf*) and sought to force a confrontation with the massed army of cops ("The troops are already tactically on the defensive. The construction site is surrounded by the popular masses," declared a supplement of the KBW's *Kommunistische Volkszeitung*). There were also reports of fistfights as the KBW attempted to seize the head of the march, attacked the official sound truck and at one point urged demonstrators to "storm" the police fortress. Luckily these dangerous sandbox "war games" came to naught.

The Brokdorf demo had been alternately banned, permitted and again banned by court order, leading "moderate" elements of the various "citizens initiatives for environmental protection" to call a "peaceful" rally in nearby Itzehoe. With the pastors, concerned scientists, milk farmers and liberal ecologists bowing to the government's anti-communist fury, the fake-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM) proclaimed that "the unity of the movement is the key." In declaring for the Itzehoe rally, the GIM summarized its whole capitulationist policy in the anti-nuclear movement: "Communists cannot be 20 steps ahead of the movement without paying a price" (*Was Tun*, 24 February).

The GIM was perhaps the most unabashed of all the left groups in espousing anti-industrial ecological claptrap. Not only atomic power plants earned its ire, but also "industrialization that endangers the environment" of the lower Elbe region (*Was Tun*, 11 November 1976). Moreover, it went so far as to criticize the pro-Moscow Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP) for "opportunism toward the atomic energy policies of the DDR [East German] and Soviet bureaucracy"! To be consistent, these "Trotskyists" would have to denounce not only atomic power plants in the degenerated and deformed workers states, but also atomic weapons in the hands of their ruling bureaucracies.

The Maoists, as could be expected, have made this into a main theme of their anti-nuclear propaganda. To the central slogan "no atomic power plants in Brokdorf and elsewhere," the KPD added a second: "no atomic power plants in Magdeburg [an East German industrial city] and elsewhere." In contrast to these bootlickers for NATO, authentic Trotskyists consider nuclear weaponry in the hands of the degenerated/deformed workers states—including both China and the USSR—vital to the defense of their collectivist economies. Our complaint is that the nuclear "umbrella" was not extended to protect North Vietnam from U.S. terror bombing! ■

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Not One Penny Down the MAC Sewer!

Gotbaum Loots NYC Workers Pension Funds

When New York City's mayor Abraham Beame enthusiastically announced last December that with Carter in the White House there is a "completely different relationship" in which "everyone understands the importance of [NYC's fiscal] problem—and everybody wants to help," we commented:

> "Such sentiments notwithstanding, there is still a cool billion to be raised. "Moreover, it won't be long after Jimmy Carter's inauguration before it becomes clear that under the Democrats' administration the bourgeoisie's program for the masses of NYC will remain the same as it was under Ford:'Drop Dead!' The labor movement must break its ties to the Democrats and build a workers party to lead the way forward to a workers government."
>
> —"NY Court Messes Up MAC Boondoggle," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976

On March 1, with NYC still $1 billion in the hole and once again on the brink of bankruptcy, Carter carried out our prediction to the letter: "My own inclination," he said,"is that New York City and State will have to deal with the long-range fiscal problems without Federal participation. This is primarily a problem that's got to be worked out by the city, state, banks and labor unions." In other words, drop dead!

Beame, who is seeking re-election, was undaunted. Sporting a tie dotted with big red apples, he took to his custom-made lectern (especially designed to enhance his stature) to babble: "Some problems may temporarily overtake us. But never let us forget—New York is a marathon runner. We are not quitters." (About the same time, a controversy broke out in the press over a proposal to name the preying mantis the New York state insect. Why not the cockroach, suggested irate New Yorkers. In addition to its prevalence in the metropolitan area, "la cucaracha" is a symbol of survival under adversity, and thus appropriate for the embattled city at least.)

As it turns out, Beame had good reason for optimism, despite the fact that the federal government was content to let NYC drown in its own filth and the banks to whom he appealed refused to advance the city a nickel unless they were given a long-term budget review board which would give them sweeping powers over every aspect of the city's finances for the next 20 years.

Beame's trump card was the city's employee pension system with $8.6 billion in reserves. It seems that rules governing two of the five separate retirement funds, including the largest, allow city hall to control all decisions on how money is to be invested, even if all union trustees vote against such investments. As the bankruptcy deadline—March 11—approached, high-ranking city officials made it clear that they would not hesitate to play this trump card. "We do not regard bankruptcy as a viable alternative for New York City," said First Deputy Mayor John E. Zuccotti, "and we will not pass up any workable option for averting it."

Naturally, in an election year Beame preferred not to appear to be looting the unions' pension funds by brute force. He needn't have worried. Despite the fact that the pension funds already hold $2.1 billion in city and Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) securities—as compared to the banks' $1.4 billion—and have the enormous power to shut down the city, the sellout labor leader-

Brack/Black Star

Governor Hugh Carey and Mayor Abe Beame

WV Photo

Victor Gotbaum

ship was more than happy to help Beame plunder the pension funds.

According to Beame's eleventh-hour patchwork plan to hold off the financial wolves, the unions are to raise $90 million of nearly $1 billion needed by the city to pay its short-term debt by foregoing payments of principal on the MAC bonds which they own. They are also committed to purchase more bonds, defer a 6-percent pay raise to which they are contractually entitled and refinance $38 million in short-term notes issued by the City Housing Development Corporation which fall due in August.

Despite an empty threat only a week ago that the unions would not defer the maturities of the MAC bonds they held unless the banks did the same, when D-day came Victor Gotbaum and his cohorts meekly handed over the hard-earned pension fund money without so much as a whimper. The banks, of course, have refused to budge.

Since the beginning of the New York fiscal crunch—which has cost the municipal unions 60,000 jobs so far—two years ago, the Spartacist League has insisted that these vicious attacks on working people must be answered through mobilizing NYC labor for militant union action, including if necessary a general strike against the mass cutbacks and layoffs.

Jack Bigel, chief adviser on pension matters to the municipal unions, says meekly: "The unions have made no demands, have no demands to make." So every time the banks lift their little finger, the labor bureaucracy hands over more millions to be thrown down the MAC rat hole. The SL says the unions have plenty of demands to make and the power to implement them. Workers must reject useless, reformist schemes such as debt "moratoriums" and instead demand that the debt be canceled and the banks expropriated without compensation. The fight for militant trade-union action is above all a fight to dump the Gotbaums and Bigels, who not only sell out strike after strike but are now looting the pension funds as well to keep the good graces of the phony "friend of labor" Democrats.

Hands off the pension funds! Oust the bureaucrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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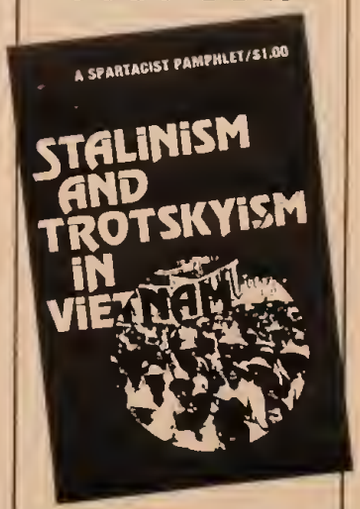

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Letelier Assassination Cover-up Exposed

The Long Arm of the DINA

There is a cover-up going on to protect the criminal terrorists who six months ago assassinated former Chilean cabinet minister Orlando Letelier, by blowing up his car as he drove to his Washington, D.C., office. A March 5 special on the NBC television "Weekend" news show quoted an FBI official in a classic example of bureaucratic double-talk:

> "We, along with the Metropolitan Police Department, have been aggressively pursuing this investigation. We will continue to do so with the hope of bringing it to a logical conclusion at a very swift time.... Since the bombing occurred the FBI has embarked on a very aggressive and penetrative investigation. We are continuing to vigorously pursue this matter and will do so until it is brought to a logical conclusion."

But this stonewalling is only one prong of the official attempt to divert public attention from the savage bomb murder and mask the true authors of the crime. Immediately after the September 21 slaying, Chilean exiles and virtually the entire left pointed an accusing finger at the DINA, the Pinochet junta's bloodthirsty secret police. Enough circumstantial evidence has accumulated so Washington can no longer simply ignore this obvious trail. Thus a second dimension has been added to the cover-up: leaked hints of FBI investigation of the DINA connection.

Thus the 1 February *Washington Post* ran a front-page story announcing that federal investigators had uncovered evidence "leading them to believe" that the Letelier murder "was carried out by anti-Castro Cubans directed by persons in Chile." This information was attributed to "sources familiar with the investigation" and was labeled a "new focus of the Letelier probe," supposedly "discussed at a recent FBI headquarters meeting attended by Justice [Department] officials and FBI agents involved in the case...."

New focus? A month and a half earlier an almost identical story appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* (20 December), again citing "sources familiar with the investigation." "Federal investigators," it reported, "have developed information indicating that an official of the Chilean government traveled to the U.S. under an assumed name to arrange for the murder." In addition, the "sources" referred to "evidence already obtained which seems to point to an international murder-for-hire plot in which Cuban exiles did the actual killing."

This is no "deep throat" revelation but an "authorized leak," like Henry Kissinger's famous "background" briefings attributed to "high Administration sources" or "knowledgeable officials." In both the *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* stories (a month and a half apart) "new information" is referred to; but in neither case is there resulting action or even public acknowledgment of the direction in which the investigation is proceeding. In other words, it is a smokescreen.

The Gusanos

Behind all this secrecy and half-admissions of a DINA/gusano link-up in the Letelier assassination is the fact that Orlando Bosch, leader of CORU (a coordinating body of right-wing Cuban exile terrorist groups in the U.S.), is sitting in a Venezuelan jail after being arrested in connection with the October 6 bombing of a Cuban airliner off Barbados that cost 73 lives. Bosch was jailed after Venezuelan authorities searched the heavily fortified Caracas residence of a gusano associate, Luis Posada, who employed the two men that carried out the Barbados bombing. In the Posada villa were found maps of Washington and plans suggesting a tie-in with the Letelier murder.

Moreover, it was reported by the Caracas daily *El Nacional* that Bosch arrived in the Venezuelan capital three days before the Letelier assassination and "informed Cuban exiles there that two of their compatriots, the Novo brothers, had committed the attack. Guillermo Novo is second in command of the Cuban Nationalist Movement, one of the components of CORU" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 1977).

Bosch was arrested shortly after the airliner bombing incident. Immediately following the Letelier assassination, the press reported that the FBI was informed of a high-ranking DINA official seen arriving from Chile at New York's Kennedy Airport on August 25. Yet on 1 November the *Washington Post* published a lengthy article on the Letelier investigation which reported a total government whitewash of the DINA and gusanos. "According to informed sources," the article began:

> "The far-reaching, highly sensitive investigation ... has failed so far to score any significant breakthrough.... The probe—here and abroad—has produced no major suspects.... the FBI had established no clear link between Cuban exiles and Letelier's murder.
>
> "CIA officials, nevertheless, say they believe that operatives of the present Chilean military junta did not take part in Letelier's killing.... the Chilean government has no direct ties with Cuban exiles."

This is pure subterfuge. The 15 November *New York Times* published a lengthy article detailing the odyssey of Bosch and leaving no doubts about the existence of a Latin American Murder, Inc. of CIA-trained Cuban exiles. In particular it noted a statement issued by Bosch and other leaders of CORU in July 1976 that called for "waging a terrorist campaign against Cuba." In addition:

- After jumping parole from a 10-year prison sentence for firing a rocket at a Polish ship anchored in Miami, Bosch was able to move freely from Venezuela to Chile, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and back to Venezuela.
- Bosch was arrested in Venezuela in November 1974 for planning an explosion at the Cuban embassy; the U.S. refused to take him back for prosecution as a parole violator. He was again arrested in Costa Rica last spring for plotting to bomb Kissinger (on a visit to that country) and Chilean MIR leader Andrés Pascal Allende, in exile there; again American authorities refused to ask for his extradition.
- Bosch "had been living during most of 1975 at a guest house of the strongly anti-Castro Chilean military Government."

More light was thrown on DINA links with gusano groups in a British television documentary on the Letelier assassination shown February 7 on the U.S. national educational network. *New York Times* writer Taylor Branch was interviewed saying that Cuban exiles formally connected with the CIA "would constantly mention that there were officials of the Chilean government coming into Miami for recruitment purposes." "Orlando [Bosch] has admitted after being arrested ... that he had worked for DINA. I do know that when

Linda Wheeler

Orlando Letelier's car after he was assassinated by a bomb near the Chilean embassy in Washington last September.

I was in Miami all the old Cuban operatives talked frequently about how Bosch was down there in Chile working for Pinochet." The U.S. government is now trying to explain its failure to question Bosch by alleging that obstacles have been thrown up by the Venezuelan government.

Whether or not Orlando Bosch is himself the linchpin of the conspiracy to assassinate Letelier, revelations of the tremendous influence wielded by CIA-connected Cuban exiles in Venezuela have caused a major scandal there. Bosch's friend Posada—a veteran of Brigade 2506, the CIA's Bay of Pigs Cuban exile army—was chief of operations for the Venezuelan secret police (DISAP) under a previous government. The present regime of Carlos Andrés Pérez sought to absolve itself of any suspicion of complicity with the Cuban airliner bombing by pointing to Posadas' ties to the Christian Democrats, now in opposition. But then it was revealed that Pérez' security adviser, Orlando García, had also been in touch with Bosch in the days before the airliner crash.

UPI

Bernardo Leighton after 1975 assassination attempt in Rome.

UPI

Bomb planted underneath car assassinated General Prats and his wife on Buenos Aires street in 1974.

The Venezuelan government, and especially the secret police, are riddled with Cuban exiles. On 24 October *El Nacional* reported that three U.S. newsmen had been held incommunicado for ten hours and later expelled from the country because they identified Ricardo Morales Navarrete, a gusano ex-CIA agent and reputed FBI informer, as second-in-command of DISAP. One of the suspects arrested in the Cuban airliner bombing was a photographer for the government Bureau of Mines, and still another was an ex-functionary of DISAP described as an expert in bomb construction (*El Nacional*, 3 November).

A final note on the gusano connection: government bomb experts continue to express uncertainty about the nature of the explosive that killed Letelier, other than to remark that it is "now believed to have been a high-powered device, according to informed sources" (*Washington Post*, 1 November 1976)! However, other specialists have suggested that the weapon was a simple bomb made of C-4 plastique explosive, possibly detonated by radio. The NBC documentary reported that "officially, it's supposed to be hard to get.... But the real black market in plastic explosives is in Miami.... Some of the Cubans, including those trained by the CIA, are still carrying on their war against the left, and they are the ones with the explosives." The program concludes as the television reporter blows up a Chevrolet with some black market C-4 explosive.

The DINA

Orlando Letelier knew he was a marked man. As former ambassador to the U.S. under the Popular Unity (UP) government of Salvador Allende, then foreign minister and finally defense minister in the last days of UP rule, he was high on the generals' "enemies list" when they took power in the bloody 11 September 1973 coup. Interned for a year, most of it in the sub-Antarctic concentration camp of Dawson Island, he managed to get to exile because of friends in Washington. There he struggled against aid to the Pinochet junta, playing a key role in stopping a $63 million Dutch government program

of investment in Chile in the weeks prior to his death.

We reported earlier ("Orlando Letelier Victim of Junta Death Squad," *WV* No. 127, 1 October 1976) that the FBI was given a letter from a Chilean military officer to Letelier advising him that there was talk of a plot to eliminate him. A former UP official, Hernán Rodriguez, said on the British documentary that Letelier had been warned against "causing trouble" by junta officials at the United Nations. "Some people from the Chilean Mission to the UN arrived [in the delegates lounge] and ... said something about, 'you're going to pay because of all the things you are doing to the Chilean government'." Isabelle Letelier recalled one among many threatening phone calls she had received: "They asked, 'are you Mrs. Letelier?' and I said, 'yes.' They said, 'you are wrong—you are the widow'."

"Everybody who leaves Chile," said Mrs. Letelier, "is warned that they shouldn't say anything against the government.... We were warned that the hands of the DINA are very long." The feared secret police agency had already struck outside Chile before. In September 1974, a year after the Santiago coup, General Carlos Prats, former commander-in-chief of the Chilean army and a minister in the Allende government, was assassinated together with his wife in Buenos Aires. As the highest-ranking military man associated with the UP regime, Prats was a potential rallying point for opposition to Pinochet within the armed forces. The British documentary reported: "Pedro Ewing, DINA's man abroad, was seen in Buenos Aires just before the killing.... After the explosion, two DINA agents ransacked his apartment and stole the manuscript he had been writing about the coup. The DINA is believed to have used the AAA [Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance, a death squad with close ties to the secret police] as the executioners."

That same year, the DINA set up operations in Europe, establishing its headquarters in Madrid. Ewing was sent as a military attaché to the Chilean embassy in Spain, where he coordinated surveillance of Chilean opposition groups throughout Europe. Most notably, in Rome they were watching Bernardo Leighton, an anti-junta Christian Democratic leader. Like Prats and Letelier, Leighton had sufficient stature and was considered "independent" enough to serve as a focus for the formation of a broad popular front that would include dissident Christian Democrats.

The Italian government had accepted a sizeable number of Chilean refugees after the coup and did not recognize the military junta. The Vatican, however, did maintain diplomatic relations with the Pinochet regime, and the Chilean ambassador to the "Holy See" is a well-known fanatical right-wing reactionary who in the late 1960's belonged to a group called "Defense of Tradition, Property and Family." Allende partisans at the offices of Chile Democrático—the UP in exile—were accidentally informed of DINA spying against them when they received a telephone bill for an apartment that was occupied by personnel of the Chilean embassy and located only 100 yards away from their office.

A year after the Prats assassination, Bernardo Leighton was shot in the head outside his apartment, but not killed. His wife was also shot and paralyzed for life. Just as it was reported that the DINA used the AAA to eliminate the former army commander, the Italian intelligence agency told British television reporters that the main suspects as triggermen in the Leighton shooting were local Italian right-wingers, and that involvement by the DINA is suspected.

The CIA

Unable to simply ignore the Letelier case—or try to pass it off as the work of "left-wing extremists," as both the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* at first attempted, along with the Chilean junta—U.S. authorities would rather go lightly on the DINA and find a scapegoat among the Cuban exiles, who are "dispensable." But as Mike Moffit (husband of Ronnie Moffit, who was killed along with Letelier) observed in the NBC documentary, "they might want to go as far as finding the John Dean of this particular case, but I don't think they want to go all the way to the top."

Some prominent U.S. journalists

Wide World

Colonel Pedro Ewing, DINA agent, with book written in defense of bloody 1973 coup.

with well-known government connections are doing their bit for the attempted cover-up, by trying to defame Letelier. Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, in an article headlined, "Letelier's 'Havana Connection'" (*Washington Post*, 20 December 1976), "reveal" in 1950's-vintage McCarthyite, "I led three lives" innuendo that, "Secret papers found in Chilean exile Orlando Letelier's attache case after the assassination show he had been collecting a mysterious $1,000 a month through a 'Havana Connection'." Aping the Anderson/Whitten column, arch-conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak again discover these "previously undisclosed documents contained in Letelier's attache case" and use this to "prove" what they call "the familiar picture of Marxist revolutionaries, encamped in the Communist capitals of oppression, using well-meaning liberals to serve their ends in the name of human rights" (*New York Post*, 16 February).

So what are these mysterious payments which Anderson/Whitten claim show that "Letelier had been leading a strange double life"? Nothing but $1,000 per month received from the Chilean Socialist Party in exile, whose leader, Carlos Altamirano, resides in Cuba. Letelier was, after all, a leader of the Socialist Party. And who was his "contact" for this sinister operation? It turns out to be none other than Beatriz Allende, daughter of the slain Chilean president! But perhaps the mud-slinging pundits would have preferred if Letelier had received the money from a capitalist "capital of oppression." Then their friends in the CIA could alert the DINA to the identity of Letelier's "contact" who would then suffer the same fate as the murdered ambassador!

The best that can be said for the despicable journalistic hatchet men who try to blame Letelier for his own assassination is that they could not be better CIA mouthpieces if they were actually on "The Company's" payroll. How is it that both teams come up with the same "secret papers" which have not even been returned to Letelier's widow? If it wasn't for the need to defend

continued on page 9

Day of Wrath...

(continued from page 1)

and calling for gearing up the state's repressive apparatus in "preparation." The incident was heralded as an ominous verification of the government's prediction, the *New York Times* (13 March) remarking: "The timeliness of this warning was demonstrated last week when bands of gunmen took over three buildings in Washington...." The "vulnerability of the nation's cities," said the *Times*, was "vividly demonstrated" by the siege. Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald charged the Hanafi takeover could never have gotten off the ground if the cops had not been hampered in their surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities by post-Watergate restraints.

The prospect of consuming racial violence in the U.S. remains very real in the absence of a revolutionary leadership to turn toward class struggle the seething discontent of a population ground down by hopeless poverty and inhuman oppression in a virulently racist society. That a single incident could fracture the tenuous stalemate and trigger an explosion of race-hate hysteria was intensely felt throughout the two days of the Hanafi seizure. Had the heads of the hostages really started rolling out the windows, all hell would have broken loose.

The decadent capitalist system can do nothing to fundamentally alter the social conditions of poverty and oppression, rage and fear which threaten to plunge the bourgeois social order into an orgy of fratricidal violence. This fact emerges once again from the 661-page semi-incoherent "Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism." The bourgeoisie's only prescription is to intensify murderous repression by the state apparatus. The people who brought us the Attica massacre are gearing up their bonapartist cops for ever more of the same.

The report warns:

> "a deep well of violence underlies the apparent calm and stability of the American social scene.... Labor unrest, racial violence and poverty are all issues that can lead once again to civil disorders."

In contrast to earlier "studies," notably the 1968 Kerner Commission report, the present effort does not even pretend to consider reform measures to alleviate the endemic social ills:

> "Some who consider themselves victimized by the obvious disparity between the expectations generated by the American dream and their unsatisfactory attainments under it react violently from time to time. Those alarmed by such outbreaks appeal to authorities, naturally, to do something about the root problems. It should be apparent that such appeals are unreasonable, if understandable.... It may well be that sustained attention to long-term solutions is not feasible, given the economic and political realities of the situation."

The "task force" report, a last gasp of the Nixon/Ford administration, thus complements the general outlook of Jimmy Carter and his technocratic/"ethnic purity" administration. It promises greater efficiency and reduction of "the impersonality of the governmental process," appealing for a renewal of "civil solidarity." Its basic proposal is for massive military assaults on all forms of "civil disorders"—under which category it lumps everything from militant labor upsurges and ghetto upheavals to the pathological cultist violence of the "Manson family."

The report blueprints legislative extension of official "emergency powers" for extended periods. These police-state "powers" include wiretapping, mass arrests and preventive detentions, search and seizure without a warrant, suspension of the right of assembly, curfews, encirclement and evacuation of "certain specified areas" and, as a last resort, outright martial law.

The authors (including Jerry Wilson, Washington police chief during the round-up of 13,000 antiwar demonstrators in May 1971; Jesse Brewer, head of the Los Angeles police Special Weapons and Tactics unit; New York City police commissioner Michael Codd; New Jersey governor Brendan Byrne, who was Essex County Prosecutor during the 1967 Newark ghetto riot; Arthur Bilek of the Pinkerton agency) hope to take advantage of the current reactionary climate to legally reassert and codify the state's unlimited "right" to drown its opposition in blood. The measures the report proposes—and more—have been used before against "reds," ethnic minorities, embattled workers and most recently black radical activists.

Slaughter of the Militants

The top cops of the "task force" could point with pride to the coordinated cop vendetta against the Black Panther Party, the most notable and serious expression of "revolutionary" black nationalism in the late 1960's. The Panthers were destroyed by the interaction of murderous state repression, internal degeneration and bloodletting, and the corruption of the leadership exemplified today by Elaine Brown's penthouse and Eldridge Cleaver's pimp-

Bobby Seale Pirkle Jones

ing for "God, country and the American way of life."

A contradictory phenomenon embodying a partial break from cynical "porkchop nationalism," and an attempt to fight on behalf of the oppressed black masses, the Panthers catered to black lumpen rage. Their military posturing and verbal terrorism set the organization up for provocation and savage repression by the state. Their glorification of the street-gang mentality led to internal factional differences becoming blood vendettas. The cult of the lumpen desperado guaranteed that Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver would become the political versions of "Super Fly."

Initially, the liberals reacted to the "Disorders and Terrorism" task force report with admonitions that police-terror methods do not work. In fact, however, the bourgeois state's massive repression against the Panthers and other militant black groups succeeded in wiping out an entire generation of potentially revolutionary black leaders. Cointelpro documents indicate the scope of the government's criminal conspiracy against black radicalism. In nearly 300 FBI actions against black groups in the late 1960's and early 1970's—233 of them against the Panthers alone—virtually every militant black leader was either physically eliminated or slammed in jail on a string

continued on page 10

Threatened with Expulsion, Defend Pete Camarata!

Detroit Teamster Bureaucrats Frame Dissident

DETROIT—On March 4 Teamsters Local 299 leaders tried Pete Camarata, leading spokesman for the reformist opposition group Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), on charges of interfering with official business.

The charges stem from Camarata's involvement in a three-day job action in the Detroit area last June, which was sparked by a two-week wildcat of car haulers in Flint, Michigan. The car haulers had rejected a proposed contract but were ordered back to work by the Teamsters International bureaucracy, leading to the wildcat.

Another 299 driver, Al Ferdnance, was fired from Automobile Transit Incorporated (ATI) for participation in the action; he faces union discipline similar to that meted out to Camarata. But what is really going on is a drive by hidebound Teamster bureaucrats to rid themselves of any semblance of organized opposition.

Only two members of Local 299's five-man executive board showed up at the trial: substitutes were appointed by Local president Robert Lins. Thus it is not clear who will ultimately render a verdict, nor when it will be announced. But the trial could result in expulsion from the union for Camarata and Ferdnance.

Camarata told *WV* that he considers the trial to be the bureaucrats' response to TDU's current agitation for Local by-laws changes. In this low-level "union democracy" campaign, the TDU is calling merely for the election of business agents and stewards (currently appointed), election to all committees, annual written financial reports and regular union meetings.

Bureaucratic Wrangling and the Courts

Local 299 is a politically important, 17,000-member local, which in the past has served as a launching pad for both Jimmy Hoffa and current Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons. Prior to Hoffa's "disappearance" he had planned on this Local as his re-entry point into Teamster politics. Pro-Hoffa and pro-Fitzsimmons forces (including the sons of both men) have fought a prolonged, and often violent, power struggle.

The political identity of the warring cliques was demonstrated last summer when they united in opposing a brief wildcat against the Master Freight Agreement. A new Local 299 president, Robert Lins, was installed by executive board fiat when Hoffa loyalist Dave Johnson resigned. Johnson was disgraced with the bureaucracy by his inability to head off the wildcat and discredited before the membership by his flunkying for Fitzsimmons' sellout contract.

WV Photo

Pete Camarata

But the regime of Lins and secretary-treasurer Otto Wendel is no more solid. It is haunted by the bitter restlessness of the ranks, Fitzsimmons' nepotist ambitions to elevate "Junior" into power, and the ever-present spectre of direct Labor Department or court intervention. The latter is fueled by continual exposures of massive graft and gangster corruption in the $1.4 billion Central States Pension Fund. Against this backdrop, Local leaders would obviously be glad to get rid of the likes of Camarata, whose calls for even the most minimal reforms are a source of irritation.

Teamster militants should demand that the witchhunt charges against Camarata and Ferdnance be dropped. But they must just as adamantly oppose Camarata's already announced plans to seek a court injunction should he be expelled. Such a move would be one more treacherous invitation to any number of federal agencies and law enforcement bodies which are contemplating a major assault on the Teamsters. A class-struggle opposition must fight *within* the labor movement against the bureaucracy, not appeal to the bosses' state.

Workers must oppose the attempts of the government to further subordinate the independence of the unions under the guise of instituting "democracy" or cleaning up corruption. Every such intervention is another blow against the ability of the rank and file to control their unions and set them on a class-struggle course.

Anti-Labor Detroit News Promotes TDU

Camarata has garnered support from odd but revealing quarters. The rabidly anti-labor and staunchly Republican *Detroit News* (6 March) published an article by columnist Fred Girard which blasts the Local 299 leadership as thieves, criminals, fat-cats, animals, hoods, arrogant, stupid, etc. and urges Teamsters to join the TDU. Girard favorably reports on the TDU's proposed by-law changes and assures his readers that they are in no way subversive (which is certainly true).

Girard can support the TDU not only because of the latter's utter reformism but also because both look to capitalist "justice" to reform the Teamsters union. In a 7 January article, Girard forthrightly proposed:

> "The federal government should force the entire union into receivership instantly, turn every one of those crooks, and even the few honest officials, out of office, freeze every book, record, bank account and deal and initiate a massive congressional investigation."

Posing as a champion of Teamster members, Girard in fact is calling for the virtual destruction of the largest labor union in the U.S.

TDU: Merry-Go-Round Maneuvering

While supporting Camarata against attempts to drive him from the union, we are duty-bound to point out that he *supported* appointment of the very bureaucrats who today are persecuting him. Camarata told *WV* that he believes Otto Wendel is the driving force behind the current charges against him. Yet Wendel was Camarata's first choice for Local president last summer! When Wendel declined, Camarata then threw his support to Lins, who now appoints the trial bodies seeking to purge Camarata!

Proving that he has learned nothing from this experience, Camarata now hopes that his case will help cement relations with the Local 299 Concerned Teamsters (CT). This group was formed after last summer's wildcat as an explicitly "anti-radical" parry to the TDU.

The 13 December 1976 *Workers' Power*, organ of the Camarata-praising International Socialists, claimed that the CT "was formed by a part of the old Teamsters for a Decent Contract," predecessor to the TDU. Camarata, however, told *WV* that CT supporters had not been members of his group but had participated in last summer's wildcat picket lines. When red-baiting started in the wildcats' wake, the CTers jumped ship.

Local president Lins claimed good relations with the CT group in a December interview with *WV*, and the CT subsequently succeeded in having four business agents appointed in the Local (three of whom Camarata acknowledges have "completely gone over to the other side"). Ever looking for a "deal," Camarata claims that the remaining CTers are now disillusioned with Wendel and hopes that some joint work may be possible, such as TDU "critical support" to CT candidates in local elections this fall.

Though the bureaucratic and reformist "oppositionists" may temporarily get together on the basis of anti-Fitzsimmons sentiment, no way out of the impasse faced by Teamsters will be found short of building a class-struggle leadership. The fight for workers democracy in the Teamsters will succeed only as part of the struggle against *all* pro-capitalist misleaders, in or out of office, who rely on the capitalist government to "democratize" the labor movement. ■

Spartacus Youth League forum

Marxism and the National Question in North America

Speaker: Joseph Seymour
Workers Vanguard editorial board
Spartacist League Central Committee

19 March 1977, 7:30 p.m.

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LOS ANGELES

British Scabs...

(continued from page 12)

February 14 when the Bahamian-registered *Venus* docked in Middleborough, England. Globtik Tankers is a British-based company but, like many other shipping companies in Europe, Japan, Australia and the U.S., Tikkoo registers his tankers with a "flag of convenience" for tax reasons. An additional motive is to avoid paying higher wages and providing better working conditions for their crews. The Filipino crew was getting only about $220 per month per man, less than the official British rate.

When the ship docked at Middleborough, the crew demanded wage negotiations, acting with the aid of representatives of the British National Union of Seamen (NUS). The strikers raised the demand for a $507 monthly wage, the minimum standard recommended by the ITF. Tikkoo refused. Thereupon the NUS instructed the crew not to sail until its wage demands were met, but Globtik moved the ship to Le Havre in the middle of the night. Then the strike began.

Maritime affiliates to the ITF have launched an international organizing drive to enforce its higher standards, protecting workers on "flag of convenience" ships as well as ensuring that jobs will not be lost by "runaway" shipping. In the U.S. only 5 percent of all American-owned shipping is manned by U.S. crews.

In North Europe (the campaign has hardly been implemented in the U.S.), a ship which does not meet ITF standards may be met by boycott action of ITF-affiliated unions, which include longshoremen and truck drivers. This represents a tremendously powerful weapon against shipping bosses like Ravi Tikkoo. The ITF has affiliates in most of the industrialized countries and has the potential to compel "runaway" shipowners to meet the higher standards for all seamen.

According to the *Beacon* (October 1976), newspaper of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NMU) in the U.S., the ITF claims that agreements have been negotiated for over 500 "runaway" ships; 3,000 seamen employed on 120 runaway ships recovered over $3 million in back pay in 1975. But the ITF drive is purely bureaucratic and has not mobilized the union ranks; at times it has been nothing but mere tokenism.

As the *Beacon* points out, the ITF often fails to enforce even its own minimal wage standards. Exceptions are granted to shipowners who operate within the Far East. These companies pay under half the ITF wage standards. Some ITF affiliates tolerate grossly racist practices in the shipping of their own countries. For instance, British law supposedly outlaws wage discrimination based on race, but shipowners have for years paid non-citizen Asians who crew British-flag ships much less than British citizens. The ITF has even supported protectionist schemes of its affiliates which actually take jobs away from foreign-flag seamen.

Stabbed in the Back

The crew of the *Venus* was stabbed in the back by a vile, chauvinist set-up. The ITF stood by while the British NUS stole the jobs of the Filipino seamen after urging them to strike. The crew, following the violent defeat of the strike, was put on a plane back to the right-wing U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. Meanwhile, NUS leader Jim Slater said that a British crew (at £40 a week or about $275 per month, considerably *less* than the strikers were demanding) was standing by until some back-pay settlement could be made for the original crew. But it's their *jobs* he's taking!

Slater had the gall to claim that the day those scabs attacked the ship was "a

day of shame for the British maritime industry" (*Times* [London], 3 March). Slater and the NUS, however, share in that shame. Ironically, Slater charged that when Globtik changed the ship's registry from the Bahamas to Britain, this was just a company ploy to sack the original crew. But Slater willingly cooperated with that ploy. After an undisclosed "settlement" of back pay was made for the Filipino crew (now thousands of miles away), an NUS crew began signing on the *Venus*, while the union promised to "give all possible assistance to the company in the operation of its fleet."

Charles Blyth, general secretary of the ITF, claimed that while no one got everything he wanted, a satisfactory settlement had been made. What can be "satisfactory" about British seamen stealing the jobs of Philippine workers?! The British seamen's union and the ITF apparently pride themselves on trying to get "severance" pay for the crew—while at the same time robbing these men of their livelihood!

What is needed in the maritime unions is a class-struggle leadership committed to waging an aggressive international organizing campaign based on labor solidarity, not on aiding some workers at the expense of others. British and French unions should have refused to unload or man the *Globtik Venus* and demanded that the Filipino crew get their jobs back. And the cowardly French CGT should remember that scabs—whom it let attack the strikers are a natural recruiting ground for fascists; Tikkoo's thugs should have been thoroughly smashed.

A class-struggle leadership would fight for a single international standard of wages and "benefits," at the highest level, and would back up this demand with international job actions (strikes and boycotts). Slater and his ilk deserve the disgust of every self-respecting unionist. ■

Abel's House...

(continued from page 12)

president actually crossed the picket line to inspect his new property during a recent Arizona visit, although he told television newsmen this was the purpose of the trip (in addition to stumping for McBride as his successor).

Members of Laborers Union Local 383, one of the striking unions, confirm that the Abel house at 10406 Sombrero Circle is being built by scab labor. Picketers say that only preliminary grading and site preparation had been completed before the strike, but now the house is nearing completion. When the Laborers Union discovered that one of the houses built by strikebreakers was being purchased by Abel, the local sent a protest letter to USWA headquarters. Abel has not responded to the letter, and was unavailable for comment on the issue. The Steelworkers' public relations department told *WV* they would have to look into the matter.

It should not be surprising that a class traitor like I.W. Abel, the architect of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) that bans strikes in basic steel until 1980, would spit in the face of every union member in the country by purchasing a scab-built house. Not just the *Arizona Republic* but the giant steel corporations, too, feel he has earned a reward for years of loyal service to them. And once again Abel's betrayal is paid for from the dues of hundreds of thousands of steel workers who live and die in grimy mill towns so that a strikebreaker like Abel can play golf and swim with the bosses.

Abel is bowing out, McBride promises to continue his predecessor's pro-company policies, and perhaps four years from now Sadlowski will try again with empty "beer and hot dogs" rhetoric. But as Sadlowski demonstrated by pledging to carry out the hated ENA, the problem is not to replace a sellout bureaucrat with a "reform" bureaucrat. The only way to get rid of *all* the labor fakers is to sweep away the capitalist class they serve. Then we can really retire the Abels...and the Mellons—not to Sun City but to the garbage cans of history. ■

WV Photo

Construction trades pickets outside Sun City in Arizona.

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Der Spiegel

Prisoners inside Tres Alamos prison.

DINA...

(continued from page 7)

freedom of the press, even for disgusting vultures such as these four, we would certainly like to find out what is in *their* attache cases, supplied by the "sensitive sources" on whom they depend for their smear stories!

The Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. agencies were up to their necks in attempts to "destabilize" and then overthrow the Allende regime. They sought to buy the 1970 election through secret subsidies to Frei's Christian Democrats; then they sought to prevent Allende from taking office by purchasing votes in the Chilean Congress. The U.S. supplied arms to and was aware of plans by right-wingers to assassinate "constitutionalist" army commanders who stood in the way of an anti-Allende coup in late 1970 (General René Schneider died in one of these attempts). The embassy and the CIA provided continual subsidies to the anti-Allende press empire of the Edwards family; financed the ultra-rightist National Party and the fascist Patria y Libertad commandos; and underwrote the truck owners', doctors' and businessmen's "work stoppages" directed against the UP in November 1972 and July-August 1973. This is only the tip of the iceberg that has been admitted in Congressional hearings.

U.S. aid to the Pinochet regime has continued unabated since the 1973 coup, though it is now merely "economic" in order to appease the sensibilities of liberals in Congress. There is no doubt that DINA could not operate on U.S. soil without extensive complicity by American intelligence and police agencies. That is why the government continues to stall, equivocate, "leak" contradictory stories and in every way possible hamstring an investigation into the Letelier murder. The working class can expect nothing else from the imperialist butchers, and must rely on its own means to reveal the conspiracy behind the Letelier assassination.

Letelier and Allende did not rely on the power of the workers movement, but instead tied the Chilean workers to their class enemies with the rhetoric of a "peaceful road to socialism" and the practice of a "popular front" with capitalist parties. One of the cornerstones of UP policy was preaching faith in the "professional" nature of the "constitutionalist" armed forces. Chilean workers and peasants paid the price for these illusions by losing more than 30,000 of their most valiant forces in the bloodbath that followed the 1973 coup. Today they still live in the dark night of bonapartist reaction, more than one worker in five without a job while tens of thousands are on the verge of starvation.

A Trotskyist party in Chile must direct its revolutionary criticism at the social democrats and Stalinists who led the working people into this nightmare with their "moderation" and "reasonableness." But Allende and Letelier were martyred not for their capitulationist policies but in order to destroy the vanguard of the proletariat. Revolutionaries must lead the working class in avenging these dead and all our slain class brothers and sisters, through organizing a world party of socialist revolution. Jail the murderers of Orlando Letelier! Smash the CIA/DINA through proletarian revolution! ■

International Women's Day...

(continued from page 2)

feminism in an earlier issue of the *ISR* (November 1976) the SWP shamelessly asserted that it does "not believe that the working class will" give women "their liberation. Women will liberate women."

Counterposed to both the pro-Carter and life-style wings of the feminist movement, and to the utter bankruptcy of reformists like the SWP, the SL carries forward the strategy of fighting within the labor movement for a class-struggle program which speaks to the immediate needs of the specially oppressed. Trotskyists put forward the perspective of carrying out special work among women through a women's section of the vanguard party and of the reforged Fourth International, while struggling against every manifestation of male chauvinism, which divides and weakens the working class.

The SWP claims that "in no country where a socialist revolution has taken place has there existed a mass feminist movement as one of the fighting components mobilizing forces for the revolution." As comrade Brodie pointed out, the SWP is both right and wrong about this. They are wrong that there wasn't a mass feminist movement in Russia—there was. But they are right that it wasn't mobilizing forces for the revolution—because the feminists were on the other side of the barricades. The "consistent-feminism-leads-to-socialism" SWPers might recall the anti-communist fervor of the Women's Battalion of Death. ■

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Day of Wrath...

(continued from page 7)

of charges long enough to hold him for years.

The government's kill-crazy onslaught against the Panthers was a calculated exercise in murder, a crime of unspeakable malevolence. Unlike the Hanafi's irrational foray into mass hostage-taking, the representatives of capitalist "law and order" launched a cold-blooded and purposeful assassination campaign which decimated the Panther leadership within a few years. Among the victims were:

- *Bobby Hutton*—Black Panther treasurer killed in 1968 attack on an Oakland house in which he and Eldridge Cleaver were trapped. Police fired thousands of rounds of ammunition into the house. Cleaver still faces attempted murder charges in the incident.
- *Fred Hampton, Mark Clark*—killed in Chicago police pre-dawn machine-gun raid, 4 December 1969.
- *Carl Hampton*—Houston chairman of Peoples Party fatally shot when police riflemen perched on top of church roof to assault party headquarters, 1970.
- *George Jackson*—Prison militant responsible for winning hundreds of black inmates to the Panthers. Shot along with two other prisoners by San Quentin guards during escape attempt set-up, 21 August 1971, two days before his trial as one of the "Soledad Brothers" was to begin. Marin County Deputy Public Defender Frank J. Cox later said, "This was an attempt to kill George Jackson by a preventative first strike."
- *Jonathan Jackson*—killed with two other prisoners during raid on Marin County courthouse, 7 August 1970.
- *Bunchy Carter, John Huggins*—killed by members of Ron Karenga's "US" organization, 17 January 1969. Cointelpro memos show FBI involvement in provoking the incident.

Under the pressure of this wholesale carnage, political degeneration and organizational corruption were aggravated. In 1971 the party split, with the majority wing under Huey P. Newton orbiting increasingly toward Communist Party-style reformism. In the wake of the split, the Newton and Cleaver leaderships cynically sent battalions of their ranks to die in factional warfare against each other. Others were killed as a result of lumpen criminal elements and cop provocateurs in both wings. Among the dead were:

- *Alex Rackley*—falsely declared to be a police informer, the New Haven party head was wired to a bedpost with coathangers around his neck and arms and tortured for three days before being shot. His beaten, scalded, bullet-ridden body was later pulled from a Connecticut river. Strong FBI involvement in the killing was later admitted.
- *Robert Webb*—member of the Cleaver faction, was shot on a Harlem streetcorner in 1971 while selling the party newspaper.
- *Samuel Lee Napier*—Newton faction labor editor and West Coast circulation manager, was found shot in the burned ruins of a Queens Panther office in apparent retaliation.

Countless others were jailed; many are still there. Virtually the entire New York Panther leadership was held for nearly two years on the ludicrous charge that they had plotted to blow up, among other things, the Bronx Botanical Garden. Despite their acquittal, some are still in jail on other charges almost a decade later. Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) has spent four years in prison without ever being convicted; she is presently held in solitary confinement on a murder charge stemming from a cop attack on a Panther car on the New Jersey turnpike.

The corruption of top Panther leaders nailed down the destruction of an organization which once held the sympathy of most subjectively revolutionary ghetto youth. The most unspeakable is Eldridge Cleaver, who returned to the U.S. from Algeria last year. After an entrepreneurial venture abroad into "cod-piece pants," Cleaver is now on the lecture circuit preaching faith in "the limitless possibilities of the American dream."

Cleaver condemns his former Arab hosts as "the world's worst racists" and vows "total support for Israel in its struggle against international terrorism"; he denounces the Castro "dictatorship" which gave him sanctuary in 1968, terming its intervention in Angola a "racist maneuver to decimate Cuba's black minority." He expresses sympathy for Richard Nixon, sloughs off Earl Butz's disgusting racist remarks as merely funny, rails against "the Soviet menace" and calls for "an effective CIA," adding, "I'm having a love affair with the U.S. military" (*New York Times Magazine*, 17 January).

Cleaver is certainly the most despicable, but he is not alone. His wife Kathleen has now apparently swallowed her misgivings about his "conversion." Meanwhile Bobby Seale ran for mayor of Oakland on the Democratic Party ticket. The present head of what is left of the party is Elaine Brown, who has apparently inherited along with the title Huey Newton's luxurious penthouse apartment overlooking Oakland's Lake Merritt (Newton is in exile in Cuba). In the old days Huey's lavish abode shocked the moralistic New Left, even in the heyday of its slavish adulation of the Panthers; the dwelling had to be justified by invoking Newton's "need for security." Today Brown does not bother with such niceties. She told *Ms.* magazine (March 1976):

> "Material goods still count for something in this society and besides, you know how folks be thinking... how she gon' get some for us if she can't get it for herself."

The Politics of Despair

The Hanafi takeover in Washington was certainly a bizarre and unpredictable event in its particulars. But this isolated, random act of vengeance is indicative of the misdirected outbursts of rage and frustration which underline the vacuum of revolutionary black leadership. The rise of the Black Panthers signaled the young blacks' passionate disgust with Martin Luther King-style liberal reformism, exposed as powerless to achieve more than legal tokenism while leaving the intolerable conditions of the black masses unchanged. The Panthers' destruction marked the evacuation of the subjectively revolutionary components of black nationalist ideology, leaving behind only a more modish "Africanized" veneer for the chairmen of Black Studies departments and token government bureaucrats.

The sinister "task force" report is part of the bourgeoisie's well organized attempt to prepare for unorganized violence. The government's top cops are well aware that people who get repeatedly kicked eventually kick back. But how and who they-kick is a matter of political decision involving political leadership. In the context of the utter absence of perceived revolutionary leadership, which is self-evidently most acute for the blacks, individuals strike out, often seemingly at random, in a grotesque distortion of the will to oppose their hideous oppression.

The urban ghettos are seething. Ghetto unemployment runs as high as 45 percent and higher among the volatile youth; decent housing is out of reach; the rundown schools are but holding camps for those with no future who are then spewed out on the meanest streets in the world, where the population is daily terrorized by dope-pushing, trigger-happy cops and vicious criminal elements who prey upon the defenseless. The cheapness of life in this pathological broth is the culture medium of bizarre indiscriminate violence.

Particularly excruciating is the contradiction between the intolerable realities of ghetto existence and the "victory" of the struggle for formal legal integration. This tokenistic "victory" was wrested from a capitalist class which has less and less economic need for the black ghetto youth. Unlike the earlier migrations of blacks from the rural South to the industrial cities which occurred in connection with the world wars, the population transfers since World War II have been impelled by the automation of Southern agriculture. The blacks thus uprooted can find no place in a shrinking job market; the casual destruction of their lives by the impersonal decisions of corporations and banks is an infinitely greater crime than the Hanafi outbreak.

The creation of huge black ghettos whose soaring unemployment means increasingly less contact with white capitalist society fed into the separatist mood of the late 1960's. Whenever blacks have seen a possibility for successful struggles for integration and equality, they have naturally been integrationist; separatism flourishes in periods of demoralization and working-class quiescence. Identifying the labor movement with its self-satisfied sellout bureaucracy, militant black youth saw little hope for a perspective of linking their struggles to the organized power of the working class. Concentrated and clustered in inner city enclaves where they see mainly blacks (while the whites see and know that this is a pervasively white country), the black youth who posited a separatist road to black freedom were profoundly disoriented about the social realities of racist American society.

The strength of the Black Muslim religious cult reflects the absence of any militant ghetto movement which can provide cohesion, organization and hope for the black masses. Outside the black churches, there is no continuous black organization. The rise of the Nation of Islam is reminiscent of the "back to Africa" movement of the 1920's, headed by Marcus Garvey. Garvey's mass appeal was born of despair and social disorganization. After the First World War, the newly urbanized blacks were kept out of the trade unions by the narrow, racist craft leaders of the AFL. Garvey offered a dream of a reactionary black utopia in Africa and a form of social organization for the uprooted blacks: uniforms, parades, discipline.

Like Garveyism, the Black Muslim sect is separatist, looks to Africa and maintains a strict and puritannical set of rituals and ethical prescriptions. It teaches discipline, preaches black self-reliance and promises a black utopia by and by. Like Garvey's "Black Star Line," it is organically connected to black-owned small businesses. Despite a certain mass appeal, it is fundamentally a doomed middle-class phenomenon.

The manifest bankruptcy of the liberal-pacifist civil rights movement threw up an impulse to separatism, to break with everything white. The Muslims organized around a break with the white man's religion, Christianity. Malcolm X, like Martin Luther King, was the son of a preacher. King learned to turn the other cheek in the theological seminary; Malcolm X found a militant Allah in prison.

The Muslims' doctrine for U.S. blacks involved breaking with the traditions of slavery: slave names, slave clothes and particularly the slave religion. The Christian non-violence of King's movement led the black masses into a dead end and so Islam became identified with a break from liberal pacifism. But the channeling of a militant impulse into a religious organization was inherently unstable. The personification of this contradiction was Malcolm X.

When Malcolm X was invited by SNCC youth to speak at a 1964 Selma, Alabama, voting rights rally, King's deputy, Rev. Andrew Young, was worried and urged Malcolm X not to "inflame the situation, we're not even mentioning police brutality." But the militant Muslim directly attacked King's pacifist doctrine: "I don't believe in non-violence—no. I don't think anyone expects a sheep to go into the den of the wolf and love the wolf, because the sheep would end up in the *stomach* of the wolf" (Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*).

Andrew Young went on to become a Jimmy Carter man and now an ambassador for U.S. imperialism. Malcolm X went on to be shot dead (like the family of another Black Muslim breakaway leader). At the time of his death, he embodied both a separatist ideology and an impulse to militant struggle in America born of a hatred of racial oppression. He was becoming more political and less religious. His secularization made him particularly dangerous to the ruling class. He became a marked man when he broke with Elijah Muhammad and began to talk less against white devils and more against capitalism:

Clark/Echave & Associates

The "reborn" Eldridge Cleaver (center) with Kathleen and lawyer Patrick Hallinan.

"You show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker."

Had he lived, Malcolm X might have discovered that Islam as well as Christianity holds back the struggle against black oppression. The inevitable failure of "revolutionary black nationalism" stripped Islam of its aura of militancy, revealing only the shops and mosques, the sometimes murderous sectarian squabbles and another recipe for pie in the sky.

Not Black Powerlessness—For Workers Power!

When the black masses stood poised between King's traditional liberal leadership and Malcolm X's nationalist appeal, the conflict was hardly between Christianity and Islam. It was a political battle—often debated as "passive resistance" vs. "self-defense," but fundamentally an argument about political power. King would rely on the good graces of the liberal capitalist state; Malcolm wanted power for blacks. But the ghetto as ghetto has very little social power. There could be ghetto outbursts of massive proportions, but when it was all over there were only black casualties and ghetto devastation. If the black liberals had left the masses physically defenseless, the nationalists as well left them politically disarmed. The black masses' potential power base is the organized power of the integrated labor movement.

However, black nationalist ideology and working-class passivity rendered efforts to build a "black revolutionary union movement" stillborn. The small Detroit-based League of Revolutionary Black Workers which grew out of DRUM combined legitimate attacks on the UAW bureaucracy's arrogant unconcern for black workers' needs with dual unionist and "black capitalist" demands such as for more black foremen and the channeling of union dues into the "community." Its sterility was marked by the eventual betrayal of its leaders, notably Ken Cockrel, now aspiring heir to Detroit mayor Coleman Young.

The government spy agencies who singled out the militant black movement for murderous reprisal were reflecting more than their own venomous racism. The prospect of black radical activism is so threatening to capitalism because the collective problems of the ghetto cannot be solved this side of proletarian revolution. But unless revolutionary integrationism—the real alternative to both liberal accommodationism and illusory separatism—can be forcefully posed and rooted in the working class and black masses, the massive pent-up social grievances will explode in race confrontation, which means a tragic conflagration in which the black minority and all working-class aims can only lose.

The chronically unemployed layer of ghetto blacks has no social power. They have increasingly little value to the exploiting class. In this white racist country, the bourgeoisie cannot be able to use these lumpenized blacks even as part of the fascist shocktroops it will one day require.

But in today's urban ghettos, the aimless "brother on the block" may be literally the brother of an employed worker in basic industry. A slow but deadly race war is now being waged unopposed, leading to the daily destruction of the black people. The bourgeoisie would think twice about escalating its "Disorders and Terrorism" contingency plans for genocide if its repression were met with shutdowns in auto and steel. In the 1960's the black nationalists tried to bring their "community politics" into the factories. This connection must be made the other way around. It is the union movement which must aggressively organize the unemployed, the workers—especially the black workers—who must struggle on behalf of all the ground-down, the rootless kids, the hopelessly unemployed, the sick and old.

The creation of a Leninist and necessarily racially integrated class-struggle working-class leadership is the single element that can defend against and take the offensive against race war. Such a leadership will bind the powerless ghettos to the factories where workers—black and white—have organization and strength, the last place in an increasingly segregated society where white and black workers meet to plan common action against a common enemy. The future of the black people in the U.S. is tied to the future of all of the proletariat. The alternative to race war in the U.S. is class war, led by a unified Trotskyist vanguard party. ■

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Excerpts from U.S. Report

"Disorders and Terrorism"

Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism (Washington, 1977). Published by the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

"Contingency planning should be predicated on the assumption that a deep well of violence underlies the apparent calm and stability of the American social scene. We must be especially careful during periods of rising expectations, particularly when these cannot be satisfied so fully and expeditiously as the disadvantaged might desire. Labor unrest, racial violence, and poverty are all issues that can lead once again to civil disorder." (p. 15)

* * * * *

"The United States constitutional framework is, indeed, a constraining factor in the design of effective responses to terrorism. There are many areas, such as search and seizure, preventive detention, arrest and speedy trial, that are legally obscure and in need of clarification." (p. 31)

* * * * *

"The recommendations in this chapter are ... predicated ... on the common interest of a substantial majority in maintaining the peace against a comparatively small, activist element seeking change by violent means....

"The recommendations also are founded on an acceptance of our social and political institutions as they presently are structured.... Although the institutions and systems themselves constitute a provocation and a challenge to some of those seeking change by violent means, the vast majority is, if not completely content, at least acquiescent in the system as it stands."

"Unlike the northbound progress of the African bee, the emergence of the developed, urban guerrilla offensive in the United States cannot be predicted with certainty.... Unhappily, these conditions [economic crisis] exist in many areas of the United States and are ripe for exploitation by those organized to such ends. Nor should it be overlooked that one of the most dangerous of radical groups in the United States has declared that 'A single spark can start a prairie fire'." (pp. 37-38)

* * * * *

"Legislators should consider the desirability of providing law enforcement officers, under specified conditions of emergency, the power to arrest without warrant for probable cause in all cases where a serious offense has been committed by some person and power to detain and question persons for a reasonable period where it appears that certain specified offenses detrimental to the public security have been or are likely to be committed....

"Emergency legislation should be contemplated that would give law enforcement officers, acting in pursuance of their duties, the power of search without warrant of persons and property under the immediate control of such persons....

"In addition to these powers, emergency legislation should be considered that would empower law enforcement officers, acting in pursuance of their duties, to enter private premises by force and without a warrant in order to apprehend some person or persons occupying such premises for the purpose of preparing or committing an act of violence detrimental to public security." (pp. 98-99)

* * * * *

"Law enforcement officers acting under emergency powers should adhere strictly to the terms of departmental rules and guidelines governing their exercise. The emergency legislation should provide that, if a law enforcement officer, acting in good faith, exceeds those powers, he should not be held personally liable, criminally or civilly, for any harm resulting from his action." (p. 100)

* * * * *

"Dissidents and dissident organizations should strive to adopt effective legal means of protest (such as authorized mass marches, boycotts, and picketing) in preference to illegal ones. Where a confrontation with authority is deemed essential to protest activities, only nonviolent breaches of law (such as sit-ins and unauthorized marches) should be undertaken. Where a reference to violence is deemed essential to protest activities, it should be symbolic, rather than actual." (p. 362)

* * * * *

"Given the historical character of civil disturbances in the United States it seems safe to predict that they will continue to recur with regularity, for much the same reasons as they have occurred in the past. Economic conditions and labor unrest must always be particular causes for concern.... The present tranquility is deceptive; it is urged that it not be taken as a sign that disorder in the United States is a thing of the past.

"Prevention is better than cure.... The dangers to the United States and its fundamental freedoms come not from intelligence activity itself but from badly regulated and badly supervised intelligence activity.... The intelligence capacity to respond to terrorism must be increased, not diminished...." (pp. 409, 415)

CORRECTIONS

In the report on an SL forum on Spain in our last issue the quotation from Trotsky in the concluding paragraph should have ended with the call for "the party, the party and once again the party." The final sentence was by *WV*.

In "Daoud Release Provokes Hypocritical Outcry" (*WV* No. 142, 28 January), we mistakenly cited Jordan's "Black September" massacre of Palestinian refugees as occurring in 1971 rather than 1970. And in the translation of the "Barcelona Communiqué" signed by the Spanish LCR in *WV* No. 143 (4 February) two words were dropped due to difficulties in telephone transmission. The section reads (with the omitted words in brackets): "The undersigned parties:... reaffirm that only the reestablishment of all democratic and national rights, notably that of unrestricted amnesty, would allow advance [toward democracy] in a climate of democratic tolerance." The reader will note that the correction makes the treacherous appeal to the bloody Francoist regime to "democratize" itself even more explicit.

Finally, in the article, "Red Scare in the British Labour Party" (*WV* No. 144, 11 February), we misspelled the names of Labourite politicians Aneurin Bevan and Michael Foot.

WORKERS VANGUARD

I. W. Abel's House that Scab Labor Built

WV EXCLUSIVE

Bob Sherman/Camera 5

I.W. Abel gets manicure at AFL-CIO executive council meetings in Bal Harbour, Florida.

LOS ANGELES—Last month the *Arizona Republic* ran an editorial which began by observing, "Not many labor union members, past or present, live in Sun City, where a home between a golf course and a lake can cost $100,000." But in this land of unlimited opportunity, boasted the mouthpiece for Goldwaterite right-wing reaction, the retirement development near Phoenix "will soon be home for a union member whose conservative philosophy matches that of most of his future neighbors."

The unionist in question is Iorwith W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Stepping down after a dozen years of shafting the USWA membership—saddling them with a no-strike contract while paying himself a hefty $75,000 a year salary—Abel "earned the right" in the *Republic*'s opinion. Not only does the Steelworkers chief stand four-square for "free enterprise," but he openly backs speed-up, with the "explanation" that "without workers' productivity there can't be corporate profits."

What the *Arizona Republic* failed to mention in its welcoming editorial was the fact that I.W. Abel's posh new house has been built by *scab labor*! This scandalous fact has nowhere appeared in print until now.

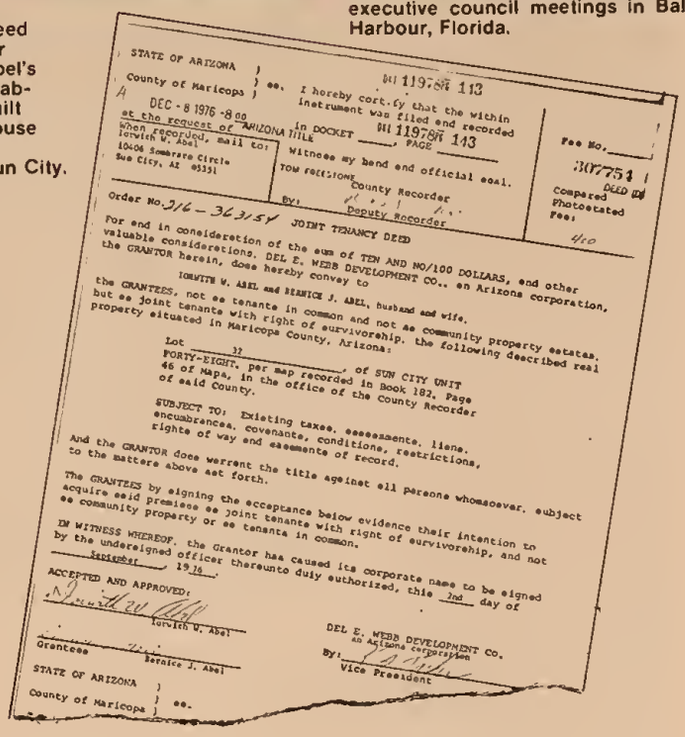
Last May 31, contracts expired between six Phoenix construction unions and Del Webb Corporation, developers of the Sun City project. The company is trying to drive out organized labor, "offering" an hourly wage only 60 percent of union scale. When negotiations proved fruitless, the unions (including laborers, cement masons, carpenters and plumbers) threw up picket lines at the project on September 27.

Since then, despite daily picketing, construction has continued as scabs and supervisors cross the lines. Teamsters are "honoring" the picket lines by driving trucks up to the edge of the project and handing them over to supervisors, who then drive them across! This cynical strikebreaking has caused mounting bitterness among the picketers.

Abel originally agreed to purchase the house on September 7, before the strike began (although the unions were already then working without a contract). But *WV* has learned that the deal was not completed until three months later. The deed was signed by Abel, notarized and registered on December 8, six weeks after the strike had begun (see photocopy on this page). We have been unable to determine whether the Steelworkers

continued on page 9

Deed for Abel's scab-built house in Sun City.



STATE OF ARIZONA)
County of Maricopa) ss.

DEC - 8 1976 - 8 00

at the request of ARIZONA TITLE
When recorded, mail to:
Iorwith W. Abel
10406 Sombrero Circle
Sun City, AZ 85351

Bk 119786 113

I hereby certify that the within instrument was filed and recorded in DOCKET Bk 119786 113, PAGE

Witness my hand and official seal.
TOM RECTOR, County Recorder
By: Deputy Recorder

Fee No. 307751
DEED
Compared
Photostated
Fees: 4.00

Order No. 216-363151 JOINT TENANCY DEED

For and in consideration of the sum of TEN AND NO/100 DOLLARS, and other valuable considerations, DEL E. WEBB DEVELOPMENT CO., an Arizona corporation, the GRANTOR herein, does hereby convey to

IORWITH W. ABEL and BERNICE J. ABEL, husband and wife,

the GRANTEES, not as tenants in common and not as community property estates, but as joint tenants with right of survivorship, the following described real property situated in Maricopa County, Arizona:

Lot 37, of SUN CITY UNIT FORTY-EIGHT, per map recorded in Book 182, Page 46 of Maps, in the office of the County Recorder of said County.

SUBJECT TO: Existing taxes, assessments, liens, encumbrances, covenants, conditions, restrictions, rights of way and easements of record.

And the GRANTOR does warrant the title against all persons whomsoever, subject to the matters above set forth.

The GRANTEES by signing the acceptance below evidence their intention to acquire said premises as joint tenants with right of survivorship, and not as community property or as tenants in common.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Grantor has caused its corporate name to be signed by the undersigned officer thereunto duly authorized, this 2nd day of September, 1976.

ACCEPTED AND APPROVED:

Iorwith W. Abel

Grantee Bernice J. Abel

DEL E. WEBB DEVELOPMENT CO.
an Arizona corporation
By: Vice President

STATE OF ARIZONA)
County of Maricopa) ss.

Ship Seized Off Le Havre— Maritime Unions Abandon Strikers

British Scabs Assault Philippine Seamen

Just after midnight on March 2, a band of three dozen British scabs, armed with clubs and axes, stormed aboard the ship *Globtik Venus* in the port of Le Havre, France, assaulted the striking Filipino crew and took over the ship for its owner, multimillionaire Ravi Tikkoo. The helmeted assault party swarmed over the ship shouting "Get the bastards!" A second engineer, who had acted as spokesman for the crew, was dragged from the stern of the ship, along the catwalk and up onto the bridge, and the crew was forced to surrender "peacefully" to this gang of armed thugs.

The mercenaries, recruited out of the pubs of Grimsby, were reportedly paid £80 (US$130) each and promised another £100 if they took the ship across the channel to Portsmouth. A company flunky who hired the scabs told the London *Guardian* (2 March), "We don't want violence of any sort. But naturally we have chosen big fellows." Tikkoo said he would personally lead an airborne assault on the tanker if necessary to break the strike.

The French police, which had been patrolling the dock, were out of sight when the attack occurred. The police prefect, according to British news reports, spent several hours discussing the raid with agents of Globtik Tankers and obviously pulled his men off the docks to avoid a confrontation with "British citizens." Thus despite often conflicting national interests, the armed thugs of capital managed to show international solidarity against the common foe: workers fighting for their class interests.

What is disgusting and utterly traitorous was the action of the French CGT-affiliated maritime union. Suddenly withdrawing their picket lines from the dock, they gave the thugs free hand to terrorize the ship's crew. The Stalinist CGT bureaucrats initially supported the strikers and refused to allow the cargo of 50,000 tons of oil to be discharged. But with the Filipino crew thrown off the ship—without a finger being raised by French seamen—unloading of the cargo began.

Urged to Strike

The strike aboard the *Globtik Venus* was one of several recent militant actions by Asian seamen working "flag of convenience" ships serving North Europe. This is a tremendously important development in the maritime industry where shipowners have for years gutted unions by switching to Liberian or Panamanian registry and hiring on low-paid crews from Asia or Latin America.

A current halfhearted organizing drive by affiliates of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) poses the possibility of a militant international struggle by seamen against these "runaway ships" that would greatly raise the wages of their crews and make a giant step toward a truly international maritime federation. But the story of the electrifying sit-down strike on the *Globtik Venus* was ended not so much by the company thugs' retaking of the ship as by an orgy of backstabbing and job-stealing. The ITF unions shamefully abandoned the Filipino seamen and may have set back international seamen's organizing for years.

The dispute over wages began on

continued on page 8

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 150 25 March 1977

Jumblat Assassinated, PLO Accommodates Sheiks and Colonels

Blood and Deals in Near East

MARCH 21—As if to whitewash the streets stained with blood of the masses shot down by the Egyptian army during January protests against drastic price increases, two "Third World" spectacles were brought to Cairo early this month. The Afro-Arab summit conference of 59 governments who are usually at each others throats was joined by that semi-government-in-exile fighting for a demi-statelet, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In this forum the poorer relations—led by the pathological president-for-life of Uganda (and immediate past president of the Organization for African Unity), Idi Amin—strike up a chorus of excoriation of U.S. imperialism and Zionism in order to receive a little baksheesh from the U.S.-allied sheikdoms' share of imperialist oil profits.

The Afro-Arab summit was followed by a meeting of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the so-called "parliament" of the PLO. This "parliament," which is supposed to be the highest decision-making body of the PLO, is no more democratic or representative than similar sounding-boards in the Arab states governed by Sandhurst-educated "anti-imperialist" colonels. They preside over one-party systems whose "socialist" label is meant to hide rampant corruption, patronage and ruthless suppression of every effort toward working-class self-organization.

At the conference in Riyadh last October where the sheikdom-financed Pax Syriana in Lebanon was clinched, the humiliated PLO was forced to expand the National Council from 178 to 291 delegates in order to include more "moderate" delegates amenable to the various reactionary Arab rulers. The "opposition" in the PNC is now restricted to 13 supporters of the "Rejection Front" who oppose negotiations with Israel. However, the "rejectionists" led by Dr. George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) are no more independent than the Saudi-financed "moderates": the PFLP speaks for its patrons, the imperialist-trained Ba'athist colonels in Baghdad.

David Lomax/Camera Press

Syrian troops precede bulldozer through downtown Beirut.

Abbas/Gamma

Kamal Jumblat

Jumblat: Yogi and Mass Murder

The decisive event for the PLO since the last meeting of the Palestine National Council in June 1974 has been the murderous Lebanese civil war. In the 1970 near-civil war in Jordan, culminating in the savage "Black September" massacre of up to 10,000 Palestinians, it was imperative for proletarian revolutionaries to give *military* support to the Palestinian forces against the Jordanian army. But the Lebanese civil war was *inter-communal* in character, with whole populations massacred or uprooted because they belonged to the "wrong" religion, whole villages leveled because the inhabitants were dominated by the "wrong" clan.

The Palestinian commando groups threw in their lot in this inter-communal conflict with the so-called "Muslim-left alliance," whose conduct and intentions were no less despicable and totally unsupportable as the "Christians" and later the Syrians whom they opposed.

Midway through the recent PNC meetings in Cairo, Lebanon intruded directly. PLO leader Yasir Arafat was choked by his own sobbing when he interrupted the proceedings on March 16 to announce the assassination of his former ally in the Lebanese civil war, Druse patriarch and Muslim "left" leader Kamal Jumblat. He was probably murdered by supporters of the right-wing Maronite clan of Camille Chamoun, the former president of Lebanon who in 1958 called in the U.S. Marines to suppress a Muslim rebellion of which Jumblat was one of the leaders.

Perhaps nothing so clearly revealed the real character of the Lebanese fighting than the Jumblat assassination. His death was mourned not only by the PLO leadership, Druse religions leaders and fake-leftists. As if being Druse patriarch was not a sufficient outlet for religious obscurantism, Jumblat was also something of a Buddhist mystic, retiring at least twice a year to a monastery in the Himalayas for "spiritual exercises." This combination of mysticism and his real political role (as the key link tying leftists to more conservative Muslim communal leaders) led the British conservative weekly *Economist* (19 March) to eulogize him, adding that "the best tribute to his Gandhian ideals" would be if the Druses took no reprisals against the Maronites.

The *Economist* goes on to say of Jumblat:

"Even though he only partially succeeded, at least he tried hard throughout his public life to achieve that most difficult combination: the yogi who is also a commissar."

Even the leader of the right-wing Maronite Phalangist party, Pierre Gemayel, issued a panegyric upon Jumblat's death, praising him as a "great man." It is suspected that Chamoun's clan killed this modern-day philosopher-king ("yogi-commissar") because, although Jumblat generally left the fighting to Palestinian forces, the one time he actually sent his substantial Druse militia into "battle" was to level the Maronite village of Damur, a "stronghold" of Chamoun. Three hundred villagers were murdered in that horrendous communal massacre, their bodies dismembered, graves dug up and the corpses mutilated.

Although razed to the ground, Damur was to serve yet another macabre purpose for the PLO-"Muslim left" alliance in the endless cycle of savage revenge which characterizes the Lebanese inter-communal conflict. One of the most brutal acts of the Syrian-backed reactionary Maronite gangs was the siege of the Beirut Palestinian refugee camp, Tel al-Zaatar. In the last two days alone, 3,000 Palestinians were murdered. But after the siege was lifted, the PLO made the survivors settle precisely at Damur!

Following Jumblat's assassination, Druse militiamen followed not the exhortations of the *Economist* nor the "Gandhian ideals" of their erstwhile leader, but the example he had set at Damur. Some 100-200 Maronite villagers were butchered, including 23 blown up in a church and 66 decapitated.

Liberation or a Piece of "National Soil"

The Palestine National Council meetings concluded on March 20 with a 15-point declaration authorizing Palestinian attendance at an Arab-Israeli "peace" conference and the setting up of

continued on page 11

Lenin vs. Luxemburg on the National Question 6

Frame-Up Victim Wendy Yoshimura Gets 15 Years

Drop the Charges! Free Her Now!

OAKLAND While U.S. imperialist chief Jimmy Carter was hypocritically preaching about "human rights" before the United Nations, Alameda County Superior Court judge Martin Pulich was sentencing Wendy Yoshimura, innocent of any crime, to an indeterminate prison term of one to 15 years.

This stiff sentence is the latest atrocity in the bourgeoisie's vendetta against the former anti-war activist arrested in September 1975 in the company of Patricia Hearst. While the government was unable to link Yoshimura to the criminal activities of the SLA, it did charge her with being part of an alleged conspiracy to blow up the ROTC building on the Berkeley campus of the University of California in 1972.

After a frame-up show trial the capitalist courts found Yoshimura guilty of illegal possession of a machine gun, bomb parts and explosives, all of which were discovered in 1972 when police raided a Berkeley garage which had been rented by her.

Throughout the trial Yoshimura adamantly maintained that she was innocent of the charges brought against her. The prosecution was unable to come up with a *single* piece of hard evidence linking Yoshimura to any illegal act. Instead Assistant District Attorney Jeffrey Horner snowed the jury with testimony of dozens of police "experts" and hundreds of exhibits. Horner also sought to inflame the jurors by playing up his victim's associations with the "radical underground" and the SLA —i.e., by deliberately concentrating on the years after 1972 when Yoshimura was driven to become a fugitive precisely because she feared that if arrested she would get no justice from the racist capitalist courts.

What especially enraged the prosecutor and the judge was Yoshimura's courageous and principled refusal to inform on the people who helped her, especially after she went into hiding following the 1972 arrest of her three companions This alone earned her six counts of contempt of court, carrying a total possible sentence of two-and-one-half years, and was cited as a major reason for denying her probation.

Reporting to Pulich, Alameda county probation officer Judy Campbell opined that Yoshimura could have been "far more candid in discussing her associates and activities with them" (*Oakland Tribune*, 18 March 1977). Campbell went on to argue that "she also still feels a debt of obligation to the SLA (because of her refusal to answer questions about her activities with her former underground associates)."

> "Had her only involvement with a violent group been her initial one with Brandi (Willie Brandi, one of her three co-defendants in the 1972 Berkeley bomb cache incident), we would feel comfortable in believing she exhibited naive misjudgment as several of her supporters have characterized her past affiliations due to her love affair with Brandi.
>
> "However the second more impersonal allegiance with the SLA and her present protection of them and their known associates is reason for concern' "
>
> *San Francisco Examiner*, 18 March 1977

Pulich accepted Campbell's recommendation not to grant Yoshimura probation

AP

Wendy Yoshimura

All three counts for Yoshimura are to run concurrently. The charge of illegal possession of explosives carries a mandatory sentence of one to 15 years in prison. A new California law eliminating the draconian "indeterminate" sentences—under which the parole board can keep the prisoner locked up until the maximum limit if it feels he or she has not yet "reformed"—may reduce the maximum sentence on this count to three years. However, there is a very real possibility that Yoshimura could serve a maximum 15-year penalty.

The new sentencing law could be overturned at any point by reactionaries in the state legislature who are now mounting a hue and cry about "turning dangerous criminals loose on the streets." It could be modified to eliminate retroactivity, so that presently incarcerated prisoners would still be subject to the old law. And the parole board has already given notice of what it considers the only evidence that Wendy had "reformed"—willingness to act as a stool pigeon on those who aided her.

Further, the two-and-one-half year contempt of court sentences still hang over her head along with the possibility of a retrial on charges of "possession of explosives and destructive devices with intent to injure, terrify and intimidate and to destroy property," which could result in a possible life sentence. (A mistrial was declared on these charges when the jury failed to reach a verdict.)

The harsh ordeal of Wendy Yoshimura daughter of a Japanese American gardener, born to her parents while they were imprisoned along with 100,000 other Japanese Americans in U.S. concentration camps during World War II has vividly contrasted with the treatment meted out to the wealthy Patricia Hearst

Patricia Hearst, who was convicted of armed robbery of a bank on behalf of the crazed SLA killer cult, received a seven-year sentence. Wendy Yoshimura, whose only "crime" was to rent a garage, gets 15 years. Subsequently Hearst has been bailed out to the tune of $1.5 million by her wealthy father and now sits surrounded by private guards in a penthouse suite.

The contrast is so sharp that even the judge for Yoshimura's trial felt compelled to comment as he set her bail at

continued on page 11

Robert Ziegler

U.S. border police dragnets looking for "illegal aliens."

Carter Plans Apartheid-Style Pass for "Aliens"

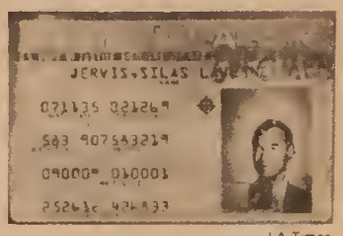
LOS ANGELES, 10 March—Racist hysteria directed against so-called "illegal aliens"—undocumented immigrants, primarily from Mexico—has been intensifying in the wake of Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall's announcement that President Carter had appointed a three-man cabinet-level committee to plan a crackdown on these foreign-born workers. Newspapers in the Los Angeles area have featured article after article blaming the undocumented workers for all the evils of capitalism, from unemployment to the rising rate of crime.

Beginning this month, a new "counterfeit-proof, alter-proof, imposter-proof" photo identification card is being introduced to replace the former "green card" for resident non-citizens. The new wallet-sized plastic ID card also includes a fingerprint and several rows of numbers allegedly describing the physical characteristics of the bearer (but which could just as easily be used for any other information the government wishes to include).

Without this card, the estimated eight million "illegals" living in the U.S. would be unable to obtain work and the authorities could improve the effectiveness of their frequent dragnet raids in immigrant neighborhoods. This would also enhance the government's ability to enforce rigid controls on the lives of "legal" foreign residents who have the cards. And when combined with the government's development of a "national crime databank" linked to FBI indexes of "known radicals" the possibilities that such a scheme would be expanded into a uniform national identity card system, for police control of the American population, are immense.

Sure enough, Marshall has said that the Carter administration is also considering "counterfeit-proof cards for all workers," which would be necessary in order to obtain work. Ironically, it was Attorney General Griffin Bell, widely despised for his segregationist actions and racist affiliations, who later voiced reservations about this police-state policy. "I've been to South Africa," he declared, "and I do not favor" the work card system under which non-whites are required to carry passbooks. The proposed counterfeit-proof card, he added, "might be a step in that direction."

The apartheid-type ID card is only one aspect of the overall government campaign against foreign-born workers.



LA Times

Sample of card "aliens" must carry at all times.

Congress is again considering passage of the Rodino bill, which would provide criminal penalties for employers who hire undocumented workers. If passed, the law would effectively encourage discrimination in hiring against all persons of Latin American origin or ancestry, for fear of hiring an "illegal."

There have also been stepped-up police raids and prosecutions of "illegals." According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), over 1,500 persons are deported from the Los Angeles area alone each month. These raids create an atmosphere of terror in the barrios, shops and fields where large numbers of Mexicans are employed, especially since it is not uncommon for such harassment to be used for punitive political reasons. At least two Mexican American political activists, Jacobo Rodriguez and José Jacques Medina, are presently facing deportation, and INS raids have been used to break up union organizing drives in the heavily Mexican sweatshops of the Los Angeles garment industry, singling out pro-union workers for deportation.

In addition, *WV* has learned from a staff worker of the L.A. American Civil Liberties Union that Los Angeles County has recently moved to cut back medical services to undocumented workers. The county council has ruled that undocumented workers are ineligible for medical benefits and services except emergency care and certain public health measures unless a payment plan is negotiated with the hospital prior to treatment. It is the responsibility of the hospital to determine if an individual is "legal" or not. While the doctor or hospital is not obligated to voluntarily turn "illegals" in to the INS, they must furnish information on the immigration status of a patient upon request. The ruling will not go into effect until it has been approved by the L.A County Board of Supervisors, but

approval is considered likely.

Plans for introducing South African-style police passes for foreign-born workers and for excluding a sizable portion of the working population in Los Angeles from medical services are indicative of the depths to which imperialist "democracy" will sink in the epoch of capitalist decay.

Especially in the Southwest, the "illegal alien" has become the scapegoat for the social and economic problems of capitalism, blamed for unemployment, rising welfare and education costs, crime and drug traffic.

Aside from its purpose in diverting workers' struggles into chauvinist hysteria this racist myth overlooks the fact that undocumented foreign workers have a significantly *higher* rate of employment and *lower* rate of arrest than the general population in poor neighborhoods (obviously because the slightest brush with government authorities could lead to deportation). These immigrant workers are "illegal" because of the U.S.' racist immigration laws, and they would not be here unless capitalism needed them—to fill low-paid menial jobs and to hold down wage pressures by increasing competition for jobs.

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* (22 February), Secretary of Labor Marshall shed some light on ruling-class fears of undocumented workers. Said Marshall:

> "I believe we are now building a new civil rights struggle of the 1980s by having an underclass of people come into this country unable to protect themselves, easily exploited, dissatisfied with their status and yet fearful of being exported [*sic*]
>
> "Their children will be even more dissatisfied and likely to revolt against such conditions, and they will demand their civil rights in the fashion of the civil rights struggles which began in the 1960s."

The government's answer to even a *potential* struggle for democratic rights is a campaign of police repression which attacks not only the undocumented workers but the entire working class. The response of the working class and the organized labor movement must be the fight for *full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers*, a drive to organize the unorganized on both sides of the border and the strengthening of international *class* unity against the racist and chauvinist offensive. No to the apartheid pass! Stop the deportations! ■

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State's "Witnesses" Admit Bribed Testimony in Wilmington Ten Trial

Marvin Patrick

William Wright II

Reginald Epps

Anne Sheppard Turner

James McKoy

Wayne Moore

Jerry Jacobs

Connie Tindell

Rev. Ben Chavis

Willie Vereen

NAARPR

The frame-up convictions of the Wilmington Ten—civil rights activists including Rev. Ben Chavis, eight black youths and one white woman—are falling apart as the last of the prosecution's three key witnesses recanted his original testimony before a federal grand jury March 8. All of these so-called "eyewitnesses" have now confessed that they were bribed, lied to and threatened by the North Carolina state prosecutor and district attorney in order to manufacture evidence in the case. Now, five years after the original trial, the defendants have a chance of freedom with the decision of the Pender County Court—site of the original trial—to schedule a hearing in early May for a new trial.

The Wilmington Ten were sentenced in 1972 to a total of 282 years in prison in the aftermath of black protests against a wave of Ku Klux Klan terror that swept the state in 1969-71 following a federal court ruling that Charlotte-Mecklenberg County schools had to desegregate. The specific charges against them grew out of four days of police and vigilante terror in 1971, known as the "siege of Wilmington."

Klansmen had opened fire on the Gregory Congregational Church, in which a group of blacks had barricaded themselves for protection. One black student was shot down and killed by these racist scum; no one was ever charged with the murder.

The same night a white-owned grocery store burned down and *one year later* Chavis and the others were charged with "conspiracy" for this act. The prison sentences were among the severest ever in North Carolina for arson in which there was neither death nor injury. Chavis received up to 34 years; the others drew 7- to 29-year terms.

From the outset North Carolina's case against the ten was hollow, based on the testimony of 13-year-old Eric Junious and two others, Allen Ray Hall and Jerome Mitchell, both facing long prison terms themselves. All now admit they were coerced by the prosecution.

Hall, who has tried twice recently to kill himself in jail, originally gave 20 hours of testimony at the trial, claiming that Chavis incited 150 black youths to burn down the store. Last August, Hall admitted to defense attorney James Ferguson that he had been threatened with a long prison sentence by District Attorney Allen Cobb and Prosecutor J.T. Stroud if he refused to testify against Chavis. "They told me," he said, "I would go to prison for the rest of my life if I did not say what they wanted.... they told me Chavis was going to kill my family."

Junious' confession that "for my testimony I was given a minibike and a job in a service station" has since been confirmed by Stroud himself who insists his offer grew out of "strong personal feelings" for Junious. Thus it is now alleged that the prosecutor who was so anxious to pursue these racist frame-ups has all along had a soft spot for a black youth whom he longed to show that "someone out of his immediate family was concerned about him"! In jail for breaking and entering and larceny, Junious' "honor" status in prison has been revoked since his recantation.

Jerome Mitchell, the last phony witness to recant, reportedly claims Stroud "told me he needed someone to back up Allen Hall's testimony." In grand jury testimony this month Mitchell, now serving time for robbery and second degree murder, said Stroud told him he would "take care of me.... I'd get out in six months." Mitchell said Stroud had kept both Hall and himself in a beach cottage, coaching them for the trial. Hall said that Stroud even described in detail how to make a Molotov cocktail—at the trial Hall claimed Chavis had taught him how.

The trial itself was a racist railroad job. The original jury selection consisted of ten blacks and two whites, but the prosecutor claimed he had "stomach pains" and couldn't proceed with the case. A mistrial was declared and presiding Judge Robert Martin then seated a jury of ten whites and two blacks. During this jury selection Martin would not agree that membership in the KKK was cause to remove a prospective juror! Martin now sits on the North Carolina appeals court which upheld the conviction.

In another case from the same period, the Charlotte Three—poet T. J. Reddy, Charles Parker and Dr. James E. Grant—were released on bail early this year to await a new trial after having served four years in prison in North Carolina. The three were convicted in 1972 on the framed-up charges of burning down a riding stable in 1968. This was the same riding stable that these civil rights organizers had been instrumental in integrating the previous year; and the state's witnesses were the same informants used in other cases against civil rights workers. It has since been revealed that for their services to the prosecution the federal government paid them $4,000. The government has been forced to re-try the Charlotte Three both because of revelations of the bribing of witnesses and exposure of the state's destruction of evidence.

The defense of the Wilmington Ten has unfortunately been marred by the sectarian policies of various defense organizations involved in the case. Supporters of the October League in the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) refused to attend or support last September's Labor Day rally held in Raleigh, N.C., simply because the rally was called by the Communist Party-associated National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). For its part the NAARPR has in the past excluded groups which go beyond its reformist politics.

At last summer's Lawyers Guild convention in Houston, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) exposed the sectarian antics by both the Moscow- and Peking-line Stalinists. The PDC favored participation in the rally, but did not endorse the NAARPR political resolution in the Guild which was meant to be used as an instrument of exclusion. Recognizing the need to build the largest, most effective united front possible to defend the Wilmington Ten—not to play games with their lives by petty sectarian squabbling—the PDC participated in the Raleigh demonstration with a banner proclaiming "Free the Wilmington 10! Free the Charlotte 3! Free All Class War Prisoners!"

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League demand that all charges against the Wilmington Ten and the Charlotte Three be immediately dropped. These victims of right-wing racist repression must go free! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Defend Sandi Polaski!

UE Decertified at Cambion by Scab Votes

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts—In the wake of the tragic defeat of the long and bitterly fought strike at Cambion-Cambridge Thermionic Corporation has come a second disaster. On March 9, the United Electrical Workers (UE) was narrowly defeated by an 81-77 vote in an NLRB decertification election. The close vote probably reflects management intimidation rather than anti-union sentiment.

From the beginning of the strike, the strikers had been exposed to the most vicious police brutality. An around-the-clock special police detail was rented by Cambion management at a cost of some $300,000. In the course of the strike, this platoon of blue-uniformed mercenaries supplied by the allegedly "pro-labor" Cambridge municipal government was responsible for at least 14 arrests and seven injuries, including serious head and back injuries.

Six days after the decertification election, the union filed a challenge with the state Labor Board, charging Cambion with "creating an atmosphere of fear that the plant would close down if the union prevailed." If this challenge is successful, new elections can be held within a few months. However, if not, the law mandates a one-year waiting period.

Although the picket lines received support from Cambridge students and radicals, the kind of massive labor mobilization needed to defeat Cambion's vicious union-busting tactics never took place. The Cambion shop leadership relied on such alleged "friends of labor" as the mayor and vice mayor of Cambridge and the NLRB rather than mobilizing massive picket lines to stop the considerable level of scabbing (which brought the defeat of the strike). In fact, picket lines were weakened by the bureaucrats' urging the workers to get full time jobs. But even with militant strike leadership, the small, isolated Cambion workforce might well have been defeated.

The strikers were forced back to work in November without any gain from the long and bitter struggle. Right on the heels of this blow came the outrageous sentencing in December of strike leader Sandi Polaski to a term of up to five years for allegedly throwing a rock at a scab's car. Additionally, student strike supporter Mark Brier received a two-year term and Mary Ann Munroe, secretary-treasurer of UE Local 262 was arrested outside the courtroom where Polaski and Brier had just been sentenced, for "threatening a [scab] witness." The sentences are under appeal, and these victims of bourgeois "justice" are currently free on bail. Militants must demand that all charges against the Cambion Three be dropped immediately!

WV Photo

Sandi Polaski

The brutal defeat of the Cambion workers is part of a pattern of vicious assaults on the labor movement in Massachusetts and across the country. The decertification of Cambion UE takes place simultaneously with the frame-up of UE organizer Alex Markley by federal labor spies in western Massachusetts and with police assaults on the picket lines of the 1199 strikers at the Boston-area Preterm abortion clinic. Isolated groups of workers must not be forced to continue to face capitalist repression alone. The working class must learn the bitter lesson of Cambion: "An injury to one is an injury to all!" ■

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One-Third of Membership Expelled

I.S. Fractures

The "third camp socialists" are at it again. Some 90 supporters of the so-called "Left Faction" were summarily expelled from the International Socialists (I.S.) at a special national conference in Detroit earlier this month. The expellees, comprising nearly one-third of the I.S. membership, have constituted themselves the International Socialists Organization (ISO). Thus continues the proliferation of "third-camp" groups which began with the departure from the I.S. of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) some three years ago.

Even supporters of the I.S. majority were reportedly disquieted by I.S. head Joel Geier's drive toward a naked political expulsion, so the various subterranean cliques which make up the majority resorted to a less blatant but equally despicable maneuver: discipline violations were alleged against some "Left Faction" supporters and for these, the whole group was ousted! The melodrama was complicated by the emergence of a fence-straddling "Political Solution Caucus" which protested that "full socialist democracy and minority rights are in some question in the I.S." but remained in the larger organization.

The Left Faction pledged in writing to uphold I.S. discipline, including promising to dissolve the faction and not to demand proportional representation on leading bodies. Such "discipline" would be utterly alien to a truly democratic-centralist organization, where a minority's right to factional democracy is a key to the determination of policy. But the Geier leadership had no scruples about carrying off a blatant bureaucratic purge. The I.S. Executive Committee announced that the Left Faction "refused to carry out the work of the organization in the trade unions..." and proclaimed: "the 'Left Faction' operated as a separate organization" and "had, in fact, already set up its own separate organization" (*Workers' Power*, 21 March). In the wake of the split, rumors abound that new expulsions are already being prepared.

Who Needs It?

The new ISO is programmatically indistinguishable from the old I.S. It is brain-trusted by the I.S.'avowed British co-thinkers (formerly the International Socialists, now renamed the Socialist Workers Party [SWP]). In the context of a far more class-conscious national terrain, the British group often appeared to stand to the left of its U.S. counterpart. But its skin-deep "left" face is only the same opportunism adapted to a more radical milieu, as demonstrated for example by its recent stand in favor of police "unions." Thus it is far from certain that the new U.S. group will outline a course even quantitatively to the left of its parent organization.

Though it also prepared motions on such matters as "women" and "democratic centralism," the Left Faction's main target was I.S. industrialization. Yet even here the minority and its sponsors had little quarrel with the I.S.' cravenly opportunist "work" in the labor movement, which consists of tailing out-bureaucrats like Sadlowski and attempting to construct "militant" front groups while deliberately eschewing the struggle for programmatically based caucuses. For example, the minority claimed most of the I.S.' steelworkers but, according to the agenda, prepared no countermotion on steel. The real complaint of the Left Faction and its backers was that the I.S.' opportunist maneuvers have not succeeded.

The ISO hopes to substitute for these "dead-end" tactics a more ambitious reformist project of more "visible" "agitational" efforts modeled along the lines of the British group's anti-racism campaigns. The "political" thrust can be summarized as: hang loose and go where the action is. This empty recipe will not bring the instant influence which Left Faction supporters clearly envisaged as they left the convention cheering, "We did it!" With less than 100 members drawn mainly from outlying areas, no new gimmick grafted onto I.S.-style left-social-democratic politics will give left-reformism a new lease on life.

Indeed, the Left Faction's biggest drawing card was negative: digust with the I.S.' bureaucratic leadership and dismay at deepening demoralization and numerous "quits." The ISO has little to offer except the promise of a more flashy image and the British franchise. It apparently hopes that the latter will mean participation in some broader international bloc of groupings that hold that Russia is "state capitalist" and other pseudo-Marxists.

We find it hard to share the ISO's apparent naive expectations of success, however, as we survey the late of existing rotten-bloc international conglomerations. The most ambitious among the practitioners of spurious "internationalism," the so-called United Secretariat, is fractured into three parts; the even more disunited components of any "state-cap" marriage of convenience will certainly fare no better. Only pitiable programmatic disarray and frantic backstabbing await the continuators of the I.S.' Anglo-American alliance. The laughable scene at the recent I.S. expulsion-fest, where the British and Canadian "fraternal" groups were excluded as "hostile" organizations, can only be repeated.

If there are any among the supporters of the new group who hope that the launching of this venture constitutes some sort of break with a rotten past, they may find a glance at the stillborn RSL instructive. Unlike the present Left Faction, the grouping which became the RSL originally sought to carve out for itself a niche significantly to the left of the I.S. Pronouncing themselves the only real "Trotskyists," the RSL founding cadres promised a radically different orientation which would supposedly break to the left from the I.S.' wretched trade-union opportunism.

But the RSL had no intention of breaking with the cynical cliquist maneuverism of its parent group, nor from its subservience to radical petty-bourgeois moods, nor from its social-democratic line on the "Russian question." Without such a fundamental break, there was no room for the RSL, squeezed between the I.S. on its right and the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League on its left. In the few brief years of its pathetic existence, the RSL has accomplished nothing except to people the left-wing movement with its decomposition products by bureau-

continued on page 10

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Angry Ranks Oppose Local 10 Leadership

Bay Area Longshoremen Face Forced Transfers

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly a thousand angry West Coast dock workers turned out at the March 17 membership meeting of Local 10, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) where they slapped down a leadership-sponsored proposal to further attack their jobs. The Local's newly elected "opposition" leadership, however, proved its commitment to carrying out Harry Bridges' sell-out contract while Communist Party (CP) supporters once again did their best to derail the restive ranks from a class-struggle course.

The issue at hand is the possible declaration of San Francisco as a "Low Work Opportunity Port" (LWOP)—a contractual designation which would allow the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) to begin moving longshoremen out of the port, first by asking for volunteers and then by using forced transfer powers.

Though longshoremen are faced with escalating unemployment and constant schemes to slash ever more jobs, Local 10 president Cleophus Williams tried to sell the new designation rather than resist it. He reported the grim statistics: "A" men are now averaging 13 hours per week *actual* work, and drastic cuts in the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) have meant huge losses in income. "B" men and other second-class categories have suffered even worse. Williams tried to reason that the LWOP designation would make it easier for voluntary transfers to take place, and possibly this would ease the work shortage.

Significantly, International spokesmen including retiring ILWU president Harry Bridges, architect of the job-slashing contracts, did not show up to fight for the LWOP scheme. But the so-called anti-Bridges bureaucrats showed their true colors by promoting the job-stealing ploy. Newly elected chief business agent Herb Mills tossed out a few cheap threats to "tear up the contract," warned of the serious possibility of locals fighting locals over jobs under the LWOP plan, but ended up arguing for it because he could see no other alternative!

Fronting for Bridges & Co., Mills claimed to have "verbal assurances" from the International and PMA that once voluntary transfers had been exhausted, transfers would be stopped. However, when the minutes of the joint union/employer Coast Labor Relations Committee were read it became clear to the disgruntled membership that no such promise had been made. It has not taken long for Mills to dump his January campaign threat to "tie the coast up" to win the shorter workshift at no loss in pay in order to secure jobs. Suddenly Mills has forgotten *this* alternative!

Led off by Stan Gow, Local 10 executive board member and an editor of the oppositionist newsletter "Longshore Militant," speaker after speaker rose to blast the LWOP scheme as suicidal for the membership and to denounce the union's Coast Committee for its continued collaboration with PMA's job-cutting proposals. Both Gow and co-editor Howard Keylor, also a local executive board member, focused on the role of the Local leadership in trying to get the union to sign its own death warrant.

They pointed out that the rotten contract automatically *imposes* the LWOP designation at a certain point—the Local leadership is merely trying to sell the idea to the membership now to avoid an explosive class confrontation later. They also emphasized the point stated in the 17 March "Longshore Militant" that the struggle for jobs is really the question of who will benefit from containerization and automation:

> "But S.F. is *not* a 'Low Work Opportunity' port. Tonnage and productivity are at record levels—and so are profits. The Bay Area is the second largest volume container port in the world. The jobs are there and the only obstacle to all longshoremen having work is the rotten no work contract and the leadership that defends it. The membership of Local 10 has only two choices: either we go like sheep to the slaughter, allowing ourselves to be transferred all over hell, or we decide to dump the contract which permits this LWOP and reduces us to misery and to go out on a coast-wide strike for jobs."

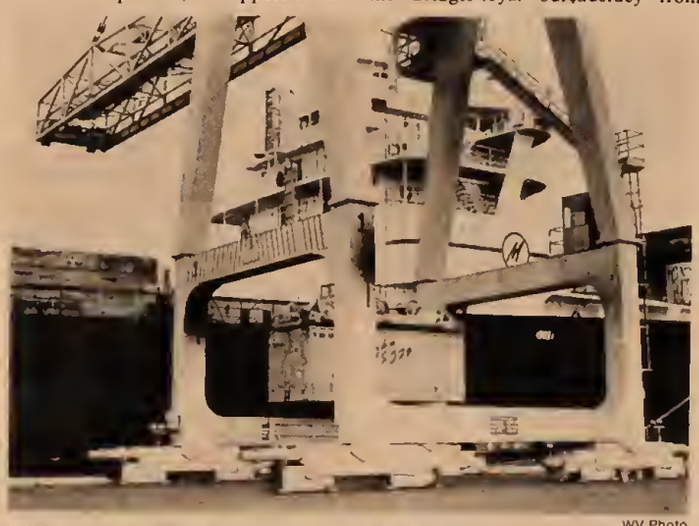
With the membership cheering on the anti-LWOP speakers, CP supporter Bill Proctor finally stepped in to save some face for the Local leaders and to sidetrack the fight. To prevent a decisive vote against LWOP, Proctor slyly moved to table the entire question until after the upcoming April 18 International convention and longshore caucus. Seeing this as a rebuke to the Local 10 tops, the ranks roared their approval. Only "Longshore Militant" supporters and a few others who recognized the Stalinists' evasive trickery and wanted to vote LWOP down for good opposed tabling. The defeated leadership, knowing that a substantive vote would have sunk LWOP by an overwhelming majority, wisely remained silent and abstained on the vote to table.

Proctor and other reformists like Leo Robinson had laid out their "strategy" beforehand in a leaflet calling on the membership to "Delay any decision on Low Work Opportunity until after the April caucus." This delay would not aim at gaining time to mobilize for a strike—no, the leaflet proposed to do the bosses' work by starting a "voluntary transfer program" without officially declaring LWOP!

If this is "not sufficient," the leaflet says, the union should call the "steady men" (who now do not have to get dispatched from the union) back to the hiring hall; and if this is not good enough, the union should "threaten... to scrap the contract"! And if the employers fail to "heed" such threats? No doubt these blustering fakers will knuckle under just as they did in 1975 when Bridges called their bluff, inviting them to strike if they didn't like the contract. The CP supporters, of course, backed down, while the class-struggle supporters of "Longshore Militant" continued to demand a coast-wide strike.

The longshore ranks are clearly becoming impatient with the lack of alternatives from the leadership. There is widespread fear that declaration of LWOP would clear the way for de-registration of longshoremen under the "unusual circumstances" loophole in the no-layoffs clause of the contract.

The divisive effects of the LWOP scheme are already becoming evident. The Puget Sound local, on a motion of the Bridges-loyal bureaucracy from Tacoma, Washington, declared that it would not accept transfers from northern California and would instead begin to register "B" men locally. Sentiment is deep in Local 10 to bring the "steady men" back to the hall, but this just demand by itself would only equalize the poverty.



LASH vessel being loaded at Port of Oakland pier. WV Photo

The unions ranks are faced squarely with a crisis of leadership. The anti-LWOP vote constitutes the third time in fourteen months that large numbers of militant longshoremen have turned out to defeat attempts by the PMA and the International to cut even more deeply into their incomes and jobs. But each time—even last summer when the ranks adopted a Longshore Militant motion to strike for a shorter workshift with no loss in pay—the fight has been sidetracked and contained with the crucial aid of the Mills/Wing and CP/Robinson forces.

The CP-backed forces are making an open bid to assist more directly in administering the treacherous policies of the pro-capitalist ILWU bureaucracy. The Stalinists' role in ILWU Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) is even more blatant. There they hold several leading union positions and have been strengthening their forces with the addition of several prominent supporters. CP backers are shamelessly spearheading the fight to ram through a major dues increase for the bureaucracy. Necessarily part of its traitorous role are the CP's attacks on and red-baiting of the Militant Caucus, a militant opposition group in Local 6 which counterposes aggressive class-struggle policies to the CP's flabby reformism.

In a piece of classic Stalinist slander *People's World* (12 March) reprints a letter from a "Local 6 member" concerning the recent Warehouse convention which denounces people who "aim their fire at the Local leadership." Blaming the unrest on the "role of the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Union," the letter at the same time tries to ride on the popularity of a motion for Spanish translation of important union materials (like the contract)...which was offered by the Militant Caucus and which a CP supporter moved to table!

In a move which may be intended to test the waters for an openly pro-CP candidate to succeed McLain as Local 6 president, this lying letter makes several cheap and easy criticisms of the current leaders. These are clearly intended to place the CP supporters a tiny fraction to the left of the incumbents.

The ranks need no more of such fakers. The decimation of jobs on the waterfront and the defeat of the 1976 warehousemen's strike show the need for a completely new leadership in the ILWU.

The Stalinoid bureaucracy of the ILWU is far more willing to pay lip service to even the dictatorship of the proletariat than to stand for the basic trade-union principle of opposing the layoff of any dockworker any time, anywhere. To realize this elementary demand requires radical changes in the labor economics of the industry.

First, there must be a *uniform and high wage standard* for stuffing containers. This would prevent shippers from exploiting distant low-wage, unskilled workers for this job. Secondly, the small, well-organized, strategically placed labor force on the docks can and must win a drastically shorter workweek—e.g., four six-hour days a week—at *no* loss in pay. To prevent such a shorter workweek from being eroded in practice, overtime must be absolutely voluntary and subject to a steep penalty pay—say, triple-time.

The longshoremen are truly a skilled and valuable part of the laboring population, and the ILWU plays a strategic role for all West Coast labor.

The program for the salvation of this section of the working class must be stated, defended and relentlessly fought for. That is what the "Longshore Militant" and Militant Caucus are doing. ■

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Lenin vs. Luxemburg on the National Question

The absence of sustained proletarian revolutionary struggles in the advanced capitalist countries and the continued hegemony in them of the reformist parties have led to widespread support for petty-bourgeois nationalism within the left. Groups like the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Angolan MPLA, Irish Republican Army and Basque ETA are viewed by many leftists, including would-be Marxists, as among the vanguard of the revolutionary forces of our day.

As part of the international Spartacist tendency's struggle against the nationalist deviations rampant in the contemporary left, we published last year a two-part article analyzing the evolution of the Marxist position on the national question, from the 1848 concept of "progressive nations" to the Leninist principle of the "right of self-determination" ("The National Question in the Marxist Movement, 1848-1914," *WV* Nos. 123 & 125, 3 & 17 September 1976).

This survey article dealt, in a necessarily brief and sketchy way, with the views of Rosa Luxemburg and their relation to Leninism. Shortly after our article appeared, Monthly Review Press published a collection of Luxemburg's writings entitled *The National Question*, edited by Horace B. Davis, who is somewhat sympathetic to her views. Most of the material is made available in English for the first time, including Luxemburg's major work on the subject, "The National Question and Autonomy" (1908-09). While publication of *The National Question* does not cause us to revise our fundamental assessment of Luxemburg's position, it does require of serious Marxists a careful consideration of her arguments.

A review of *The National Question* by Rosa Luxemburg (edited by Horace B. Davis)

Davis observes that in general there has been a vulgarized notion of Luxemburg's position on the national question. No doubt among Stalinists, who for years dismissed this great revolutionary as a centrist, such a simplistic evaluation does exist; the publication of this book therefore provides an opportunity to review the premises underlying the Leninist position. However, we disagree with Davis' contention that it was previously impossible for an English-speaking Marxist to really comprehend Luxemburg's position. A careful reading of Lenin's counterpolemics combined with J. P. Nettl's biography (*Rosa Luxemburg*, 1966) provides an accurate account of her views on the national question.

Some readers may be disappointed by the narrow focus of *The National Question*. While containing many general statements, Luxemburg's writings concentrate on the issue of Polish independence. In part, this historical specificity reflects the fact that Luxemburg's position was essentially *negative*. She rejected the right of self-determination and any other general principle, maintaining that each national situation had to be judged from the interests of the proletariat at the given conjuncture.

In part, the Polish-centered nature of her work on the national question impinges on the broader issue of Leninism and "Luxemburgism." Before 1914 both Luxemburg and Lenin were leaders of the revolutionary current in the Second International and were in agreement on basic programmatic and theoretical premises. Luxemburg never succeeded in going beyond that oppositional stance to become a leader of an international revolutionary party.

Rosa Luxemburg

V. I. Lenin

Lenin did. In creating the Communist International Lenin was forced to develop and present his positions in a positive, world-historic programmatic form. Leninism is codified in the documents and resolutions of the first four congresses of the Communist International. It is only because we know the Leninism of the Communist International that we can discern its rudiments in his earlier works. In contrast, Luxemburg's writings remain oppositional, partial and lacking programmatic generality.

"Luxemburgism," therefore, is an artificial creation first developed by right-wingers in the German Communist Party, like Paul Levi, who were breaking from the Third back to the Second International. Since then various centrists have appealed to "Luxemburgism" as a credible revolutionary alternative to Lenin's Bolshevism and its contemporary continuation, Trotskyism. Conversely, Stalin denounced "Luxemburgism" in order to build up the cult of Lenin and retrospectively isolate Russian Bolshevism from the broader traditions of revolutionary Marxism.

The differences between Luxemburg and Lenin were important and sometimes sharp, particularly in 1912-14 when Luxemburg advocated the unity of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. However, their differences were in large part episodic and contained within the framework of revolutionary socialist principle.

Polish Independence and the Russian Revolution

Although best known as a left oppositionist in the German social democracy and as a martyr in the January 1919 "Spartacus uprising," in the years before 1914, the period from which her writings on the national question stem, Luxemburg's primary organizational loyalty was as a leader of a revolutionary party in Russian Poland, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and of Lithuania (SDKPiL). This organization originated in 1893 as a split from the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the then inclusive organization of Polish socialists, which strongly emphasized national independence. From its inception until World War I, the struggle of Luxemburg's SDKPiL against the PPS centered on the national question, although the situation was greatly complicated by a left-right split in the latter party in 1906.

Much of Luxemburg's writings on the Polish question is a justification for rejecting the traditional Marxist position. Marx and Engels not only advocated Poland's restoration as an independent state, but considered that this would be an important contribution to the cause of European socialism. In 1848 and the following decades, tsarist Russia was the bastion of European-wide reaction. Marx and Engels considered Russia, unlike Poland, economically too backward to undergo a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Therefore, until the late 1870's they considered the Polish national liberation movement the only serious internal force against tsarist absolutism and looked forward to an independent bourgeois-democratic Poland as a buffer against counterrevolutionary Russian intervention in the West.

Luxemburg argued that Marx Engels' strategic support for Polish independence had become outdated. By the 1880's Great Russia was pregnant with social revolution. And by the mid-1890's it was evident that a Russian revolution would have a large proletarian component. Furthermore, the Polish industrial bourgeoisie benefited from access to the protected Russian market. Support for national independence had therefore disappeared among the Polish ruling classes. For Luxemburg, the task of the Polish proletariat was to put national independence behind it and unite with its Russian class brothers in revolutionary struggle.

Luxemburg's position that Polish national liberation was no longer the principal internal revolutionary force in tsarist Russia was correct. This fact was also recognized by Lenin, who cited it in his own polemic against the national liberationist PPS ("The National Question in Our Program" [1903]).

However, as early as 1882 Engels already had shifted the main argument for Polish independence from the strategic weakening of tsarist Russia to its impetus to the development of socialist consciousness among the Polish workers. Engels was responding to the emergence of a group of Polish socialists, led by Ludwik Waryński, who rejected independence in favor of a unified social revolution throughout the Russian empire. (Luxemburg joined Waryński's Proletariat party in its dying days.)

In a letter to Kautsky (7 February 1882), Engels asserted that national independence was a precondition for socialist class consciousness among "great peoples" (i.e., nations too large and important to be assimilated into others):

> "It is historically impossible for a great people even to discuss internal problems of any kind seriously, as long as it lacks national independence. Before 1859 there was no question of socialism in Italy; even the number of Republicans was small ... Only after 1861 the Republicans increased in influence and later transferred their best elements to the Socialists. The same was true in Germany."

Engels applied the same principles to Poland:

> "So long as Poland is partitioned and subjugated, therefore, neither a strong socialist party can develop in the country itself, nor can there arise real international intercourse between the proletarian parties in Germany, etc., with other than émigré Poles. Every Polish peasant or worker who wakes up from the general gloom and participates in the common interests, encounters first the fact of national subjugation. This fact is in his way everywhere as the

first barrier. To remove it is the basic condition of every healthy and free development."

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that Engels overstated his case. Unlike the Italians and Germans, the Polish working class achieved socialist consciousness (in part through the activities of revolutionaries who opposed independence, like Waryński) while its nation remained divided among tsarist Russia, Habsburg Austro-Hungary and Wilhelmian Germany. Furthermore, the Polish working class engaged in common struggles with the proletariat of its oppressor nations.

This demonstrates that national subjugation is not an *absolute* barrier to socialist consciousness and transnational proletarian unity. However, Engels, having witnessed the antagonism between Irish and English workers in Britain, understood that national oppression is definitely an obstacle to a unified labor movement within a multinational state.

Polish Socialism and the Independence Question

The predominance of the national-liberationist PPS over the anti-independence SDKPiL argues for Engels (and Lenin) and against Luxemburg. The PPS was the hegemonic organization of the class-conscious Polish proletariat, with several thousand active members on the eve of the revolution of 1905. In marked contrast, the SDKPiL remained a tiny propaganda group until 1905.

Since she claimed that the Polish working class was indifferent to national independence, Luxemburg was hard-put to explain the predominance of the PPS. Her explanation is, to say the least, unconvincing. She attributes the widespread acceptance of the PPS' pro-independence line to the authority of the Marxist tradition:

> "..the restoration of Poland lost its stigma as the betrayal of socialism—after all, the most accomplished theoreticians and practitioners of the European movement had come out in support of this slogan—and the Polish Socialist Party's program had obtained the direct sanction of Marxism—hadn't 'Marx himself' attested to its correctness?"
>
> —"Foreword to the Anthology *The Polish Question and the Socialist Movement*" (1905)

It is not credible that the overwhelming majority of Poland's socialist working-class organizers and intellectuals was committed to carrying out Marx's program with doctrinaire literalness. Rather, the popularity of the PPS indicated that the Polish workers, while having attained a certain socialist consciousness, still felt themselves to be members of an oppressed nationality and looked forward to an independent state.

As coherent worldviews, proletarian socialism and nationalism are absolutely counterposed and mutually exclusive. However, among the working masses, both the impulse toward internationalist solidarity with their class brothers and a sense of national loyalty invariably coexist. Now class loyalty prevails, now national affiliation. A Polish worker who contributed to support a strike in St. Petersburg one day could contribute to Pilsudski's nationalist fighting squads on the morrow.

Luxemburg's views on the national question tended to idealize working-class socialist consciousness, a tendency also reflected in her differences with Lenin on the party question. Outside of the communist vanguard, proletarian internationalism is always uneven, inconsistent and reversible. The revolutionary party in a multinational state must *continually compete* with the petty-bourgeois nationalists for the loyality of the proletariat of the national minorities. Lenin understood that only by championing the equality of the Polish nation, including its right to a separate state, could he politically defeat the Pilsudskis.

The revolution of 1905 vindicated Luxemburg's faith in the Great Russian working class and demonstrated a tendency toward organic unity between the Russian and Polish labor movements. It was to be expected that the wing of Polish socialism which stood for a unified social revolution against tsarism should be the main beneficiary of 1905. The SDKPiL grew very rapidly to become a small mass party, claiming 25,000 members in 1907 (M. K. Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* [1959]). However, it still remained a minority tendency within the Polish workers movement.

Another important change in the Polish workers movement demonstrated how harmful Luxemburg's ultra-left position on the national question was in developing a mass revolutionary party. The revolution of 1905 split the PPS between the nationalist, terroristic Pilsudskiites and a left-wing majority. Pilsudski's Revolutionary Fraction was essentially a petty-bourgeois nationalist party, outside the workers movement.

The PPS-Left rejected the old program of a *national* uprising in favor of a social revolution throughout the tsarist empire. It also dropped independence from its immediate, "minimum" program and put a question mark over its ultimate desirability.

The split in the PPS refuted Luxemburg's contention that its leaders were simply nationalists masquerading as socialists. The SDKPiL should have won over and fused with the best elements of the larger, centrist PPS-Left. However, the SDKPiL's ultra-left position on the national question formed an absolute barrier for the cadre of the PPS-Left.

When World War I broke out, Pilsudski predictably supported Germany against Russia. The PPS-Left adopted a defeatist position and participated in the Zimmerwald movement.

Striking factory workers in Lodz during 1905-06 revolution in Poland.

This laid the basis for the fusion of the PPS-Left with the SDPKiL to create the Polish Communist Workers Party in late 1918 after Poland had been restored as an independent state. Luxemburg's sectarian failure to win over the PPS-Left *before* the war seriously arrested the development of revolutionary workers parties in Central and East Europe.

Was an Independent Poland Utopian?

In the same article previously quoted, Luxemburg wrote:

> "Any analysis of objective social developments in Poland requires the conclusion that a campaign for the restoration of Poland at this juncture is a petit bourgeois utopian fantasy, and, as such, is capable only of interfering with the class struggle of the proletariat and diverting it from its path."

One might be inclined to dismiss such an argument with the simple observation that in 1918 an independent, bourgeois Poland was, in fact, restored. This is not an irrefutable counterargument: certainly Rosa Luxemburg would not have considered it so. Luxemburg's position was that an independent Poland could not be restored through

UPI

Josef Pilsudski

an internal national-liberation struggle. That a European-wide war and a proletarian revolution in Russia might result in the restoration of a Polish state Luxemburg would not have rejected as inconceivable, however undesirable.

Luxemburg's contention that restoration of Poland was a utopian project was based on two interrelated arguments: the one economic, the other political-military. The core of her position is that the high protective tariff imposed by tsarist Russia gave the Polish industrial bourgeoisie privileged access to the Russian market and, therefore, a material interest in a common state. This thesis was developed at length in her 1898 work, *The Industrial Development of Poland*. Empirically it is true that in the last quarter of the 19th century Polish industry, geared to the Russian market, grew very rapidly. However, Russian tariff policy was *reversible*, even under tsarism. Particularly after 1900 the tsarist policy of high protective tariffs on raw materials combined with discriminatory railroad rates tended to benefit Russian industry at the expense of its established, more efficient Polish competitors. Thus, Luxemburg's analysis of the relationship of the Polish industrial bourgeoisie to the Russian state became dated not long after she developed it.

The capacity to establish an independent political economy is one of the necessary characteristics of a nation. Certain nationalist projects are indeed utopian because they are economically unviable under capitalism. American "black nationalism" is a case in point. It is the inability to establish a separate political economy, with its own class structure, that centrally defines American blacks as a *caste*, rather than any kind of national group. The establishment of a separate American black state would require massive population transfers and a total restructuring of the economy which is inconceivable under capitalism, except as a reaction to fascist genocide. That indisputable fact is why the real program of American "black nationalism" is not for an independent state, but for various forms of pseudo-separatism within the presently constituted USA.

A separate political economy does not mean self-sufficiency or even freedom from dependence on a more powerful neighboring country. The Irish republic is certainly economically dependent on Britain. If the British government excluded Irish labor from England, prohibited the repatriatization of their income to Ireland or imposed impenetrable tariffs against Irish imports, then the economy of the independent Irish republic would collapse. The right of self-determination is a bourgeois-democratic answer to the *direct oppression of a nation by a foreign state power*. There is no bourgeois-democratic solution to the imperialist exploitation of weaker national economies.

Since Luxemburg maintained that neither the Polish masses nor ruling class had a material interest in a separate state, she naturally argued that they would not make the great sacrifices needed for a war of independence against the overwhelming might of the Central and East European powers. This political-military argument was important to her contentinn that Polish independence was utopian:

> "Any rebellion would be bloodily suppressed. But if no rebellion is attempted, nothing can be done, since armed rebellion is the only way that Polish independence can be achieved.... If one 'demands' something, one must do something to achieve that demand. If one can do nothing, the empty 'demand' may well make the air tremble, but it will certainly not shake the states ruling over Poland."
>
> —"The Polish Question at the International Congress" (1896)

A demand is not "empty" simply because it cannot be realized given the existing international balance of forces. The international balance of forces can and sometimes does change in a favorable way. Even Pilsudski never attempted an uprising when tsarist Russia could concentrate all its forces against Poland. In the Russo-Japanese War, he attempted (unsuccessfully) an alliance with Japan and in World War I he attempted (successfully) an alliance with Germany. Pilsudski's policy of a national uprising was adventurist; it was not perforce utopian.

For revolutionaries to consider a program utopian because it cannot be realized given the existing international situation is a false and potentially dangerous method. Such a method would lead one to exclude the possibility of proletarian revolutions in small countries surrounded by great powers.

The life of a Belgian workers state, for example, would be measured in months, if not weeks, if France and West Germany remained capitalist. However, it is certainly possible that the class struggle in Belgium could escalate (as in the 1960-61 general strike) to a point where the seizure of power is posed, in advance of any European-wide revolutionary crisis. To reject the seizure of power if the internal situation is favorable for fear of foreign counterrevolutionary intervention would be an act of cowardly reformism, not of communist realism. A communist leadership would take power in Belgium and do every-

continued on page 8

National Question...

(continued from page 7)

thing possible to spread the revolution to the neighboring countries.

Are Multinational States Inevitable or Progressive?

Insofar as Luxemburg's opposition to Polish independence has a general theoretical justification it is that multinational states are an inevitable product of capitalist development and, in that sense, progressive. She takes issue with Kautsky who considered the national state as the normal political-territorial form of bourgeois society:

> "That 'best' national state is only an abstraction which can be easily described and defined theoretically, but which doesn't correspond to reality. Historical development toward a universal community of civilization will.. take place in the midst of contradiction, but this contradiction...lies in another area than where Kautsky seeks it, not in the tendency toward the idea of a 'national state,' but rather where Marx indicates it to be, in the deadly struggle among nations, in the tendency to create—alongside the great areas of civilization and despite them—great capitalist states.
> "The development of *world powers*, a characteristic feature of our times growing in importance along with the progress of capitalism, from the very onset condemns all small nations to political impotence." [emphasis in original]
> —"The National Question and Autonomy" (1908-09)

Luxemburg's equation of Britain, Russia and the Dutch empire as all examples of the inevitability of multinational states is not only ahistorical (as both Kautsky and Lenin pointed out), it is downright confusionist. First, it confuses the creation of multinational states (e.g., Britain) through the rise of bourgeois society in West Europe with the preservation of pre-bourgeois absolutist empires in the East—tsarist Russia, Habsburg Austro-Hungary, Ottoman Turkey. Second, it confuses genuine multinational states with integrated political economies and the far-flung colonial empires of the advanced bourgeois countries.

The absorption of smaller, more backward nationalities by their more dynamic bourgeois neighboring states (e.g., the Scots and Welsh by England) was, despite nationalist atrocities, historically progressive in the context of capitalism in its ascendancy. It raised the economic and cultural level of these peoples. Particularly important from the Marxist standpoint, the expansion of the "progressive nations" spread bourgeois democracy to the more backward neighboring peoples.

The absolutist multinational states of the East were not the product of the absorption of smaller, backward peoples by a developing bourgeois nation. The majority of the population in the tsarist empire was not Russian, in the Ottoman empire not Turkish and in the Habsburg empire not German. Even more important from the Marxist standpoint, Poland was more advanced economically and culturally than Russia, and Serbia than Turkey. That is why Marx/Engels strongly supported the Polish and Serbian national liberation struggles.

Since Marx Engels advocated outright independence for Poland, not merely recognizing the principle of national self-determination, Luxemburg concludes that they had no general policy on the national question. This is a miscomprehension of the classic Marxist position. Marx and Engels divided Europe into the "great nations," for which they advocated independence, and the minor peoples or "relics of nations," which they considered must assimilate into one or another of the former. Whatever their empirical misjudgments about particular nations, this national program was integral to their general policy– of supporting those developments of capitalism which laid the basis for socialism.

A clear, succinct statement of the classic Marxist position on the national question is found in a little-known 1866 article by Engels on the Polish question:

> "Here, then, we perceive the difference between the 'principle of nationalities' and the old democratic and working-class tenet to the *right* of the great European nations to separate and independent existence.... The principle of nationalities raises two sorts of questions; first of all, questions of boundary between these great historic peoples; and secondly, as to the right to independent national existence of these numerous small relics of peoples which, after having figured for longer or shorter on the stage of history, were absorbed as integral portions into one or the other of these more powerful nations whose greater vitality enabled them to overcome greater obstacles." [our emphasis]
> —"What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?" in Marx and Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, edited by Paul W. Blackstock and Bert F. Hoselitz (1952)

In contrast to Luxemburg, Marx and Engels did not regard the multinational state as a normal, inevitable or progressive development. Rather they considered certain bourgeois multinational states as a *stage* leading to the more or less rapid assimilation of the minority nationalities.

However, the objective conditions for proletarian revolution, including a mass labor movement, developed before the organic assimilation of the various nations in the European multinational states. Antagonism between the different nationalities (e.g., Germans and Czechs in Austria) became a major barrier to proletarian unity. The difference between the early and later Marxist position on the national question can be summarized as follows: with the development in Europe of a mass labor movement (around the 1880's) the negative effect on socialist consciousness and organization of national antagonisms within a multinational state *can offset* the advantages of a higher level of economic development. That is why the *subjective* attitude of the working masses of the minority nationality is of decisive importance.

Proletarian Party and Nationalist Petty Bourgeoisie

The root of Luxemburg's position on the national question is often attributed to the economic determinism characteristic of the Second International. She certainly uses arguments based on economic determinism (the Polish bourgeoisie has no interest in independence, an independent national economy is not possible). But a careful reading of *The National Question* reveals that Luxemburg's primary motivation is partly opposition to nationalist ideology and partly unwillingness to allow the policies of the proletarian party, on any issue, to be governed by the attitude of the petty bourgeoisie.

Luxemburg maintained that any concept of the *rights* of nations or nationalities necessarily embodies nationalist ideology. Often she seems more opposed to the slogan, "the right of nations to self-determination," than to the underlying policy which it expresses:

> "If we recognize the right of each nation to self-determination it is obviously a logical conclusion that we must condemn every attempt to place one nation over another, or for one nation to force upon another any form of national existence. However, the duty of the class party of the proletariat to protest and resist national oppression arises not from any special 'right of nation'.... This duty arises solely from the general opposition to the class regime and to every form of social inequality and social domination, in a word, from the basic position of socialism."
> —"The National Question and Autonomy"

Reading passages like this, one wonders to what extent Luxemburg's differences with the Leninist position are terminological rather than substantive. Even Lenin, who knew her personally, was sometimes unsure whether their disputes were not primarily over words.

But the difference between Luxemburg and Lenin on the national question is real and important. Luxemburg was unwilling to accept the democratic will of the oppressed national group on this question. She would refuse to give military support to independence struggles in Europe. Karl Radek, an ex-SDKPiL member who shared Luxemburg's views on the question, dismissed the 1916 Irish Easter uprising as a petty-bourgeois "putsch" and refused to support it against the British army.

It is highly significant that Luxemburg criticized the Bolshevik revolution not only for granting the minority nations independence, but also for allowing the peasants to divide up the land. She herself makes a connection between the two policies:

> "Lenin and his comrades clearly calculated that there was no surer method of binding the many foreign peoples within the Russian Empire to the cause of the revolution, to the cause of the socialist proletariat, than that of offering them, in the name of the revolution and of socialism, the most extreme and unlimited freedom to determine their own fate. This was analogous on the policy of the Bolsheviks toward the Russian peasants, whose land hunger was satisfied by the slogan of direct seizure of noble estates.... In both cases, unfortunately, the calculation was entirely wrong."
> —*The Russian Revolution* (1918)

In opposing the right of self-determination, Luxemburg projects a situation in which the petty-bourgeois majority supports independence, while the majority of the proletariat opposes it. This view of the world is at the heart of her position.

As a general proposition, this is an unreal world. To be sure, the most aggressive, militant nationalists will be concentrated among the petty bourgeoisie. However, a situation where the petty-bourgeois masses in an oppressed nation are strongly nationalistic while the proletariat is solidly assimilationist rarely occurs. For it to come about the proletariat would have to be won not to bourgeois assimilationism but to communist internationalism, in which case socialist revolution would be the burning issue of the day.

Such a class polarization was not present in the major independence struggles of Luxemburg's day—Norway, Ireland, the Czechs. Even in Poland, the SDKPiL remained a *minority* current within the workers movement. Nor do we see a nationalist petty-bourgeois vs. assimilationist proletariat polarization in comparable situations today—e.g., Quebec, the Basques and Catalans in Spain.

However, let us accept Luxemburg's hypothetical case and see where it leads. A plebiscite is held in which the majority of the population votes for independence, while a majority of the working class votes against. If a majority of the population supports independence it is only the military force of the dominant nation which preserves the state tie, whether force is actually employed or merely threatened being immaterial. For the proletarian party to oppose granting independence under such conditions is to condone, if not indirectly support, bourgeois state violence against the oppressed nationality. National self-determination is a genuine bourgeois-democratic right. To reject it necessarily leads to acceptance of bourgeois state oppression.

Proletarian Revolution in a Multinational State

In a *bourgeois* multinational state, a polarization between a nationalist petty bourgeoisie and an assimilationist proletariat seldom, if ever, occurs. However, the class polarization supposed by Luxemburg may well happen if a proletarian revolution breaks out in the dominant nation. The Russian Revolution experienced this phenomenon.

Lenin's acceptance of self-determination for Finland, Poland, the Baltic nations and the Ukraine was a powerful lever for the Bolsheviks during the civil war which followed the October Revolution in 1917. However, after achieving independent state power, the bourgeois nationalists like Pilsudski and Mannerheim mobilized the petty-bourgeois masses against the pro-Bolshevik working class, which wanted unity with Soviet Russia. A certain conflict arose between national self-determination and the defense of proletarian revolution. This was shown in the case of Finland where the Soviets recognized its national independence in December 1917; but following a Communist uprising against the bourgeois Mannerheim government the next month, Russian troops still in Finland aided the revolutionary forces in the ensuing civil war.

The history of the Ukraine during 1917-20 clearly illuminates this conflict. In October, local Bolsheviks, in *alliance with* the nationalist-dominated Ukrainian Central Rada, overthrew the pro-Kerensky provisional government in Kiev, the capital. However, the Ukrainian nationalist parties had their social base among the peasantry and naturally opposed the rule of soviets, which represented centrally the urban working classes. In late November the Central Rada suppressed the Kiev soviet and arrested its Bolshevik leaders. Further, it prohibited the Red Army from crossing Ukrainian territory to smash the counterrevolutionary mobilization of the Don Cossacks.

Lenin's Bolsheviks did not permit the principle of national self-determination, or any other bourgeois-democratic right, to prevent defense of the October Revolution against counterrevolution. This was well illustrated in a December 1917 Soviet ultimatum to the Rada which simultaneously recognized the independence of the latter's Ukrainian People's Republic, refused to recognize the Rada as its government and gave it 48 hours to agree to stop aiding the Whites and repressing the soviets. When the Rada continued its provocations, Lenin's government declared war.

The Red Army conquered Kiev in early 1918, shortly after the Ukrainian nationalists had massacred their Bolshevik prisoners. At that point, the Rada allied itself with the German imperialists, who occupied the Ukraine, shoved aside the nationalists and set up a puppet government.

When Germany was defeated on the Western Front in late 1918, it was forced by the victorious Allies to withdraw from the Ukraine. This set the stage for a bloody and complex three-cornered civil war between Ukrainian nationalists led by Simon Petliura, the White army of Denikin and the Bolsheviks. Petliura's military forces consisted of anarchistic peasant partisans, given to anti-Jewish massacres, and Ukrainian units

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of the dissolved Austro-Hungarian army. By early 1920 the Bolshevik government finally established its rule in the Ukraine.

The experience of bourgeois nationalists mobilizing the petty-bourgeois masses against the revolutionary proletariat led to increasing dissatisfaction within the Bolshevik Party to the traditional formula of national self-determination. The left-communist (e.g., Bukharin, Piatakov) and Luxemburgist formulation, "self-determination for the working people of the oppressed nations," gained support, including from the Commissar of Nationalities, Joseph Stalin.

Lenin, too, realized that the old bourgeois-democratic formulation was insufficient to answer the problems facing a proletarian revolution centered in the dominant nation. It was necessary to decide *who* represented the will of the nation. However, he rejected any formulation which absolutely denied the democratic will of the petty bourgeoisie on this question. In Soviet Central Asia, for example, the proletariat was a small minority and largely of Russian nationality.

The issue was decided at the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919, which adopted a new program (formally the party was still bound to the old 1903 program). Lenin rejected Bukharin's position as not providing the necessary flexibility vis-à-vis the nationalistic petty bourgeoisie:

> "To reject the self-determination of nations and insert the self-determination of the working people would be absolutely wrong, because this manner of settling the question does not reckon with the difficulties, with the zigzag course taken by differentiation within nations."
>
> —"Report on the Party Program," *Collected Works*, Vol. 29

Instead Lenin proposed an *algebraic* formulation as to which class expresses the will of the nation for separation. This formulation was adopted and incorporated into the new party program:

> "Article 9.4: The All-Russian Communist Party regards the question as to who expresses the desire of a nation for separation, from a historical-class point of view, taking into consideration the level of historical development of any given nation: whether the nation is passing from medievalism toward bourgeois democracy or from bourgeois democracy toward soviet or proletarian democracy, etc."
>
> Robert H. Neal, ed., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

This programmatic statement expresses a general principle of Leninism. The right of nations to self-determination, as any other bourgeois-democratic right, can only be superseded when proletarian class rule and its democracy supersede bourgeois democracy. ■

JUST OUT!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

Contents: **No. 14**

- Weather Underground Splits
- Supreme Court Wipes Out Gains for Women
- Murderous Sterilization Campaign in India
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Videla's Reign of Death...

(continued from page 12)

working conditions. Every sector except agriculture has been severely strained in consequence.

Though an hour's work now buys little more than a quarter of the meat it bought at this time a year ago—an indication of the drastic decline in real wages the government exhibits misleading statistics and boasts of inroads made against inflation. Even so, official figures indicate a 14 percent rise in the cost of living in January alone.

Though the major unions are directly administered by the military and while strikes are illegal and hundreds have been arrested or killed in factories where workers are allegedly influenced by leftist guerrillas, worker resistance continues without let-up. Recognizing this fact, the *New York Times* (27 February) recently published an article entitled "Battleground Between Leftists and Military in Argentina Shifts to Labor."

Edgar Moura/Liaison

Argentine troops

During the first months following the coup last March this resistance came primarily in the form of generalized and massive industrial sabotage. In auto more than 35 percent of production was affected, as in one Ford factory where 40 Falcons (the standard car used by the federal police and the AAA) had their motors destroyed.

Then in September auto workers at Ford, GM, Chrysler, Mercedes-Benz and Fiat in Buenos Aires responded to the government's insulting 12-percent wage increase with slowdowns and strikes (see "Argentine Auto Workers Defy Military Dictatorship," *WV* No. 125, 17 September). Disturbances spread to other industries. At Swift Packing Co. in Rosario, tons of meat for export were lost due to sabotage of a big refrigeration unit; explosions in electrical stations blacked out sections of La Plata and San Fernando.

The strikers finally returned to work under threat of dismissal and ten-year prison sentences, having gained only a return to the five-day week at GM and employer promises of "bonuses" as opposed to illegal wage increases. But no sooner had they gone back than electricity workers went out at the beginning of October. The running battle between troops occupying the power stations and workers of the state-owned SEGBA power company, sparked October 4 with the dismissal of more than 200 workers of the Luz y Fuerza (Light and Power) union, including the union leadership, lasted a month and a half and did $100 million worth of damage. This action immediately spread to the privately-owned Italo-Argentina power company and beyond.

By the beginning of November dockers in the port of Buenos Aires were staging slowdowns against changes in work rules, employing tactics similar to those of the militant power plant workers. Cargo worked went down from 1,000 tons a day to 200 and sabotage again caused serious damage, though the naval infantry had immediately occupied the docks. This struggle overlapped new work stoppages in auto.

Most recently Luz y Fuerza workers have been protesting the government's attempt to increase the workweek from 36 to 42 hours, staging slowdowns and selective work stoppages. In mid-February the workers held a 14-hour sitdown strike to protest the kidnapping of Oscar Smith, ousted leader of the 100,000-member union who was called back by the government to negotiate a back-to-work agreement. Though originally no one knew if leftists might not have kidnapped Smith to protest the sellout, it now appears that rightists had done it to embarrass the government and wreck its efforts to achieve "labor peace" through deals with Peronist union leaders.

Goldberg/Sygma

Dictators Pinochet (top left) and Videla on parade.

Videla increasingly attempts to use the Peronist bureaucrats as mediators, holding open the possibility of reinstalling them in their union posts in the CGT labor federation and individual unions in order to control the ranks. But the ability of these discredited elements to control the beleaguered union ranks, increasingly unable to obtain even the bare necessities of life with their greatly diminished purchasing power, is questionable. In the meantime the underground "CGT en la Resistencia" claims to have organized committees for resistance in many factories and public services.

Break with Peronism and Stalinism!

As a simple matter of survival, Argentine workers must smash the death grip of the junta. "Democracy" is not about to be peacefully reinstated through a "dialogue" with Videla. The March 1976 coup was fervently desired by the Argentine bourgeoisie in order to break the back of the combative labor movement. The generals have been unable to accomplish this task, however, and until they succeed—*or are defeated by militant working-class struggle*—the capitalists will continue to support the bloody junta, while perhaps clucking their tongues over "lamentable excesses."

But the vital need of the labor movement to resist the wage-slashing, murderous junta does not guarantee that the workers will obtain the revolutionary leadership they require to wage this struggle victoriously. The Peronist labor leadership did not lift a finger to resist the 1976 coup and has been largely quiescent ever since. Having become accustomed to grovelling submission to one military bonaparte, some are already making deals with Videla & Co.

The most shameless capitulators before the junta are the Argentine Stalinists. Licking the jackboots of the military from the very beginning, even as its headquarters were raided and some of its supporters murdered, the Communist Party of Argentina (PCA) is now speaking from the cloud-cuckoo land on the far side of opportunism. According to the vice president of the PCA youth group:

> "We maintain that it is the ultras, right or left, who don't want peace. They would like to see 200,000 dead in order to proclaim fascism or anarchy in Argentina.
>
> "The assaults against the government, carried out by the ultras, are assaults against the people. Despite its heterogeneous viewpoints, the military government is agreed on one point: the sensible and democratic policies that it follows."
>
> —quoted in *Cambio 16* [Madrid], 19 December 1976

Not even bourgeois conservatives such as the anti-Peronist Radical Civic Union have made such an incredibly shortsighted and ludicrous defense of the junta. Ever willing to prove its services to the *most reactionary* sectors of the Argentine bourgeoisie (as after World War II, when it joined with the landowners against Perón), PCA leaders recently issued a statement defending the junta against charges by the U.S. that it violated "human rights." While admitting a few transgressions, the declaration (reported in the 18 March *Daily World*) "drew attention to statements made by President (Gen.) Jorge R. Videla on opening up a dialogue with all sectors in Argentina and beginning a

continued on page 10

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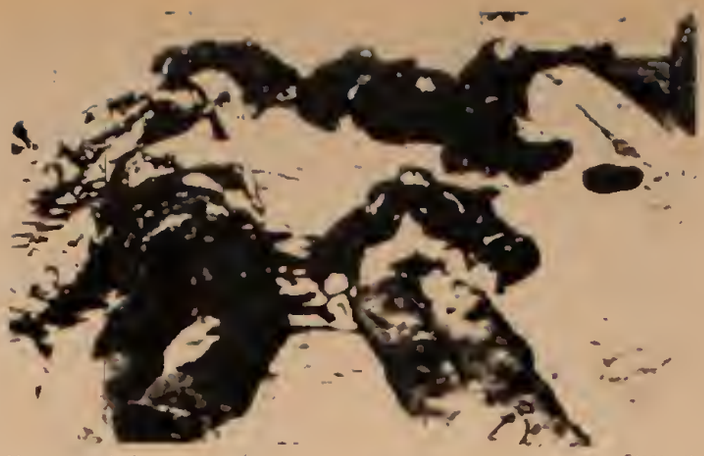
Videla's Reign of Death...

(continued from page 9)

process to re-establish a 'stable democratic regime'."

The Stalinists apparently hope that with their belly-crawling servility to the murderous generals, they may eventually get the nod from the junta when the latter decides it needs to control the workers movement from within. Certain Peronist union leaders harbor the same ambition. But the bloodbath continues, and will do so until the labor movement and its capacity to resist are shattered—or until the workers defeat the junta on the battlefield of class struggle. In the former case, the Stalinists will have been treacherous accomplices in decapitating the most militant proletariat of Latin America; in the latter case, they will have posed a serious roadblock to revolution.



Massacre victims. Economist

Dictator Videla D. Goldberg Sygma

What is needed in Argentina is above all a Trotskyist party which breaks with the bourgeois populism of Peronism and with Stalinist class collaboration—which bases itself not on the impotent strategy of guerrilla warfare but on the mobilization of the working class. The fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, however, has capitulated both to Peronism and guerrillaism. While its guerrillaist supporters have either split toward open Castroism (the case of the PRT ERP) or been decimated, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) of Nahuel Moreno managed to build an organization of several thousand members and sympathizers, with some influence in combative sectors of the proletariat.

During the Perón regime this capital was squandered through support ("critical," of course), first to the Peronist government of Héctor Cámpora, and then through promises of support for the "institutional process" and to the "continuity" of the government—which was simultaneously mowing down left-wing militants in the factories and on the streets. We have already reported how the PST has taken an equivocal line toward the Videla junta, with Moreno referring to it in an interview as "obliged to concede certain legal margins from time to time" (quoted in *WV* No. 133, 12 November 1976). He also went to great pains to distinguish the Videla regime from Pinochet, labeling the March 1976 coup "not a historic defeat for the Argentine proletariat."

Recently, the PST has given another example of its utter failure to comprehend the most fundamental questions of life and death for the proletariat. In the 17 March *Inprecor* a PST militant gives the following agnostic evaluation of the junta:

> "If the workers and people's resistance grows rapidly, if it succeeds in curbing the government offensive, the black months of 1976 will remain an ultra-reactionary period but will not have inaugurated a stage of counterrevolution, nor would the government be characterized as counterrevolutionary, in spite of its subjective desires. If, on the other hand, the government continues its offensive, even if there are isolated struggles and contradictions, if the workers movement is incapable of reversing or at least curbing this situation for a prolonged period, then these events will mean that the period initiated on March 24 must be characterized as a new, counterrevolutionary period."

To this one can only reply that if, "on the one hand," the junta only jails the PST militants and kills various of its trade-unionists, then Moreno will be able to mount protest campaigns from the safety of exile while continuing to blabber about "legal margins." But if, on the other hand, Videla's murderers assassinate Moreno himself, then perhaps finally the PST will concede that this is a counterrevolutionary government—although Moreno will be unable to utter the verdict himself. The working class, in any case, has no need of such impressionistic, utterly cynical "leaders."

The International Spartacist tendency warned, from the beginning, of the reactionary consequences of the Videla coup and condemned the misleaders of the Argentine labor movement for their lack of resistance. We stated on the morrow of the military takeover:

> "But behind the 'moderate' image of the junta...lurk numerous 'hardliners' screaming for blood
>
> "Despite the cynical talk of reconciliation, it is clear that the generals have taken power in order to smash the workers movement. Videla's program for the Argentine workers is the same as Pinochet's remedy for Chile. To the extent that rigidly enforced 'moderation' is unable to break the back of organized labor—which will now be made to pick up the tab for bankrupt Argentine capitalism—the *gorilas* are prepared to drench the workers quarters in rivers of blood."
>
> —"Military Coup in Argentina," *WV* No. 103, 2 April 1976

Tragically this prediction has proved true. But the Argentine workers have continued their struggle under the most adverse conditions. The struggle to forge an authentic Trotskyist party in Argentina, as part of a reborn Fourth International, has never been more urgent. ■

Urgent PDC Fund Appeal

Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: $10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of $_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (*Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund."*)

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The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League

I.S. Fractures...

(continued from page 4)

eratically expelling one little group after another. (In fact the RSL—which might be expected to be the natural beneficiary of any split in the I.S.—could not even muster a presence at the recent conference.)

At the time of the RSL's separation from its parent organism, we commented that the I.S. might actually find itself strengthened by the split through increased cohesion and effectiveness in pursuit of its left-reformist aims. The same cannot be said today. The split significantly weakens the I.S. numerically and threatens to wipe it out of several geographic areas while seriously damaging its implantation in industry.

But we have no expectation that the main cadres of the I.S. will "learn" even an empirical lesson from their setbacks; hardened opportunists cannot understand that theirs is not the way to "get rich," even in the short run. Neither manifest political bankruptcy nor organizational decomposition can be expected to teach them very much. While a revolutionary program is not in itself a talisman against splits and serious membership losses, it is the Trotskyist programmatic homogeneity of the Spartacist League that is the root source of our organization's growth and consolidation during the same period in which the cynical maneuverists of the I.S. have undergone two major splits. This is a political truth which the Joel Geiers of this world—whose imagination does not go beyond an endless search for "get-rich-quick" gimmicks—will never understand. ■

CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (*WV* No. 149, 18 March), the article "International Women's Day—A Proletarian Celebration" contains the following sentence: "The 'consistent-feminism-leads-to-socialism' SWPers might recall the anti-communist fervor of the Women's Battalion of Death." While the clearly reactionary Women's Battalion of Death was not itself feminist, it nevertheless aroused deep feelings of sympathy from leading feminists like Emmeline Pankhurst, the founder of the British Women's Social and Political Union. She defended Kerensky against the Bolsheviks and pronounced the Women's Battalion of Death "the greatest thing in history since Joan of Arc."

Also the article "Behind the 'Roots' Craze" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March) gives the date of Malcolm X's assassination as 1967 instead of 1965.

ABONNEZ-VOUS

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Blood and Deals

(continued from page 1)

an "independent national state" on "national soil." Though not explicitly stated, this is universally taken to mean another step toward PLO endorsement of the West Bank Gaza Strip "mini-state" proposal and co-existence with Israel.

The first step toward endorsing the mini-state was taken at the 1974 meeting of the PNC, which endorsed a "transitional program" calling for setting up of a "national authority on any land liberated from Israel." Previously, the PLO called for the liberation of all of pre-1948 Palestine through the destruction of Israel, without stopping on the way to set up some kind of "transitional national authority" much less settle for a tiny slice of "national soil" to set up a statelet.

The PLO was rewarded for its moderation when it received recognition in that club of feudal sheiks and little bonapartes, the Arab League, at its October 1974 Rabat conference, as the "sole representative of the Palestinian people."

The one Arab head of state whose ox was gored at Rabat is King Hussein, ruler of the "Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." A majority of his "subjects" are Palestinian; thus to declare the PLO their "sole legitimate representative" is to directly challenge the existence of his throne, artificially imposed by British imperialism on Jordan after World War I. Further, the West Bank (annexed by Hussein's grandfather during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war and lost in the 1967 war) is still considered by Hussein as part of his Hashemite patrimony.

The Hashemites, always unpopular with the Palestinian masses, were detested in the aftermath of "Black September." This feeling was so strong that even though the 1974 PNC meeting, like the one recently concluded, was dominated by the "moderate" views of Yasir Arafat, it called for the overthrow of Hussein's dynasty.

"Links": PLO-Hussein-CIA

However, in preparation for the 1977 Palestine National Council meetings, the hated Hashemites are being refurbished and presented as the vehicle for Palestinian "liberation"! The Arab states value social stability within a capitalist framework and a steady flow of their cut of the oil revenues above all else. They have drawn their own lessons from the devastating Lebanese civil war.

In Lebanon the well-armed, self-governing Palestinian refugee camps constituted a "national authority," albeit on land "liberated" from an Arab country rather than Israel. The Arab rulers see such a "national authority" or "independent national state" in the West Bank as simply a replication of Lebanon, with all the inherent instability of the Arab-Israel conflict. (What would be the relation of such a statelet to the Palestinians in Jordan, the refugees in Lebanon and Syria, and the Arabs in Israel?!) The Sadats, Assads and Khalids blame the Lebanese civil war on the Palestinian "state" within a fragile state, and they see an even more combustible mixture in a West Bank statelet.

The Ba'athists in Damascus see their "united front" with Jordan as creating a division of labor: Syria will militarily and politically disarm the Palestinians in Lebanon perhaps laying the basis for the eventual absorption of Lebanon into a Greater Syria and Jordan will handle the West Bank Palestinians either through outright re-annexation or a Hashemite-dominated "federation."

Earlier this year, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, after consumating a "united political command" with Syria, began to launch trial balloons regarding a Palestinian-Jordanian "link." The basis for such a link would be laid by including the PLO in the Jordanian delegation to a reconvened Near East peace conference in Geneva, thereby overcoming Israel's opposition to attending a conference with direct PLO representation.

However, the so-called "moderates" within the Israeli Zionist establishment (like Prime Minister Rabin) are willing to "withdraw" only from a West Bank which is entirely surrounded by Israeli military bases, including along the Jordan River. This is, from a military standpoint, no withdrawal at all, and it is predicated on Jordan assuming administration of the center of this Israeli-controlled "bantustan."

Suggestions for a PLO-Hashemite link were made in anticipation of a visit to the Near East in February by the new U.S. secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, which was to be followed by meetings between King Hussein and the PLO. However, the refurbishment of Hussein almost had to be jettisoned. On the eve of Vance's arrival in Amman, the *Washington Post* revealed that the Jordanian king had received millions of dollars over 20 years from the CIA.

Teresa Zabala/New York Times

Israeli premier Rabin (left) with Carter.

Following Vance's departure, formal talks were held between the PLO leadership and the Jordanian government. Agreeing "in principle" on the need for strong "links" between Jordan and a future PLO-administered West Bank, the participants in these discussions also agreed to hide behind studied ambiguity and not define what was meant by "links."

More importantly, at least for symbolic value, in the middle of the Afro-Arab summit conference, Arafat and Hussein dined together at the King's Suite of the Cairo Hilton Hotel. When delegates at the PNC meeting asked Arafat prickly questions about his dealings with a man on the CIA payroll, he is quoted as responding: "This was nothing new to us. The King is not the only one in the Arab world to have been in that position."

Although Arafat himself may not be personally corrupt, his cynical defense of Hussein's CIA meal ticket means that he already anticipates that his statelet will merely provide a select few of the Palestinian middle class a chance at accumulating bribes, profiteering and speculation, or getting on the CIA payroll while the Palestinian masses languish in desperate poverty.

A statelet encompassing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would comprise less than one fourth of pre-1948 Palestine. Further, it is the least desirable and economically viable land. The West Bank is divided into desert in the south and terraced, labor-intensive Mediterranean agriculture in the north. In order to sustain another million Palestinians, even economic studies favorable to a mini-state solution estimate a necessary capital investment of anywhere from $8 to $20 billion over five years.

Thus, even if a Palestinian West Bank won nominal political independence, it would necessarily be a client state of Jordan and/or the oil sheikdoms. Gaza is already tremendously overpopulated at 300,000 and the bulk of the population are refugees living in hovels and wretched camps. Even if a PLO "national authority" or "independent national state" were set up in Gaza and the West Bank, it would *like Israel and Jordan* survive only through the financial support of the oil sheikdoms and U.S. imperialism!

Gamma/Liaison

Israeli soldier arrests Palestinian protester.

Arab-Hebrew Working-Class Unity

Real liberation for the Palestinian people will never come through their PLO misleaders and the reactionary Arab states which have betrayed them so often. It will not come through the eternal struggle to find the elusive formulation that will disarm Zionist Israel and U.S. imperialism and win "liberation" through an imperialist-imposed peace.

The real "link" that is needed is that between the West Bank masses and the Israeli and Jordanian proletariat. Today the Israeli proletariat, both Hebrew and Arab, is undertaking the most militant class struggle in the history of the Zionist state. They are striking and protesting over the same issues, against the same government and capitalist class that the West Bank Palestinians are fighting.

Such links will be forged only when the Israeli workers take up the demand for Israel out of the occupied territories; for full democratic rights for all Arabs in Israel, including the right to self-determination for the Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian liberation can only come about through the destruction of the Zionist/racialist state by the Israeli workers themselves, and the overthrow of the Hashemites by the Jordanian and Palestinian masses, under the leadership of Trotskyist parties in a reborn Fourth International, fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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Wendy Yoshimura...

(continued from page 2)

$50,000: "I think it would be a little bit anomalous if somebody whose financial resources are a million and a half gets bail, and somebody who has to depend on friends has to go to state prison" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 March 1977).

Unfortunately the judge's "arithmetic" is a little anomalous. Patricia Hearst's father has personal assets of well over $100 million. A proportionate bail for Yoshimura based on her family's income would amount at most to several hundred dollars! However the sop of $50,000 bail was as far as the "generous" judge was willing to go as he denied defense attorneys James Larson and Garrick Lew's motions for a new trial.

Larson and Lew charged among other things that the eleven white members of the jury imposed a "racist verdict." An affidavit from the one black juror, Lucille Mitchell, stated she was harassed by the other jurors into her guilty verdict. Mitchell said that white jury members made racial slurs when discussing Yoshimura's choice of a white companion (Willie Brandt) and that newspaper stories about the trial were regularly circulated among the jurors.

Pulich routinely denied these motions along with one by Larson, citing legal precedent, that Yoshimura be given credit for prison time already served—the three years she spent in Manzanar, a World War II concentration camp for Japanese Americans. According to Pulich his was just a state court and the precedent cited by Larson concerned a federal case.

In a statement made after the sentencing, Yoshimura said she didn't get a fair trial "because of sexism and racism" in the jury. She also stated she was convicted not on the basis of the 1972 charges but because of her associations with Patricia Hearst and William and Emily Harris of the SLA. We heartily concur, and once again hail Wendy Yoshimura for her steadfast refusal, in the face of long jail sentences in one of the U.S.' worst penal systems, to turn informer and fink on her friends and comrades.

Yoshimura must now pursue a lengthy and expensive series of legal appeals. In addition, she must raise another $25,000 in bail by March 31 or return to prison. It is the duty of the entire workers movement to come to her aid with financial support to expose and protest the vicious racist attempt to frame up this honest and principled militant.

Contributions to Wendy Yoshimura's defense may be made to the Wendy Yoshimura Fair Trial Committee, c/o Janis Mirikatani, Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

A Year of Junta Terror in Argentina

Not Peronism or Guerrillaism, But Workers Revolution!

Smash Videla's Reign of Death!

Despite the vast scope of its bloody reign of death, the Argentine military junta, which took power one year ago this week, can only draw a negative balance sheet in terms of its own goals. The economy is still a shambles despite a disastrous decline in the masses' standard of living. Though it has suffered tremendous losses, the left-wing guerrilla movement is still capable of spectacular actions. (For the third time in a year, President Jorge Videla narrowly missed death on February 18 when a bomb in a culvert exploded under the runway as Videla's plane took off from the Buenos Aires municipal airport.) And most serious of all, the working class continues to actively resist the junta's wage-slashing "austerity" drive.

Consequently, military hardliners are demanding yet more blood while the "doves" hypocritically appeal for a more *selective* policy of torture and murder. Contrary to their wishes, the carnage being committed by the junta has become so notorious that U.S. president Carter felt he could gain credibility for his "human rights" ploy by cutting U.S. military aid to Argentina amid great fanfare.

In a huff of indignation, Videla replied by renouncing military aid from the U.S. "America is wrong," he said in an interview with the Paris weekly *L'Express* (14-20 March). "We defend human rights against subversives, the corrupt, delinquents" (!)—explicitly excluding the latter from the human community. He goes on to philosophically articulate the bonapartist "mission" of the Argentine military, voicing the traditional contempt of the "man on horseback" for "inept" and "impotent" politicians:

> "We are the heirs of ideas which are the legacy of the French Revolution [!]. But can this democracy of 1789 be applied in our epoch? I think it is necessary to adapt it to our country's realities. We don't want the politicians to destroy our work of renovation on the day the army returns to the barracks."

Still the "moderate" within the political spectrum of the Argentine armed forces, Videla rejects the strategy of those even more megalomaniacal air force and naval officers who want to regroup "the last Western anti-Marxist forces in a South Atlantic pact, supported by South Africa." Videla recently demoted and retired some intransigent hardliners, but his position within the armed forces as a whole, particularly in relation to his fellow members of the junta, reportedly remains precarious (*Latin America*, 17 December 1976).

Junta Death Machine

Repression has reached new depths in Argentina, not simply in terms of numbers but in the massive, deliberate barbarity which it represents. Amnesty International has pointed to a "new phase" of "disappeared prisoners" in Chile, Pinochet's response to "human rights" pressure. The Argentine junta also appreciates the advantages of massively executing prisoners, denying any knowledge of their arrest or whereabouts.

Furthermore, the bodies can be added to the "enemy" death count. Junta officials announce the death of "guerrillas" in confrontations of various sorts with security forces, who always come out remarkably unscathed. Even so, the overflow from the prisons has forced the building of concentration camps. According to journalist Marcelo Dias in *Rouge* (7 February):

> "First of all in Tucumán where the forces of General Bussi are still attempting to annihilate the rural guerrilla and the political infrastructure of the ERP, by means of massacring its social base: thousands of agricultural sugar-cane workers. Then other concentration camps were constructed in Córdoba, at Campo de Mayo [military base] and near the Ezeiza airport (Atómica), etc. They have also constructed seven oven crematoriums to prevent relatives of victims from mobbing the cemeteries and the international spectacle and bad image caused by the 'recovered corpses'."

The number of political prisoners interned is still a "military secret." Informed estimates place the figure between 20,000 and 30,000, though the government claims this is preposterous. How many have died at the hands of security forces and paramilitary gangs? According to figures compiled from police sources and local newspaper accounts, about 1,400; more likely is the figure of 5,000 claimed by some former prisoners.

Observers have noted that the violence of the repression takes on an accelerating momentum of its own and the sadism takes on a mass dimension. The machine of repression trains thousands of individuals in the practice of torture and mass assassination creating a virtual army of sadistic psychopaths. The darkest irrationality becomes the norm as the reactionaries seek cultural hegemony for the "moral regeneration of the fatherland." The parallel with fascism is obvious and anti-Semitic atrocities are on the rise along with the proliferation of Nazi literature.

Referring to the paramilitary death squads such as the infamous AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance), foreign affairs minister Admiral César Augusto Guzzetti told critics in Washington: "It is a healthy and normal reaction. A little like an organism which, attacked by a disease, manufactures antibodies" (*L'Express*, 14-20 March).

The minister of education exhorts parents and teachers to eradicate the "moral roots of the bad Argentine" and to flush out those teachers who employ non-traditional methods and talk too much about postconciliar Catholicism. An official poster warns parents to oversee the education of their children so that they not be taught pernicious ideas under the cover of "literature." "You can be disinterested," it says, "but don't complain when you get a call from the morgue to identify your child's corpse." For all the talk of "moral regeneration" and "the values of Christian civilization," Argentina under the military heel is living through the darkest night of barbarism. Only the organized power of a revolutionary proletariat can wipe these murderous parasites from the face of the planet.

Labor Resistance Continues

For all the talk of "eradicating the guerrilla disease," it was the combativeness of the Argentine workers which drove the military to seize power last March 24. Few in Argentina disagree that it is above all the workers' struggles that will determine the fate of junta rule and shape the future of Argentina.

The working masses are constantly being ordered to make the sacrifices demanded by the "shock treatment" prescription of economics minister Martinez de Hoz in order to put bankrupt Argentine capitalism back on its feet, i.e., to rationalize by cutting jobs, real wages, increasing productivity through speed-up and undermining

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 151 1 April 1977

Starvation, Repression Will Continue in India

Gandhi Toppled

MARCH 28—For the first time in 30 years, the Congress Party of India has been decisively repudiated at the polls, winning only 153 out of 542 parliamentary seats. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi suffered the additional personal humiliation of a crushing defeat in her own constituency, as did her controversial playboy son, Sanjay.

Riding the crest of massive discontent over Gandhi's 21-month suspension of civil liberties and particularly over the forced sterilization campaign, an unstable coalition of the major opposition parties formed the Janata ("Peoples") Party and took 271 seats. With the parliamentary cushion added by the 28 seats of its ally, the Congress for Democracy (CD), Janata holds a clear majority, and on Thursday its chairman, Moraji Desai, was sworn in as the new prime minister.

The election capped two interrelated processes, long evident but greatly accelerated by the state of emergency: the steady peeling off of key components of the Congress, and the emergence of various opposition coalitions (hitherto only at the state level) as serious contenders for power. The three-decade hegemony of the Congress Party was shattered as Indira Gandhi's clique was increasingly reduced to two peo-

continued on page 10

Lafont/Sygma

Prime minister Indira Gandhi campaigning early in the election.

FBI Targets the Spartacist League

Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark got the full blast of "human rights" American style in Chicago in 1969. The secret police infiltrated their organization, set them up, and then in the dead of night the cops kicked their door down and machine-gunned them in their beds.

The rest of us have been luckier. For most of us in the left, labor and black movements, relations with the American political police have been more routine. We have had our phones tapped, our mail opened, our offices burgled, our garbage "covered," our organizations "penetrated," our leaders tailed and jailed. We have been the victims of systematic attempts to deprive us of our livelihood. We have been personally and collectively slandered by "anonymous" letter-writing campaigns and by planted lies disingenuously called "disinformation." We have been witchhunted by the grand jury and "selectively audited" by the IRS. The FBI has talked to our friends, neighbors, landlords and especially employers. Some of us have been framed up and jailed. But what the Panthers met was the full-blown terror which stands behind the shadowy routine of FBI/CIA snooping, harassment and disruption.

No group or individual wants the attention of these legal outlaws and official hitmen. Left-wing political organizations which become objects of their "surveillance" have also become objects of the now notorious "disruption" which is a logical outgrowth of FBI/CIA "counterintelligence." So we of the Spartacist League (SL) looked carefully at a short article titled "FBI Hit List" (see illustration) in a recent issue of the muckraking journal *CounterSpy* (December 1976).

CounterSpy reproduced an FBI standard file form known as "ADEX," the "abolished" index that boiled down the detention lists to 7,500 Americans (see accompanying article). The ADEX form included a category designated by the letters "SPL" as one of the 16 organizations given top priority for FBI "special" treatment. *CounterSpy* speculated that "SPL could mean Spartacist League." Documents subsequently obtained by an individual through the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act confirmed *CounterSpy*'s guess. "SPL" is indeed the FBI's computer code for the SL; we are on their "hit list."

It is anybody's guess why the FBI in 1971 selected the SL as a target of its "special" attention. The 16 groups in the ADEX code (which includes a few ultra-rightist groups) encompass among others the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Panthers, Progressive Labor and SDS (under which category some Maoists were probably subsumed). But why the SL, which at that time had not yet begun widespread involvement in the labor movement, nor made the major breakthroughs that were to create significant international ties? We do not know. Nor can any firm answer be provided for the interesting omission of groups like the International Socialists and Workers League which were at the time bigger and louder than the SL.

Who Are the Conspirators?

The documents subsequently obtained show that the FBI had manufactured for ADEX and related activities a standard definition for the "SPL." The FBI wants to portray the Spartacist League as some sort of criminals, the category of individuals the FBI has a legal license to hunt. But everyone knows that the SL is not criminal and does not engage in felonious acts. So the FBI's definition of the "SPL" includes a "fallback": the "SPL," says the FBI, "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government at this time." This of course is explicitly true, but the implication is false and nefarious: that the SL is conspiring to insurrect. With the one word "openly," the FBI seeks to justify its spying and disruption activities directed at our organization.

The SL is not conspiratorial. It is well known for its straightforward presentation of its political ideas and program. This is recognized not only throughout the left, but has been acknowledged even in some bourgeois circles. In a 1972 address at Harvard, Daniel Patrick Moynihan favorably compared the SL youth group to other leftists in attendance because "they sail under their own colors." Moynihan quoted from a statement proclaiming our aims:

> "... to develop young radicals into lifetime communist militants, and to

continued on page 2

FBI...

(continued from page 1)

> build a socialist youth organization which can intervene in all social struggles with a revolutionary program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky."

Moynihan concluded, "It is doubtless perverse to do so, but I happen to find that an honorable statement of purpose" (*Commentary*, December 1972). No one misunderstood. No one thought Moynihan was in favor of building the communist vanguard. But the SL's forthright presentation of its views had to be recognized even by this imperialist politician.

The SL deserves its reputation for honesty. We have nothing to hide. How outrageous that the FBI, which does its dirty work in secret, should label us as not "openly" planning the "violent overthrow of the government." In fact,

> **"The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service."**
> **—Richard Helms**
>
> **"Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply."**
> **—CIA document**

the capitalist government is not "overthrown" violently or non-violently. In fact, the historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow," and likely not this government in its present form. A revolutionary conjuncture in the U.S. will be defined by the fact of *dual power*. Most probably it will pose the choice between the democratic soviets of the working class and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship headed by a militarist perhaps in the mold of a General George Brown, unencumbered by the trappings of a Congress.

On the basis of historical probability in the future, the FBI wants us to plead guilty to "advocacy" to "overthrow the government" today. We are not able to. It is simply self-serving nonsense for the FBI to imply that the SL is planning a secret putsch against the U.S. government. Any organization that fits the FBI's conspiratorial definition would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.

According to the *Communist Manifesto*, the proletarian revolution is made by the "immense majority." It is not until a majority of the working people are prepared for a revolution against a capitalist government isolated and unable to rule that a proletarian revolution can occur. But in any case the issue is hardly that of *our* democratic good will. The criminal terror of the FBI is only part of the vindictive savagery which the ruling class unleashes against those who seek to challenge its dominion. We know full well the story of the heroic Spartacist Eugen Leviné. After the unsuccessful 1919 uprising in Bavaria, Leviné proclaimed to the bourgeois court which sentenced him to death, and to the workers movement which honors him as a martyr, "Communists are dead men on leave."

Unable to feed the hungry or provide jobs for the unemployed, periodically plunging the population into devastating inter-imperialist war, sacrificing every vestige of rationality or decency to its insatiable hunger for profit, the bourgeoisie cooks up a spectre of the revolutionary movement as a criminal conspiracy. With this big lie oft repeated, they attempt to discredit the Marxists in the eyes of the masses and create a climate of opinion favorable to their witchhunting. Thus they hope to evade the verdict of history for their crimes against humanity.

Another way that the bourgeoisie attempts to discredit revolutionaries is by portraying socialism as an endless totalitarian horror of state repression. In this distortion it gets invaluable aid from the Stalinists. Stalin's usurpation of the mantle of the Russian Revolution provided the truly horrifying spectacle of the Moscow trials in which so many

> **"I find it inconceivable that a covert agency is expected to obey all the overt orders of the government."**
> **—James Angleton, former CIA chief of staff**

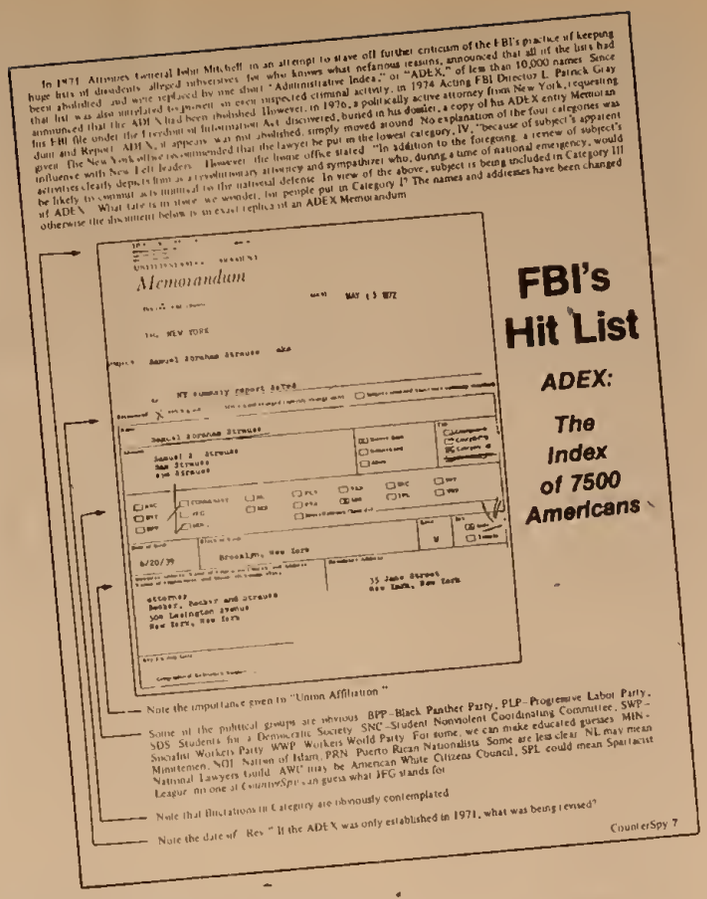
working-class revolutionists were humiliated and destroyed as part of a bureaucratic counterrevolution. The prison camps for "thought criminals" in Russia and China facilitate the CIA crusade for "human rights." The bourgeoisie is delighted to point to these degenerated and deformed workers states as examples of the "Communist future." Imitating the capitalist state apparatus, the Stalinists have created a state apparatus of general state terror, in the process gutting the Marxist conception of the withering away of the state. Both the Stalinists and the witchhunters have an interest in identifying Stalinism with socialism. Trotskyists unconditionally defend the deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist restorationism, but we have nothing in common with the apologists for totalitarianism.

Marxism and the Role of Force in History

It is the FBI itself which is the outlaw and terrorist organization. As a covert arm of a government that claims the confidence of the vast majority of the population, the FBI is one sign of the inherent weakness and decay of that system. It is the FBI which is guilty of proven criminal conduct by the bourgeoisie's own laws. It is the FBI which should be prosecuted!

Unwilling to admit the simple truth that a crucial purpose of its secret police is to control thoughts, not acts, the ruling class falsely portrays the Marxists as "dangerous to society." Revolutionary Marxists are dangerous only to this system of institutionalized mass misery and those who profit from it.

The attempt to slander Marxism as some kind of violence cult is far more than an abstract anti-communist propaganda campaign. It is the cynical rationale for the ADEX file and the concentration camps which wait in the wings, for the FBI assassination squads that are the ultimate "disruption." It is an irony that this secret arm of the ruling class that has perpetrated the most massive organized worldwide violence should mount this attack on the "dangerous" thought of the Marxist tradition. Not mere irony; it is historical perversity.



Sample page from Justice Department "ADEX" file of "subversives" as it appeared in CounterSpy magazine article.

In line with this need to turn the victim into a "criminal," part of the FBI's standardized definition of the SL attempts to invoke the "speech crimes" provisions of the Smith Act; the FBI claims the "SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U.S. in inevitable."

Marxists have no position on violence as an abstract principle. For us it is not a question of "belief," but of recognizing reality. As Trotsky said, "A disbelief in violence is equivalent to a disbelief in gravitation... renunciation of the use of force for purposes of liberation is equivalent to giving support used for oppression which now rules the world" (*Where Is Britain Going?*). Marxism has never refrained from speaking the plain truth about violence. But Marxism has done more than that. Marxists analyzed class society as the source of violence and developed a program to root it out at the source once and for all.

Pacifists have made an escapist religion of the notion of "non-violence," but for Marxists the truth is always concrete. In 1931 Gandhi discussed sacrificing the lives of the Indian people for national independence. In what must be one of history's most repulsively illogical statements, he said, "whether it is one life or a million that we have to pay, I am praying it will be possible for the future historian to say that India fought and won her liberty without shedding human blood" (quoted in Sidney Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*). For Marxists, it makes a great deal of difference whether it is one or one million. Force must be understood in terms of its actual consequences. We do not equate the violence of the oppressor with the possibility of resistance by the oppressed seeking their liberation.

In fact it has always been clear that force and violence can have an inverse relationship. This is true not only in the everyday sense in which an overwhelming balance of forces can prevent an eruption of violence, but also in the historical sense: force in the service of human liberation aids in the creation of less violent societies. We stand with Thomas Paine against Edmund Burke on the legitimacy of force in the French revolution.

That force and its use is not an abstract principle is amply demonstrated by the Marxist tradition, whose overwhelming judgment is summed up in *Capital*: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power." Here Marx recognizes not only the social violence endemic to a decaying society but also the inherent force of the state. The bourgeoisie's hypocritical finger-wagging at the "violent" Marxists has as its purpose the legitimization of the terror tactics of its consummately violent state: executions, frame-ups, concentration camps.

Marx made it clear that he understood the question of violent revolution as an assessment of concrete conditions rather than an abstract principle when he spoke of the possibility of revolution coming "peacefully" to Britain and America. This speech, made at the Hague in 1872, was directed at the Blanquists who made violence into a "revolutionary principle." Marx stated:

> "The worker must one day seize political supremacy in order to establish the new organization of labour. He must overthrow the old politics sustaining the old institutions.
>
> "But we have never said that the means to arrive at these ends were identical. We know the allowance that must be made for the institutions, manners and traditions of different countries. We do not deny that there exist countries like America, England, and, if I knew your institutions better, I would add Holland, where the workers may be able to attain their ends by peaceful means. If that is true we must also recognize that in most of the countries of the Continent force must be the lever to which it will be necessary to resort for a time in order to attain the dominion of labour."
>
> quoted in Nicolaievsky and Maenchen-Helfen, *Karl Marx Man and Fighter*

The statement has been used by those who would falsely attempt to use Marx

WORKERS VANGUARD

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FBI ON "SPL"

SPARTACIST LEAGUE

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U. S. Government at this time or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U. S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

himself to excise Marxism of its revolutionary content. Thus Kautsky, in the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, used the Hague speech to assert his own position that the proletariat can win political power simply at the polls, "using the liberties that exist." But the social-democratic chimera of a "peaceful transition" to socialism was as alien to Marx as is Blanquist putschism. For Marxists, force is not a principle; Marx's prognosis was a specific historical judgment based on a set of historically empirical assessments that may be accurate or inaccurate.

Lenin in his *State and Revolution* (1917) defended not only Marx's approach but also his particular judgment as "understandable in 1871." Lenin argued that in that period Britain and the U.S. had not yet developed a "militarist clique" and were "to a considerable degree, without a bureaucracy." He argued that with the imperialist war and its "filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions" Marx's projection was no longer "valid." Again, it was not the question of violence that was at issue, but a prognosis about reality.

One can very easily argue that on the specific case Marx was wrong. In England in 1872 there was a standing army trained in the oppression of the Irish, Indian and Egyptian peoples, a notably cohesive ruling class with a sizeable state bureaucracy, and the greatest navy in the world. Even for America, it may be persuasively argued that Marx underestimated the solidity of the bourgeoisie's consolidation of the state. But whether or not one judges that proletarian revolution could have come peacefully to Britain or America in 1871, the point is that violent revolution is not a principle.

In the introduction to the second English edition of *Terrorism and Communism* Trotsky was quite clear that Marxists have no sympathy with the fetishization of "revolutionary violence." Discussing the Fabian socialists' position that the English proletariat could come to power peacefully through parliament, he said:

> "...The Fabian hope must, I fear, be held from the very beginning to be out of the question. I say 'I fear,' since a peaceful, parliamentary change over to a new social structure would undouhtedly offer highly important advantages from the standpoint of the interests of culture, and therefore those of socialism. But in politics nothing is more dangerous than to mistake what we wish for what is possible."

It should be evident that Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and the SL share a common approach to the question of violence: that it is not a matter of principle but of specific concrete historical estimations.

This approach was shared by the Socialist Workers Party when it was still a revolutionary organization. When the SWP was prosecuted in the first Smith Act trials, party leader James Cannon put forward the Marxist position:

> "Q: Now, what is the opinion of Marxists with reference to the change in the social order, as far as its being accompanied by violence?
> "A: It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence.
> "Q: Why?
> "A: That is based, like all Marxist doctrine, on a study of history....
> "Q: What would you say is the opinion of Marxists as far as the desirability of a peaceful transition is concerned?
> "A: The position of the Marxists is that the most economical and preferable, the most desirable method of social transformation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully.
> "Q: And in the opinion of the Marxists, is that absolutely excluded?
> "A: Well, I wouldn't say absolutely excluded. We say that the lessons of history don't show any important examples in favor of the idea so that you can count upon it....
> "Q: Then the theory of Marxists and the theory of the Socialist Workers Party, as far as violence is concerned, is a prediction based upon a study of history, is that right?
> "A: Well, that is part of it. It is a prediction that the outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority. That is what we predict.
> "Of course, we don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority."
>
> *Socialism on Trial*

In this stacked "debate" in a bourgeois courtroom, Cannon defended the basic principles of Marxism. These principles have now been renounced by the SWP, which has come to believe along with classical social-democracy that the proletariat in "democratic" countries can simply electioneer its way to power.

Beginning in December 1974 the SWP won a series of important legal victories compelling the government to disclose some of COINTELPRO's "disruptions" against the SWP. These ex-Trotskyists' cringing prostration before the bourgeoisie was, however, as important as the Watergate climate of opinion in securing the "landmark" ruling. It was not merely that the SWP wallowed in the legalistic illusion that court decisions would seriously impede the FBI's extralegal machinations. The SWP evasively but unmistakably renounced the party's Trotskyist traditions in its testimony. The deposition by SWP organization secretary Barry Sheppard disclaimed violence in terms which preclude the right to self-defense:

> "The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity....
> "The policies and facts outlined above are in no way altered or contravened by anything that may appear in the writings of such revolutionary figures as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and others."

The SWP introduced into evidence its social-patriotic telegram of condolences on the occasion of the assassination of J.F. Kennedy:

> "The Socialist Workers Party condemns the brutal assassination of President Kennedy as an inhuman, anti-social and criminal act. We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief. .."

It also provided the government with evidence of the expulsion of its left-wing minority faction. Both the telegram and the ouster of the minority were cited in the judge's decision as proof of the SWP's "current non-violent beliefs."

"Speech crimes" laws such as the Smith Act are the bourgeoisie's attempt to criminalize what revolutionists say when they exercise their "free speech." Of course, as we explained, we do not "advocate" the "violent overthrow" of the government. But neither did the SWP, and they were clapped into jail anyway. The current climate of bourgeois opinion militates for the present against the application of the kind of "Catch 22" for which the FBI lusts: legislating the "criminality" of the communist program in order to force the left into the defensive semi-clandestine status which would then serve as a definitive self-justification for the illegal conspiracies and murderous machinations of the secret police.

For Proletarian Revolution!

The overwhelming perpetrators of violence are the bourgeoisie, with untold millions of dead, maimed and starved proletarians sacrificed on the altar of profit. It is the bourgeoisie which left ten million dead in the nationalist irrationality of World War I and then cried bloody murder when the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution claimed a handful of victims on the streets of Petrograd. The real violence came later when the counterrevolutionaries mounted a concerted war against the proletarian state.

In Russia in February 1917, the tsar could no longer rule; by November, Kerensky could no longer rule. War-ravaged Russia needed the Bolsheviks—they were Russia's best chance. Then as now it is the bourgeoisie which represents criminality and chaos and the revolution which represents law and order: real international law and the order of workers democracy. It is the revolutionists who struggle for a state which will wither away; it is the bourgeoisie which concocts an ever more grotesque terror apparatus for its oppressive state.

The FBI's vicious campaign against the SL is criminal. That the FBI has targeted the SL, lined it up in the cross-hairs of its "disruptive" artillery, marked it for the concentration camps is criminal not just in terms of the bourgeoisie's own self-serving laws. It is criminal in the largest historic sense. For the SL is a very precious commodity in its infancy; like the Bolshevik Party for Russia, the SL may be America's last best hope. ■

What Is the ADEX File?

The Spartacist League has the unhappy distinction of being one of 16 organizations singled out for speical scrutiny by the FBI's so-called ADEX "hit list." In its lawless terror rampage against the American people, the government's secret political police have added a special insult to the injury: the ADEX file was proclaimed abolished in 1974!

During the Nixon administration, the practice of keeping secret records of "subversives"—against whom no criminal activity need be proved, or often even alleged—came under fire. In 1971 Attorney General Mitchell promised that he would reduce the list to under 10,000 names. This shortened list became known as the "administrative index" (ADEX). In 1974, at the height of the Watergate revelations, FBI head L. Patrick Gray announced that the ADEX file would be dismantled entirely.

But in 1976 a politically active left-wing lawyer filed for his dossier under the Freedom of Information Act. Among other materials, he obtained his supposedly "abolished" ADEX file card, no doubt through some unusual bureaucratic error. This information was reprinted by *CounterSpy* (see illustration), a liberal/New Left magazine animated partly by former CIA agents whose aim is to impede the conspiratorial machinations of the CIA and FBI. *CounterSpy* estimates that the FBI now maintains files on 6,500,000 people!

In the post-Watergate era, exposés of the FBI's illegal and sinister conspiracies have become commonplace. Most often, the stage-managed exposures do not outrun the carefully contrived cover-ups. But sometimes "clean-ups" are proclaimed. The liberals, sunk in the blissful ignorance of complicity, are smug in their conviction that the promised "reforms" show that the "democratic process" has triumphed again. But what really happens? The government's covert operations may be reshuffled and reorganized, streamlined and prettified, renamed and swept further underground. But the FBI continues to carry out its dirty work of spying, intimidation and harassment, slander and disruption of the political and personal lives of people whose only "crime" is their political convictions.

The ADEX file is a recent atrocity in the long and ugly history of FBI list-making. In 1948 the FBI began a program of burglary of the homes and offices of left-wingers, initiating "lock studies" for its agents. It was at this time that it began what came to be known as the "Do Not File" file, which was either destroyed on a yearly basis or shuffled in a way that made it inaccessible to the uninitiated.

The McCarran Act of 1950 officially legitimized secret FBI record-keeping on "subversive" individuals. It called for the registration of organizations and individual members who "advocated violent overthrow" of the government, thereby providing by their own self-incrimination a basis for prosecution under the Smith Act as well. It authorized the preparation of "detention camps" in case of "national emergency," and the keeping of lists of those to be interned. It also provided for deportation of aliens found to be Communists at any time in their lives.

The Smith Act of 1940 had provided for the prosecution of political dissidents for "advocating" or "teaching" revolution in the U.S. and for membership in organizations deemed guilty of such "advocacy." Its first victims were the Trotskyist leaders of the SWP, who were jailed in 1943. Later the Communist Party, which had applauded the victimization of the "counterrevolutionary Trotskyites," became the law's main target.

In the heyday of the Smith Act, defendants were convicted on the basis of their libraries, as the prosecution pulled quotes from Marx or Lenin and demanded, "Do you believe in that?" This procedure was a lot simpler than framing up radicals by relying on planted "evidence" and the perjured testimony of notoriously unreliable informers and provocateurs.

The Smith Act and McCarran Act, together with the Voorhis Act which made international political association a crime, were the three-pronged weapon of legislative anti-Communism.

During the cold-war period, the FBI maintained a "Security Index" of 11,982 people, supposedly Communist leaders. Then came the "Communist Index" of 17,783 additional "members." These lists were kept at FBI national headquarters, while field offices held lists containing another 200,000 names of those considered by the FBI to constitute a danger in time of "national emergency" (Government Select Committee on Intelligence Agencies, *Final Report*, 1976, quoted in Halperin et al., *The Lawless State*, 1976).

After the cold-war period the detention lists were kept up to date with information swept up in the FBI's vacuum cleaner apparatus of agents,

continued on page 11

"Socialist" Colonel Unleashes Bloodbath in Ethiopia

Shootout at the Derg

On February 3 Ethiopia's Provisional Military Administrative Council (Derg) met in Addis Ababa to discuss policy differences among the top leaders. When the meeting was over, eight Derg members lay dead on the floor and Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam stepped away from the pile of corpses as the (currently) unchallenged leader of Ethiopia's "socialist" army.

Since then the imperialist press has been increasingly hostile to the military rulers in Addis Ababa, and in mid-February U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance announced that American arms aid had been cancelled due to "human rights violations." The Soviet bloc, meanwhile, has hailed the "revolutionary" Mengistu regime, this support culminating in Fidel Castro's visit to the Ethiopian capital in mid-March.

But as the smoke clears, it is evident that the latest power shuffle in the Derg simply consolidated the grip of one treacherous nationalist military strongman at the expense of his personal rivals. Those pro-Moscow "Communists" who see this as a "progressive" shift are only preparing their own doom when the baton passes to yet another power-hungry officer, or when Colonel Mengistu finds it to his advantage to switch alliances in order to get Arab petro dollars to bolster a sagging economy and to obtain American support against the territorial claims of Soviet-backed Somalia.

Though the palace intrigues within the military cabal that overthrew the decrepit feudalistic regime of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 remain murky, recent press accounts make it possible to sketch the rough outlines of Mengistu's coup d'état and the issues behind it. Perhaps even more important is to discern the complicated "great power" maneuvering between the U.S. and USSR over the strategically important Horn of Africa.

Keystone

Ethiopian Derg before Brig. Gen. Tafari (center) was killed. Left, strongman Mengistu, right, Lt. Col. Atnafu.

Palace Intrigue

Ever since coming to power the Derg has been wracked by personal/political rivalry, as recurring shootouts have reduced the original membership of 120 to around 60-80 today. (The names of the junta members are such a closely guarded secret that often their identities are revealed only when they are removed feet first from the ruling circle.) The first chairman, U.S.-trained General Aman Andom, was shot in an earlier (November 1974) power struggle, accused of complicity with the CIA.

In the triumvirate which replaced Andom at the head of the Derg, Colonel Mengistu was the strongest single figure. However, his road to untrammeled personal dictatorship was blocked, first by General Tafari Banti, the chief of state, and then by a group of "moderates" around Captains Almayehu and Mogus. (In the Ethiopian army, which for years received U.S. aid and training, the label "moderate" in the imperialist press can usually be taken as indicating close ties to the Pentagon.)

An account in *Le Monde* (27-28 February) cites as chief among the issues in this clique warfare traditional rivalries between graduates of the Holetta military academy (including Mengistu and his second-in-command, Atnafu Abate) and the more aristocratic Harar academy group around Tafari. A lengthy *New York Times* (1 March) report points to sharp differences between Mengistu and the "moderates" over how hard a line to take toward civilian leftists, in particular the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP).

Faced with growing unrest in the strategically placed trade unions (where the EPRP had taken over after ousting the corrupt American-trained leaders who held sway under Haile Selassie) and among land-hungry peasants, the Derg last spring replaced its original "Ethiopia first" program with one calling for the "total eradication of feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism." Simultaneously a proposal was launched—reportedly by Tafari and Major Sifay Haotc, the third-ranking member of the junta—for a "socialist" political party in order to reconcile EPRP supporters with the Derg. According to the *Times* account: "Colonel Mengistu is described as a hardliner, who would slap his revolver on the table in anger when any such settlement was proposed."

"Reorganization"

The Derg's "Politburo," a group of civilian braintrusters for Mengistu, sabotaged that scheme and tried to grab the EPRP's labor base by declaring the existing Ethiopian Confederation of Labor Unions illegal and setting up a new government-controlled federation in its place. Mengistu also controlled a special Israeli-trained terror squad, called the Nebelbal ("flame"), which beginning last July savagely persecuted and assassinated EPRP members. Sifay was executed at the same time. Evidently in response, an attempt was made to ambush Mengistu on September 22. After this failed, scores of leftist students and trade unionists were murdered (see "Anti-Communist Terror in Ethiopia," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976).

The *New York Times*, obviously supplied with detailed intelligence by "Western diplomats," reports that in November and December the Derg met almost continuously and a "reorganization" plan was worked out to remove Mengistu from the operational levers of command by elevating him to "chairman of the council of ministers," while giving increased powers to Tafari, who until then had been largely a figurehead chief of state. Almayehu and Mogus were behind this maneuver. Then, in a mass rally of 200,000 held four days before his murder, Tafari read off a long list of enemies of the revolution which notably did not include the EPRP.

According to the *Times* account, at the February 3 Derg meeting Mengistu berated Tafari and his supporters for being soft on the EPRP. He then left the room and within minutes seven Derg members were summarily executed, including Alemayehu and Mogus. Colonel Daniel Asfaw, head of security and a close associate of Mengistu, was somehow also killed in the shooting. Outside, the Nebelbal division was posted at the perimeter of the palace and remained stationary when the shooting began.

Within 24 hours the hot-tempered colonel was addressing another huge rally in Revolution Square, waving a red handkerchief in each hand. And a week later he had himself proclaimed chief of state, head of national defense, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and chairman of the Derg's general assembly, central committee and standing committee. But his rule is far from secure: "He is said to have lost the support of much of the army, garrisoned in distant towns to fight wars that are going badly. Potential assassins are everywhere.... For security reasons he has moved into the palace once occupied by Emperor Haile Selassie," reports the *Times*.

Diplomatic Battle Over the Horn

Immediately following the February 3 showdown, Mengistu reportedly received telegrams of congratulations from Moscow, Havana and Peking. However, there are signs that the new regime is leaning toward the Kremlin rather than the Heavenly Palace. On 25 February, the Soviet news agency Tass published a dispatch quoting Atnafu as saying in Yugoslavia that Ethiopia would henceforth obtain its arms from the "socialist camp."

Moscow has long sought a foothold in the straits of Bab el-Mandab which divide the Red Sea from the Indian Ocean. To date its main successes have been diplomatic alliances with the demagogic military dictatorship in Somalia (which describes itself as a "scientific socialist" regime) and the nationalist "Peoples Democratic Republic of [South] Yemen" (which postures as "Marxist-Leninist").

Repeated attempts to woo Haile Selassie came to naught. The "Lion of Judah" was received with great pomp in Moscow in 1959 and again in 1967 and 1970. The USSR granted a 40 million ruble credit to Ethiopia and signed accords for construction of a technical school and refinery. However, the U.S. effectively countered by pouring in millions to build up the Ethiopian army.

Then in 1971, following Mao's reconciliation with U.S. imperialism, China granted the feudalist monarchy a $90 million loan. On that occasion the Peking bureaucracy praised Haile Selassie's contributions "to the promotion of the cause of anti-imperialist unity" (*Peking Information*, 20 October 1971). And this to the despot who supplied Ethiopian troops to the imperialist UN interventions in Korea and the Congo!

Having struck out with the "king of kings," the Kremlin consequently supported Somalia's irredentist claims to Ogaden province in eastern Ethiopia

continued on page 8

Die Internationale

May Day march of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party.

For International Labor Solidarity!

Avenge Sharpeville and Soweto!

ANC

One victim of Vorster regime.

The following Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League leaflet was distributed at several marches around the country last weekend in commemoration of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa.

Following the bloody police massacre of hundreds of young black protesters in the turbulent upheavals which began in South Africa last summer, labor militants and leftists in the U.S. and throughout the world expressed their revulsion for apartheid rule in numerous rallies, marches, petitions, boycotts and labor actions. This weekend, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) is organizing demonstrations in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and a number of other cities to mark the anniversary of another apartheid bloodbath—Sharpeville, 21 March 1960, when 72 black men, women and children were slaughtered for peacefully protesting the notorious pass laws which subject the non-white majority in South Africa to police-state controls.

Regrettably, this campaign, based as it is on a liberal program of moralistic protest, will not advance revolutionary struggle against racial oppression in the U.S. or South Africa. Rather, it is an act of consummate cynicism by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which created NSCAR. The "coalition" was built as a vehicle for the SWP to cozy up to pro-busing liberals at the height of the struggle over school integration in Boston; but as the black "establishment" began to take a dive on busing, NSCAR found its "mass movement" dwindling. Now it hopes to stave off organizational disintegration by tapping mass sentiment against white-supremacist rule in southern Africa. By shelving almost all activities in favor of busing and orienting to an apparently "safe" issue far from home, SWP/NSCAR hope to win back the support of fickle liberals who want to duck the crucial fight for school integration.

ANC

Students in the streets of Soweto last summer.

Liberal Fallout

But in chasing the will o' the wisp of liberal popularity, the reformists must carefully tailor their propaganda to exclude a proletarian revolutionary perspective for the struggle against apartheid. Their aim is to attract endorsements from black Democrats such as Congressman Ron Dellums (one of the sponsors of the "March 26 Coalition Against Apartheid," the NSCAR-initiated vehicle for this weekend's actions). In order not to offend the likes of Dellums, the official march slogans call only for "black majority rule" in South Africa, a demand which has even received lip service from Jimmy Carter's UN ambassador, Andrew Young.

In addition, NSCAR/SWP must ride herd on the occasional nationalist elements they have attracted from time to time, lest they get out of hand and annoy NAACP liberals. In building for its March 26 demonstrations, NSCAR has sponsored a national tour by Soweto student leaders Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo. In his speeches and interviews, Mashinini engaged in virulent anti-white demagogy and outright race-baiting, which the SWP dutifully covered up in its press accounts. But then the South African militants hit the SWP where it lives: they attacked the traditional petty-bourgeois nationalist movements, the liberal-oriented, Stalinist-backed African National Congress (ANC) and the violently anti-communist Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

This caused an uproar among NSCAR's periphery, as the Communist Party (CP) objected to the criticisms of the ANC. Ever sensitive to the whims of its liberal milieu, the SWP called Mashinini and Seatlholo to order in a February 26 NSCAR meeting in New York. SWPer Vince Eagan remarked peremptorily: "While they have differences over some questions with the ANC and PAC, these have nothing to do with the U.S. tours" (*Militant*, 11 March). Things had apparently gone too far, however, and at a meeting this week at Harvard to build support for the Saturday demonstration a spokesman for the CP youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, announced that all supporters of the ANC were pulling out of the March 26 Coalition.

Appealing to the Imperialist "Conscience"

Parroting the liberals, Stalinists and nationalists, with whom they hoped to "unite" before their March 26 Coalition blew apart, NSCAR puts forward the moralistic position of boycotting everything South African. This boils down to the assertion that the most effective action that U.S. workers and students can take to aid anti-apartheid struggles is to refrain from eating sardines, attending Broadway musicals from South Africa and buying Kruggerrand gold coins.

NSCAR's main slogans for this weekend's actions—"U.S. Interests Out of South Africa" and "Black Majority Rule Now"—amount to a call for the utopian and ultimately reactionary gimmick of an open-ended, total boycott on principle of South Africa... by the imperialists who invest there! These demands might appear to some well-intentioned militants, unfamiliar with the SWP's policy of deliberately selecting demands in order to appeal for liberal support, as posing the question of black liberation in South Africa. After all, why shouldn't all supporters of majority rule unite?

They cannot all unite because their perspectives are mutually contradictory. Only revolutionary struggle by the working people can liberate the oppressed from imperialist domination. The SWP/NSCAR "single-issue" strategy is a program directly counter to the interests of the non-white proletariat (African, "coloured" [mixed race] and Indian) of South Africa. The essence of this strategy is to pressure the American imperialists to use the levers of their economic and political power to force the white South African ruling class to create a non-racialist bourgeois-democratic state.

In the first place, this program *cannot* accomplish its stated goal. The super-exploitation of black labor in South Africa nets a tidy 17 percent profit for imperialist concerns, perhaps the highest return on investments world-wide. It is obviously utopian to expect that the "multinational" corporations, whose business is to jack up their profits by exploiting labor on the best-possible terms (for them), will turn their noses up at a 17 percent take because racism is morally repugnant.

Moreover, the South African bourgeoisie rules an industrially advanced economy, backed by massive gold reserves and nuclear capacity, and with close ties to British, French and West German capital as well as the U.S. It has a wide margin for economic self-sufficiency in the unlikely event of an effective international boycott; and, in any case, the imposition of such a boycott would reflect not new-found moral sensitivity among the imperialists but rather *sharpening trade rivalries building toward a new world war*. But since the SWP calls on the U.S. army to "protect" black people in Boston, it would not be illogical for it to demand an American invasion of South Africa!

Even supposing for a moment that the impotent consumer boycott tactic were to work, it would not advance the struggle; it could in fact create enormous obstacles to the revolutionary struggles necessary to liberate the black masses. The central issue on South Africa is how the oppressed non-white working people can wrest power from the white ruling class. Certainly, it is not through the withdrawal of foreign corporations and a contraction of international trade. That would only spell increased unemployment of black and "coloured" workers and a weakening of their social power, which has been wielded with increasing confidence in the wave of strikes since 1973. Does NSCAR really believe massive layoffs and forcible return to the "bantustan" wastelands (Vorster's "solution" to black unemployment in the cities) will aid South African blacks? In reality, this is a program for the consolidation of a desperate, nuclear-armed white-supremacist laager.

International Labor Solidarity, Not Liberal Moralizing!

The methods of the proletariat are based on a strategy of independently mobilizing the working masses to take power. It is necessary to militantly fight for democratic rights in South Africa—*smashing* apartheid through struggles to win full trade-union and political rights for non-whites, to destroy the industrial color bar, contract labor, pass laws and the whole serpent's nest of apartheid practices, as well as for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. But these demands cannot be realized outside the struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government. NSCAR, on the other hand, refuses to touch these questions because they threaten its political bloc with the ANC and bourgeois liberals in the U.S.

Nor can the SWP/NSCAR, who now pose as consistent opponents of the Pretoria regime, hide the fact that they were guilty of criminal abstention during the U.S.-backed, South African invasion of Angola last year. At that time they raised the slogan of "U.S. Hands Off Angola," but categorically refused to take sides in the military confrontation between the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA forces and the South Africa/FNLA/UNITA alliance.

The SWP/NSCAR formula of total consumer/imperialist boycott of South Africa is an attempt to gain instant popularity by taking a position just to the left of mainstream bourgeois liberalism, rather than providing a program to lead the working people forward to revolutionary struggle that alone can bring down the white-supremacist regimes of southern Africa. To their utopian/reactionary moralism, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) counterposes a program of international labor solidarity. We call for a strategy based on mobilizing the organized power of the working class: a labor boycott of all military cargo to South Africa, and for unions of imperialist corporations with investments in South Africa to demand that the employers recognize black unions at those enterprises.

Class-struggle demands such as these are not mere "pie-in-the-sky," as the SWP/NSCAR reformists will contend. In San Francisco, ILWU Local 10 has repeatedly called on the union to implement a labor boycott of South African cargo; in Chicago, UAW Local 6 has gone on record demanding that Ford, GM and Chrysler recognize non-white unions at their South African plants. In both cases, a key role in

continued on page 8

"Trotskyism" Added to Sins of "Gang of Four"

Pro-Peking Spokesman Repudiates Cultural Revolution

The Chiang Ching group was generally regarded, with good reason, as the most fervent and loyal supporters of Mao Tse-tung within the Chinese leadership. Thus the violent purge of the "gang of four" as "bourgeois counterrevolutionaries" immediately after the Great Helmsman's death was received by the world Maoist movement with shock, dismay, dissent and outright opposition. In West Europe "critical Maoist" groups such as the West German Kommunistischer Bund, the Swedish Förbundet Kommunist and the French Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs have declared that the purge of Chiang Ching signaled the victory of "capitalist roadism." In the U.S. the philistine-workerist Revolutionary Communist Party has been

Bureau/Sygma

Wall poster denouncing the "Gang of Four."

moving toward an open break with Peking and is probably waiting only for the official restoration of Teng Hsiao-ping to make it formal.

While the attitudes of "fraternal Marxist-Leninist" parties have absolutely no influence in Peking politics, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy finds it useful (if sometimes embarrassing) to have loyal, active supporters in the capitalist world. Therefore Peking is expending a certain propaganda effort to convince doubters and critics among its erstwhile supporters that the Chiang Ching group got what it deserved.

Repudiating the Cultural Revolution

The most significant defense of the Hua regime published in the U.S. is a pamphlet, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Gang of Four'," put out by Books New China. This pamphlet is a translation of an article by one Hsin Chi in the December 1976 issue of *The Seventies*, a Chinese-language Hong Kong magazine which serves as an unofficial organ for the Peking regime.

Since the Chiang Ching group came to power through the Cultural Revolution and since many of their now victorious enemies were the victims of that period, Hsin is impelled to in effect repudiate the Cultural Revolution—or, at least, its "revolutionary" aspects. Hsin informs us that "Mao Tse-tung viewed the results of the Cultural Revolution as seventy percent success and thirty percent failure...." Were Mao's severe criticisms of the Cultural Revolution made known to the Chinese people before now? No, because (you guessed it):

> "China's newspapers have never mentioned the faults of the Cultural Revolution. I think that this is because the 'gang of four' controlled the mass media, and that the major mistakes of the Cultural Revolution were linked in some ways to their damaging interference."

And the 30 percent of the Cultural Revolution that Mao didn't like? "Armed conflicts and the attacks on and mistreatment of a large number of cadres, which violated the Party's longstanding policy." Not only does Hsin condemn violence against the veteran party cadres, but he opposes the removal of most of them from authority:

> "The Sixteen-Point Decision concerning the Cultural Revolution also stated that it is necessary to achieve the unity of more than 95 percent of the cadres. The majority of the cadres who carried out Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line did it unconsciously. They were merely following orders from their superiors."

Hsin would have limited the Cultural Revolution to the ouster of Liu followed by "sincere self-criticism" by the party and state apparachiks.

Hsin's revisionist views should greatly upset the many Western Maoists who were won to the cause precisely because of the Cultural Revolution. It was not the palace coup against Liu in July-August 1966, but the subsequent mobilization of student youth (the Red Guards) against the party/government establishment that was seen by Western radicals as the very essence of the Cultural Revolution, as proof that it was an "anti-bureaucratic, revolutionary" campaign. It was the *appearance* of the overthrow of the governing apparatus from below that distinguished the Cultural Revolution from a typical Stalinist bureaucratic purge or previous Maoist "rectification" campaigns. It was the sight of Red Guards dragging the foreign minister through Peking in a dunce cap which caused New Left radicals in the West to view the Chinese Maoists as their political kith and kin.

In arguing that the Chiang Ching group violated Mao's policy by attacking more than five percent of the cadre, Hsin cites the 8 August 1966 Decision of the CPC Central Committee which officially launched the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." As everyone in China knows, this document was not the last word in Cultural Revolution policy. An authoritative editorial in the 22 January 1967 issue of *People's Daily* puts forth a rather different line:

> "Right from the beginning, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been a struggle for the seizure of power. This great cultural revolution means precisely the arousing of millions of people to liberate themselves and to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road ...
> "Power of every sort controlled by the representatives of the bourgeoisie must be seized!"
>
> —*Peking Review*, 27 January 1967

In reality, power was not seized by the revolutionary masses nor even by Chiang Ching's Red Guards. It was

Atkins/Contact

Hua Kuo-feng

seized by Lin Piao's People's Liberation Army officer corps, who in 1968 dispersed the credulous Red Guards by force and violence. The Cultural Revolution shifted power, for a time, from one grouping within the Chinese bureaucracy to another.

Even more important for Hsin than revising the Cultural Revolution is proving that Mao opposed the "gang of four," although everyone in the world (including all Maoists) believed otherwise. Hsin claims that the "gang" tricked Mao and only fully revealed their counterrevolutionary nature after he died. However, so as not to make the Great Helmsman seem too gullible, Hsin asserts:

> "Since the beginning of the year [1976], as Mao's health was deteriorating, he had decided to deal with them. But his advanced age made it impossible for him to do it directly; he had to rely on Hua Kuo-feng and others to deal with the problem."

This supposedly authoritative pamphlet provides not a single documented quote that Mao opposed the Chiang Ching clique or even seriously criticized it. Rather Hsin cites the ever-convenient wall posters for Mao's anti-"gang" remarks. And these statements have the character of palace gossip, such as one might pick up from a chauffeur or maid in the Forbidden City.

However, even if a veritable document by Mao seriously criticizing Chiang Ching were available, this would be irrelevant. Mao played a *bonapartist* role within the Chinese bureaucracy, maneuvering between its various cliques and power blocs. He simultaneously encouraged and supported the Chiang Ching clique and criticized and opposed it as the occasion warranted. But there is one thing which no pro-Peking propagandist can deny. Mao was far more hostile to Teng Hsiao-ping, whose return to power is imminent, than he ever was to Chiang Ching.

Rehabilitating Teng

The New Left, "critical Maoist" *Guardian*, true to its political spinelessness, has come out both for supporting Hua's purge of the "gang" and for offering an olive branch to those who are still soft on Chiang Ching. It views the purge as a "legitimate struggle against left dogmatism" but denies that the Chiang Ching group were "capitalist-roaders," much less "bourgeois counterrevolutionaries."

To show its fair-mindedness toward the present rulers of the Heavenly Palace, the *Guardian* has opened its pages to a series of articles by Pat and Roger Howard, two Canadians now working at the Guangdon Institute of Foreign Languages in Canton, who unsurprisingly present the views of the new Hua regime. The Howards' articles are more effective than official Peking propaganda because they avoid the scholastic nonsense of Mao Thought.

Rather they focus on the real crimes of the Chiang Ching clique, particularly inhuman brutality toward heroic veteran party cadre like the guerrilla chief Ho Lung. Thus the Howards evoke sympathy for the victims of the "gang." Having demonstrated that the Chiang Ching clique committed violence against innocent persons and disrupted the economy, the Howards evidently believe they have proved their case. As orthodox Mao-Stalinists they cannot

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Red Guard demonstration in 1967 during Cultural Revolution.

comprehend the difference between bureaucratic criminals in a deformed workers state and bourgeois counter-revolutionaries.

However, the Howards' purpose is not so much to attack the Chiang Ching group as to justify the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping. In this purpose, they show real understanding of their audience. The return to power of Teng, far more so than even the purge of Chiang Ching, will be viewed by Western radicals as the overthrow of Maoism in China. Many Maoists who could accept the Cultural Revolution activist Hua Kuo-feng cannot stomach Teng Hsiao-ping—twice purged as a "capitalist-roader"—as the most powerful political figure in People's China.

The Howards begin by arguing that Teng was a right deviationist but not a "capitalist-roader":

> "...we began to collect and translate quoted statements of his that appeared in the press. We planned to use this material to write an article explaining the movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping. However, after several weeks, we gave up the project. Why? Because we found the evidence—hundreds of quotes taken out of context—too flimsy and unconvincing."
>
> —*Guardian*, 9 March

The Howards, needless to say, cite wall posters indicating that Mao shared their views on Teng:

> "Since the arrests of the four it has been revealed in the wall posters that Chairman Mao had stated clearly that in his estimation the contradiction with Teng Hsiao-ping was one among the people."

And here is the kicker:

> "Will it be an indication that Teng's deviationist line has become predominant in the central committee if he is rehabilitated? Certainly not, if—and only if—he makes sincere and thorough going self-criticism of his mistakes.... If Teng Hsiao-ping is able to analyze for us the nature and source of his errors, he will be able to make a considerable contribution to the revolutionary process in China."

It is typical of Stalinist sycophants like the Howards that they are always prepared to vilify those they praised yesterday and praise those they vilified yesterday. For that reason, as revolutionary human material the Howards and those like them are worthless.

The Spectre of Trotskyism

Among the endless attacks on the "gang of four" coming out of China is a front-page article in the Peking daily *Jenmin Ji Pao* (28 January) by one Chung Lien likening the Chiang Ching group to the Trotskyists. The Peking-loyal October League, ever desirous to smear its rivals, like the Revolutionary Communist Party, with accusations of apostasy, reprinted excerpts in the 21 February issue of the *Call*.

The *Jenmin Ji Pao* article is expectedly on the intellectual level of the 1930's Moscow show trials. It contains nothing but gross, obvious falsifications and imbecilic self-contradictions. No serious Maoist group in the West would dare write such a stupid and brazenly dishonest anti-Trotskyist polemic. If they did, it could only discredit them among any questioning members and contacts who had access to Trotsky's writings. This atrocious article could only be written in a country where Trotskyist literature is inaccessible.

The article tries to equate the "gang's" economic policies with those of the Left Opposition during the late 1920's, which it totally distorts:

> "The Soviet Union, then in a period of economic rehabilitation, achieved marked successes in developing industry and agriculture and improving the livelihood of the workers and peasants even though there were still some problems. The Trotskyites, however, issued an anti-party declaration in which they prophesied an inevitable, grave economic crisis and the fall of Soviet power. They did not make a single definite proposal for the improvement of industry and agriculture or for the betterment of the conditions of the working people."

The article tries to associate Trotskyism with the Chiang Ching clique's advocacy of austerity and supposed disinterest in improving the economy.

However, the 1927 "Platform of the Joint Opposition" is replete with definite proposals to improve agriculture and industry and raise the living standards of the workers and peasants. For example, it called for the removal of all taxes from the poorest 40-50 percent of peasant families, no tax increase for middle peasants, and higher taxes on and forced loans from the wealthiest farmers (kulaks). In industry, the "Platform" called for a higher rate of investment, the extension of workers control and increased wages in line with higher productivity. These economic policies were set in the framework of the fundamental demand for the restoration of soviet democracy.

The economic crisis which the Trotskyist opposition predicted did, in fact, occur. Between 1927 and 1929 the state procurement of agricultural produce fell from 10.6 to 9.5 million tons. In response Stalin's forced collectivization of agriculture led to the murder and starvation of millions of peasants. The forced-draft industrialization led to a severe fall in the workers' living standard, which did not return to the 1929 level until the early 1950's!

Chung's attempts to liken Trotskyism to the Chiang Ching clique are so self-contradictory that a five-year-old child could see through them. It is well-known, admitted even by Stalinists, that Trotsky denied the possibility of socialism (the first stage of communist society) in one country; the Chiang Ching clique, however, allegedly "wanted to realize communism overnight."

continued on page 8

Chiang Ching

Mao and Chiang Ching in Yenan Province in 1947.

Sentenced to Life Imprisonment

All-White Jury Convicts Assata Shakur

After a six-week trial in which a vendetta-minded prosecution accused her of "executing" a state trooper, former Black Panther Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) was found guilty March 26 by an all-white jury in New Brunswick, New Jersey, on two charges of murder and six counts of assault. She was immediately sentenced to life imprisonment and joins her comrade Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squires), one of the Panther 21 who was convicted earlier in this same 1973 turnpike shootout case and is now doing life plus 24-30 years in a Trenton maximum security prison.

The state of New Jersey has held Shakur prisoner for the past four years, while trying time and again to pin a frame-up conviction. Now it has finally succeeded in pushing through a racist railroad job on the woman it labeled the "soul of the Black Liberation Army."

The jury's "guilty" verdict confirmed the sharp rightward shift in the U.S. social climate, graphically demonstrated in the recent acquittals by all-white juries of two New York City cops who, in separate cases, shot down point-blank and killed unarmed black youths. The Shakur conviction also falls on the heels of the second murder frame-up of Rubin Carter and John Artis, in the face of sworn admissions by the state's "witnesses" that they had lied on the stand; and the outrageous conviction of Wendy Yoshimura, despite the lack of even a shred of evidence, on trumped-up charges of possession of explosives.

In Shakur's case, this black militant was manifestly denied even a semblance of a "jury of her peers," and the hanging judge denied a defense motion for a change of trial site. Yet a National Jury Project survey showed that due to the atmosphere of racist hysteria drummed up by sensationalist news accounts at the time of her arrest, 70 to 80 percent of the Middlesex County, New Jersey, population was convinced of Shakur's guilt.

As to the "execution" charge, the defense pointed out that the state troopers had flagged down the car in which former Panthers Shakur, Acoli and Zayd Malik Shakur (James Costan) were riding, then started blazing away with their guns. Zayd Shakur was murdered by the cops and a trooper killed in the crossfire, *with a bullet from a police revolver*. In a classic example of American-style capitalist justice, the two black militants who survived the attack were then charged with and convicted of the murder of the cop and of their own comrade!

Assata Shakur was so badly wounded herself that she nearly died, yet the cops were, of course, charged with nothing. And the defense presented medical evidence showing that Shakur's wounds were received while she was sitting the back seat of the car with her hands over her head.

At the beginning of the trial, Lenox Hinds, national director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, said he

continued on page 11

Derg...

(continued from page 4)

and kept its options open with the secessionist Eritrean forces.

Eritrean Nationalists Used as Diplomatic Football

The ups and downs in Russian and Chinese aid to the Eritrean independence fighters are a damning indictment of the opportunist foreign policies of these bureaucratic, anti-working-class regimes—and an exposé of the impotence of petty-bourgeois nationalists who can only exist on handouts from one or another reactionary patron.

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) began its struggle in 1961, the more leftist Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF) emerging in 1970. In the late 1960's the rebels received aid from China. This, however, was discontinued after December 1970 when Peking established friendly relations with Addis Ababa. Thereupon the USSR took up the slack by furnishing arms via South Yemen just across the straits. An article in the French Communist Party newspaper *L'Humanité*, (translated in the CPUSA's *Daily World*, 22 March 1975) boasted that "the Eritrean liberation struggle received important aid in the past 13 years from some progressive [i.e., temporarily pro-Soviet] Arab and African countries...."

"After Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed," the article went on, "it might have been thought that the situation was ripe for change." The Kremlin was, as always, eager to curry favor with a left-talking nationalist regime, so "this aid [to the Eritrean independence fighters] was abruptly cut off the moment the Ethiopian military...proclaimed themselves in favor of a socialist path of development."

But for the ELF/EPLF the battle continued, now directed against the "socialist" army of Andom/Tafari/Mengistu that continued to assert the imperial claims of the Amharic dynasty. Consequently the Eritreans were forced to turn to Libya and Saudi Arabia for aid; and, not surprisingly, while the "Marxist-Leninist" EPLF had been in the ascendancy during the period of Moscow aid, now it was eclipsed by the Muslim traditionalist ELF.

L'Humanité concluded: "While these contradictory elements cannot cast doubt on the right of the Eritreans to independence, at the same time they do raise the question: in regard to Eritrea, are we confronted with a 'Bangladesh' which is turning into a 'Biafra'?" Behind the elliptical analogies the Stalinist logic is clear. The Bangladesh secession from Pakistan was "progressive" because the Pakistani government was pro-Chinese and the Indian government (the new overlords of "independent" Bangladesh) was pro-Soviet. However, the 1967 struggle of the Ibo people of Biafra against a genocidal war of extermination by Nigeria was "reactionary" because the federal Nigerian regime was on good terms with Moscow.

The forlorn Eritrean nationalists made a last appeal to Moscow's hollow internationalist pretensions at the February 1976 Soviet party congress, where the ELF delegation's memorandum praised the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the "socialist bloc" for having "always stood beside the right of all peoples to self-determination." Then it begged plaintively, "We hope that this principled stand will be extended to include our Eritrean people" (*Eritrean Revolution*, January-April 1976). But the Kremlin resolved its "principled stand" in favor of the Derg.

This is to be expected from nationalist bureaucracies which are guided not by the Leninist principle of support to the right of self-determination but solely by passing diplomatic considerations. Moscow decides whether to turn on or off the aid spigot according to the foreign policy options of the oppressor state. This is hardly surprising coming from the USSR, which in pursuit of cabinet posts for the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in the post-World War II Rome government, supported Italian control over Eritrea, only changing its position when the PCI was excluded from the cabinet after the 1948 elections!

As for the "anti-imperialist" Eritrean nationalists, they too are singing a different tune these days. A year ago the ELF attacked "the immorality and falsehood of the American campaign against Cuba's 'intervention' in Angola and the defamation of Cuban internationalist assistance to the Angolan Revolution." But now the same group claims that Cuba has agreed to supply troops to put down the Eritrean rebellion, and appealed to Jimmy Carter, "a true man of principles, to help head off an external intervention" (*New York Times*, 8 March).

Red Sea an "Arab Lake"?

The current Soviet stand on Ethiopia was faithfully interpreted in an article by Tom Foley in the 8 January 1977 *Daily World*. Without once mentioning Eritrea's right of self-determination, he comments: "Ethiopia's one outlet to the sea is Eritrea province, which has a long Red Sea coastline. Without Eritrea, Ethiopia would be a landlocked state and its revolutionary developments would be much less influential in Africa and the Middle East."

Foley trumpets the USSR's recent diplomatic success in the region, noting: "So the imperialists are faced with a potential Ethiopia-Somalia-South Yemen bloc of revolutionary states which, acting together, could have a decisive influence on East Africa, North Africa and the oil-rich Arabian Peninsula." The imperialists are also concerned with this possibility, however, and thus the U.S. has recently strengthened its ties to the Numeiry regime in the neighboring Sudan. The Khartoum government is simultaneously aiding the ELF/EPLF in Eritrea and providing a refuge for another anti-Derg guerrilla force, the Ethiopian Democratic Union, made up of dispossessed feudalists of the old regime.

Last month the Sudanese regime signed a joint treaty with Egypt and Syria affirming their determination to maintain Arab dominance over the Red Sea. While partly directed against Israeli demands for "international" (imperialist) control of the straits of Bab el-Mandab, this is also a threat to (predominantly Christian, non-Arab) Ethiopia. Addis Ababa, at least, took the treaty seriously enough to issue a warning that it would resist all efforts to "make the Red Sea an Arab lake."

The U.S. is evidently hoping to break the Muslim states of Somalia and South Yemen (formerly Aden) away from the USSR through offers of extensive aid and credits. The *New York Times* (15 March) reports that appeals to Somalia by Arab states "include urging that Soviet technicians and military advisers be expelled as they were by Egypt." It sees some hope for success, since "the oil producing Arabs led by the Saudis and Kuwaitis have recently made heavy investments in Southern Yemen, which while still the only pro-Soviet country on the Arab peninsula has suddenly and sharply softened its antagonism to its anti-Soviet neighbors."

The issue will come to a head when Ethiopia's only other outlet to the sea, the French-controlled port of Djibouti and its surrounding hinterland (a vest-pocket colony called the Territory of the Afars and Issas) become independent in June. The territory has a sizable Somali population and an active nationalist movement advocating unification with Somalia. Should this happen, an Ethiopia cut off from the sea by a pro-Soviet Somalia could quickly flipflop back into Washington's lap. Or, should Somalia prove attentive to the siren song of the Saudi/Kuwaiti oil sheiks, a pro-Soviet Ethiopia could suddenly find itself surrounded by pro-American Somalia, South Yemen and Yemen and with Arab-financed Eritrean rebels increasingly effective against a demoralized Ethiopian army.

Clearly, Mengistu hoped that Castro's visit to both Ethiopian and Somali capitals could help to avert this dangerous predicament and restrain elements in the Somali regime who want to exploit the (for them) presently favorable situation to "unify all the Somalis." But whatever the outcome, it is clear that the "revolutionary alliance" hailed by Foley is anything but stable and could easily go the way of Egypt, where a decade of painstaking Soviet diplomacy and several billion rubles of aid and sophisticated weaponry were unceremoniously dumped by Sadat in 1971.

The blind followers of Moscow and Peking have shown their true reactionary colors in the cynical maneuvering over the Horn of Africa. The Ethiopian EPRP, however, is now left without any hope of an international mentor. Previously seeking to remain available to either Moscow or Peking, its terminology was Guevarist/Castroist. But now Castro himself is playing a key role in the Kremlin's intricate wheeling and dealing between the strutting bonapartes in Ethiopia (where they are shooting down anyone who claims to be a communist) and Somalia (where local leftists have been kept in jail for years).

Pro-Moscow papers are now extolling the "revolutionary" measures of the "new" Derg, such as "arming the workers." What this really amounts to is to prepare a massive bloodletting of leftist students and workers. Already at the beginning of March the press reported that more than 200 presumed EPRP supporters had disappeared or been shot in the wake of Mengistu's coup. The Stalinists who hail every Soviet- or Chinese-backed "progressive" dictator, the New Lefters who cheer Cuba's "revolutionary foreign policy" of backing "anti-imperialist" despots in Africa are apologists for this bloodbath.

As we have already written in the past, a Trotskyist party in Ethiopia would doubtless recruit many dedicated militants from the EPRP. "But to come over to the position of permanent revolution they would have to break sharply with *all* forms of Stalinism; rather than seeing their struggle within narrow national limits of one of the most economically backward countries of the world, they would have to fight to build a *world* party of socialist revolution, a reforged Fourth International." ■

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(continued from page 5)

fighting for these policies and for their implementation has been played by class-struggle oppositionists within the unions.

The mass struggles against apartheid and imperialism in southern Africa demand the solidarity of all revolutionaries. Militant protests must demand the immediate release of all anti-apartheid prisoners in Vorster's jails. But the present protest movement underlines the grievous need for revolutionary leadership. The liberal-Stalinist ANC joins gold magnate Harry Oppenheimer and the white opposition United Party in calling for a white coalition government which would convene a national convention to draw up a new "multi-racial" constitution (i.e., *not* universal suffrage). Militant youth of the "black consciousness movement" have rejected this plan for "reforming" white supremacy, but could counterpose nothing but the idealization of spontaneous revolts, blithely ignoring the fact that the anti-apartheid fighters are qualitatively weaker militarily than Vorster's police and army.

Tailoring its program to match that of the liberals (troops to Boston, black majority rule and moralistic boycotts), SWP/NSCAR has nothing to offer but protest marches, rotten-bloc coalitions (which occasionally even fall apart before their joint actions) and ducking issues (such as busing) which have evoked a hard-line "backlash" and would therefore be unpopular with its sought-for wishy-washy liberal allies. These reformists are a roadblock in the struggle against racial oppression, from Boston to South Africa. Join the SL/SYL! ■

Cultural Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

And this is why the Chiang Ching group are like the Trotskyists!

Why do Peking propagandists bother to drag Trotskyism into their attacks on the "gang of four" at all? The threat of Trotskyism would appear to be very remote from the present concerns of the Chinese bureaucracy. In Russia, Stalin defeated and suppressed the Left Opposition 50 years ago. Trotsky himself was assassinated on Stalin's orders in 1940. No group espousing Trotskyism exists in China. What the Chinese people know about Trotskyism comes entirely from the regime's own lying and slanderous propaganda.

The core of the Trotskyist program is proletarian political revolution against the privileged, oppressive and nationalist bureaucracies ruling in the Soviet bloc and China. The Stalinist regimes, however much they lie and distort, comprehend that Trotskyism stands for internal communist revolution against them. The Chinese bureaucracy under Mao and Chou, and under Hua and Teng, knows full well it is removed from the Chinese masses whom it governs, in the last analysis, through military terror. The bureaucrats sense the profound discontent within the toiling masses who strive for a social order which is just, egalitarian and democratic and opens the path toward world socialism. The rulers in the Heavenly Palace fear revolution from below, and know that their bureaucratic opponents do also; that is why they raise the spectre of Trotskyism. ■

An Exchange

Vengeance and Proletarian Justice

Rahway, N.J
January 18, 1977

Dear comrades:

This letter is in response to your reply to David Herreshoff's meandering and inchoate criticism of your stand on prison and capital punishment. First of all let me unequivocally state that I agree with the Marxist aim of a classless society—which will necessarily be stateless and prison-free.

The sense I get from your reply to Herreshoff is that the Spartacist League is against capital punishment *in principle*. In the first paragraph of your response you write "Neither Herreshoff nor Marx nor the Bolsheviks nor the Spartacist League advocates forced labor prisons or punishment."

The SL has in the past called for the extradition of Nixon to Vietnam to stand trial for war crimes against the Vietnamese. I enthusiastically support this demand But it must be more than obvious that if Nixon were tried in a court of law by his Vietnamese victims he would be found guilty and given capital punishment. The SL has also called for the extradition of "ex"-Nazis Artuković, Trifa, and Menten to Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Poland respectively to stand trial for their war crimes. Surely it must be just as obvious that if this were done they too would be given the death penalty in payment of their crimes. I also support their extradition and subsequent fates.

How then can you say that the working-class can never be motivated by revenge against its most despicable enemies? What would the trials of the above four be if not revenge, which in my opinion is most justified?

Another case you might consider is that of Roman Malinovsky. Malinovsky was a Tsarist police spy and agent-provocateur. He was also a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party, as well as the Bolshevik floor-leader in the Tsar's Duma (to further pile irony upon irony!). In his capacity as police spy he was responsible for the execution and exile of dozens of Bolsheviks. Around World War I he grew tired of his role and retired to Paris, I believe, to live high off the hog on his ill-gotten money. After the Bolshevik Revolution he evidently had some change of heart, brought on no doubt by the Bolsheviks' opening of the Tsarist secret police files which exposed his role. He wrote to Lenin asking for permission to return to Russia to make amends. He was told he could return. Upon arrival he was arrested, tried and rightfully executed! If this wasn't Bolshevik revenge upon this spy-murderer I don't know what is!

Would not a victorious socialist revolution in the U.S. mete out ultimate justice to (among many many others) cops who cold-bloodedly kill ten year old black kids under the pretext that the latter were toting pistols, rifles, grenades or whatever occurs to the Vyshinsky-like minds of police dept. heads? What about those who ordered the atom-bombing of Nagasaki or Hiroshima, or the napalming of Vietnam? Would these escape justice? I find this a bit hard to accept

In short all these examples (and *WV* readers could easily add to the list)—Nixon, Nazis, killer-cops, police-spies, etc., etc. *ad nauseum*—are cases where proletarian justice is but organized revenge (justified). If you oppose the death penalty on principle you must oppose on principle the extradition of Nixon, Artuković, Trifa, Menten, et. al., because in their cases extradition means death.

Comradely,
A.G.

WV replies: Comrade A.G. raises decent and valid concerns, but he seems to fear that Marxist opposition to capital punishment renders us helpless to defend ourselves against murderous reaction after the victorious proletarian revolution. Saying we oppose the death penalty "in principle," he ascribes to us the views of pacifists: "thou shalt not kill." In contrast to religious hypocrites, this is not a commandment for revolutionaries.

On the contrary, self defense is a cardinal commandment of the workers movement. It is the first responsibility of the dictatorship of the proletariat to take those measures necessary to consolidate workers rule against counterrevolutionaries. But A.G. confuses these extraordinary measures with the functions of a judicial code. The executions ordered by revolutionary tribunals are *not* capital punishment. Our first article on the death penalty ("Abolish the Death Penalty!" *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976) explained this relationship:

> "The Bolsheviks carried out revolutionary terror in defense of their new state. For this task not only the Red Army but the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) was required. The war against counterrevolution was understood as a temporary episode which would need temporary and drastic measures. But the penal code was a more permanent feature of the proletarian state. The Cheka was set up as a temporary instrument reflecting the necessity to consolidate and defend soviet power against bourgeois restoration and imperialist invasion. The penal code embodied the Bolsheviks' expectations that the securing of soviet power and the extension of the revolution internationally would open up a period of social reconstruction on the path to the gradual 'withering away of the state'."

At bottom the confusion is over the Marxist understanding of the state. But A.G. is also off base in his view that the death penalty would be the "ultimate justice" of a "victorious socialist revolution in the U.S." In his laudable revolutionary fervor, the writer wants to extend capital punishment to include not only Nazi war criminals but also presidents, cops, the planners of napalming, those who ordered the atom bombing of Nagasaki and so forth. But what about the entire personnel of the CIA, bank presidents and reactionary bourgeois politicians? Are they to avoid A.G.'s "ultimate justice"?

The socialist revolution is not an act of blood vengeance; our purpose is not to physically annihilate the capitalist class but to economically expropriate it, and our "ultimate justice" is to create a classless society. One of the key tasks of Marxists is to take the workers' entirely legitimate desire to avenge their oppression and lead it to embrace a *social* solution rather than mere vengeance against individuals. To focus on the individuals is to embrace atomistic responses ranging from settling of personal scores (such as Detroit auto workers who vent their rage over working conditions by killing foremen) to the anarchists who mistake the individuals who are the instruments of class rule for that rule itself.

To take the cry for individual vengeance against exploiters and oppressors to an extreme conclusion, we can consider the case of notorious anti-union press baron William Randolph Hearst II. During the uproar over the kill-crazy "Symbionese Liberation Army" there were many petty-bourgeois leftists who justified the kidnapping of Patty Hearst on the basis of genealogical culpability: "The Hearst kid is a ruling-class pig." (Ironically, when she was miraculously transformed into "Tania the urban guerrilla," this strange logic went on to justify her terror against store clerks and the like.)

The Spartacist League, in contrast, pointed out that "Patty/Tania" bore no inherited individual guilt for the crimes of capitalism. (The case of a feudalist monarchy is different, as Trotsky pointed out with regard to the Romanovs; if the tsar's children survived they could serve as rallying points for support to the dynasty.) We insisted that the SLA was a lumpen violence cult bent on seeking personal revenge against individuals on their "hit list" who were neither representatives nor symbols of capitalism. The SLA was a weird mixture of Mansonite sex and murder plus leftist rhetoric, and its wanton violence was wholly indefensible by Marxists.

Just as we do not advocate the killing off of the bourgeoisie and their offspring, proletarian communists must fight to the end against the nationalist logic of genocide, even when it is directed against an oppressor people. To call for the annihilation of the Hebrew people of Israel or white Afrikaners of South Africa is at best a simple-minded, obstructive substitute for the struggle to emancipate Palestinian refugees or South African black workers from exploitation and national oppression; if it proved feasible to accomplish, it would be a proposal to replace one racist crime by another, ultimately an irremediable one. By such "logic," the genocide of European Jews by Nazi generals, if only it had been complete enough, would have been the "progressive" defense of Palestinian Arabs! Meanwhile, such rhetoric gives the present-day Zionist oppressors and willful destroyers of a people *their* smokescreen to continue their real role in the here and now.

A.G. believes he has caught us in a contradictory position when he demands to know how we can simultaneously oppose the death penalty and call for the extradition/prosecution of Nazi war criminals. In these cases, our purpose is to expose the bourgeoisie's hypocrisy and make concrete the demand for justice. This point is brought out vividly when considering the demand to extradite Nixon to Hanoi. Unlike the liberals who thought that the interests of justice would be amply fulfilled if Nixon "got his" for his Watergate crimes against bourgeois law, the Marxists demanded the imperialist chieftain be called to account for his monumental crime against the working masses. Unfortunately, although in disgrace, Nixon is a former chief of the world's strongest imperialist power, who is not about to be turned over to the Vietnamese by Jimmy Carter in order to prove his commitment to "human rights." Clearly our task as communists is to build the movement which can smash imperialism and thus bring war criminals such as Nixon to justice, not to dream up some kind of utopian international proletarian prisoner transport system.

Our readers will recall that at the end of the Vietnam war, when the U.S. imperialists were evacuating their puppets from Saigon, we demanded:

> "Justice would demand that the defoliators would be brought before the hungry, that the napalmers be confronted by the burned and maimed, that the terror bombers be judged by the survivors of their mass savagery, and that the architects of 'tiger cages' now come face to face with the 'tigers'."
> —*WV* No. 68, 9 May 1975

We hope it is clear even to the most literal-minded that this is neither a call for the reintroduction of the Roman arena, nor an advocacy of cannibalism.

A.G. rhetorically asks if the working class "can never be motivated by revenge" and cites the case of the police spy and provocateur Malinovsky who was executed after a trial by a Bolshevik revolutionary tribunal. Certainly that death sentence against a man responsible for the murder of hundreds of Bolshevik party members was a just and necessary act. There are quite a few sadistic torturers, war criminals and the like who richly deserve to die at the hands of the surviving victims, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will not establish an ex-post facto limitation on culpability for these crimes.

Moreover, it is crucial to understand that a revolution is an act of tremendous passion. The U.S. bourgeois press raised a hue and cry over Castro's "drumhead trials" of Batista hangmen in May 1959, but had summary justice not been meted out to these butchers, the masses would have erupted in an orgy of bloodletting.

It is vital that such *exceptional measures* taken in the course of consolidating a proletarian regime be as much as possible carried out in an orderly way and limited in scope so that the legitimate desire for revenge does not degenerate into an orgy of bloodletting. The Marxists must constantly struggle to make clear that the task is smashing the economic system of capitalist exploitation, not the physical liquidation of individuals.

Marx repeatedly stressed that the question of law and punishment were but reflections of the question of the state:

> "...it would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to establish any principle upon which the justice or expediency of capital punishment could be founded in a society glorying in its civilization. Punishment in general has been defended as a means either of ameliorating or of intimidating. Now what right have you to punish me for the amelioration or intimidation of others? And besides, there is history—there is such a thing as statistics—which prove with the most complete evidence that since Cain the world has been neither intimidated nor ameliorated by punishment."
>
> "Plainly speaking, and dispensing with all paraphrases, punishment is nothing but a means of society to defend itself against the infraction of its vital conditions, whatever may be their character. Now what a state of society is that which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims...its own brutality as eternal law?"
>
> "On Capital Punishment," February 1853

When the Russians reintroduced the death penalty in 1922 as part of its civil code, it was a sign of the new state's weakness and not its development. It is through the internationalization of the proletarian revolution and the elimination of scarcity that mankind will proceed toward socialism, not through ever more thorough elimination of class enemies. A penal code based on vengeance and death is not the instrument of a revolutionary workers state in the process of withering away on the path to communist society. ■

Gandhi...

(continued from page 1)

ple—herself and the despised Sanjay. The myriad of regional, state and local bosses, caste, language, religious and ethnic satraps which once made up the kaleidoscopic Congress has now been reshuffled in Janata.

While the old Congress warhorses parade before the grave of the "Mahatma," pledging to rededicate themselves to Gandhian ideals of asceticism, the imperialist press is wildly praising the return of Indian "democracy." Yet under Janata as under Congress, India will not be the "world's most populous democracy," but a dictatorship of a tiny stratum of zamindari (landlords), corrupt Oxford-educated bureaucrats and Mewari capitalists over a mass of 600 million impoverished peasants, workers and unemployed. For these downtrodden masses, Gandhian "democracy" is a cruel hoax.

AFP

Der Spiegel

Left, Indira's son, Sanjay Gandhi; right, the new prime minister Morarji Desai.

Congress Hemorrhages

Indira Gandhi rode out the 1969 split with Desai and such Congress notables as Asoka Mehta, Chandra Bhan Gupta and P.C. Sen. A few cosmetic reforms and much populist demagogy were sufficient to retain the financial backing of the bourgeoisie and the votes of the masses. In the 1971 general election, Gandhi successfully portrayed the leaders of the splinter Congress Party (Organization) as tools of the monopolists and foisted responsibility for all the government's failures on them. Her "New" Congress Party swept the elections with its "Abolish Poverty" sloganeering and captured two-thirds of the seats. But blatant corruption, steep inflation, mass famine and economic stagnation soon caused the so-called "Indira wave" to recede, provoking massive struggles in Gujarat and Bihar.

In our last article on India ("Indira Gandhi Nods to Right Wing," *WV* No. 141, 21 January), we noted that Gandhi's "steps toward unfettered police-state rule" represented "an attempt to find a stable footing for her increasingly bonapartist regime." The state of emergency was an attempt to gain a breathing space by suppressing both left- and right-wing opponents. The trade unionists, leftists, bourgeois politicians and journalists, black marketeers, Hindu communalists, regional secessionists, etc., who swelled the prisons (150,000 jailed during the "emergency," and 30,000 still in prison at the time of the election) were lumped together as threats to social stability.

But the broad scope of the political repression and particularly the bloody excesses of the sterilization program (see "Murderous Sterilization Campaign in India," *Women and Revolution* No. 14, Spring 1977) drove even bulwarks of Congress support such as the Muslim and "untouchable" communities into the arms of the opposition. These specially oppressed groups (together composing about a quarter of the population) saw the government's population control policies as particularly directed at them.

The regime's fate was essentially sealed last month when Jagjivan Ram, leader of the "untouchables" and a member of every post-independence cabinet, resigned as minister of agriculture, taking a number of Congress kingpins into his newly formed CD. Ram's defection signaled the Indian bourgeoisie's unwillingness to further tolerate Gandhi's attempt to elevate herself and her brash upstart son above the old-boy network of regional, caste and class alliances on which Congress traditionally rested. The prime minister's hopes to gain post-facto legitimation for the draconian measures of the past period backfired, and the electoral tallies dramatically revealed the regime's isolation.

Desai, Ram, power broker/mystic Jaya Prakash Narayan and other veterans of the independence struggle took pains to portray themselves as the legitimate heirs of Indian bourgeois nationalism, especially the reactionary utopian elements associated with Mohandas Gandhi. Desai, in particular, is devoutly religious: abstains from alcohol, meat and (since 1928) sexual intercourse; espouses rural self-sufficiency, and spends time each day spinning "khadi" cloth in imitation of the "Mahatma." But such moral posturing hardly explains the spectacular success of the opposition.

Its victory was essentially negative. Votes for Janata (aptly described by Indira Gandhi as "a desperate, strange mixture of ideas and ideologies") were votes *against* the incumbent regime. That landless peasants and workers could vote for the local capitalists, landlords and usurers associated with Desai and despised former Congress Party bigwigs; that Muslims and "untouchables" could vote for the ultra-reactionary Hindu communalist Jan Sangh politicians running under the Janata umbrella, indicates the intense hatred engendered by Gandhi's regime. Virtual gunpoint sterilization of millions of urban and rural poor, a policy never before attempted by even the most despotic regimes, stood out in the catalog of grievances.

Moreover, Congress was faced for the first time with a united opposition bloc. This fact alone drastically reshaped the elections. Over 400 constituency races were essentially straight contests between Congress and Janata or one of its allied parties, preventing Congress from gaining plurality victories against its normally divided opponents.

Illusory "Democracy"

The American bourgeoisie jubilantly hailed the outcome because Desai's announced foreign policy of "proper non-alignment" means a shift away from alliance with the Soviet Union. Typically, it draped great power diplomatic considerations in the language of liberal moralism. Thus the *New York Times* (22 March) crowed: "An impoverished people rejected the siren song of authoritarians everywhere that bread must be bought at the price of freedom." But the real point is that Gandhi never delivered on her promise of "bread," by which her suppression of bourgeois-democratic rights had been justified to the masses. The transfer of governmental power represents a reversion not to some idyllic "democracy," but to a less assertive central power.

Jaya Prakash Narayan, left, with Jagjivan Ram. Far Eastern Economic Review

The Indian and Western bourgeois commentators now fulsomely celebrating the "return of democracy" did not raise a peep over the bonapartist powers invoked by Gandhi in her early attacks on leftists, militant workers and peasants: not a word of criticism at the round-up of thousands of "Naxalite" Maoists, imprisoned and tortured in West Bengal during 1969-71 and still imprisoned today; nor at the mass detention of 50,000 railway workers during their 1974 national strike. When expenditures for building up the police force doubled in five years and state after state saw its elected administration dissolved and replaced by "presidential rule," few bourgeois "champions of democracy" called Gandhi a "dictator" or "empress."

But jubilation over the election will prove short-lived on all sides. The bourgeoisie will not get social peace and efficient, honest government. The masses will not get bread and freedom. Already fissures have appeared in post-election maneuvering for the prime minister's post: as a figure of equal prominence with Desai, Ram reacted to Desai's selection with a fit of pique. After the new prime minister publicly announced that Ram would have a seat in the cabinet, the CD leader sulked for two days before accepting the ministry of defense.

Ram Dahn, a general secretary of the Janata Party, resigned his post, protesting that the behind-the-scenes deal was conducted "in the dictatorial style of the Congress." George Fernandes, the railway workers' leader who had taken the reformist Socialist Party (SP) into Janata, also initially refused a proffered cabinet post, complaining that "an effort to create what is termed a consensus...amounts to foisting the point of view of a group." But having sold out the workers' struggles by allying with the communalist/reactionary Jan Sangh and the conservative old Congress bosses, he was not going to turn up his nose at the spoils of victory. Fernandes soon changed his mind and entered the cabinet on the same day as Ram.

The squabbling over political booty and sharp political divergences will likely surface at every turn. On one point, however, there will be broad unity. This will unmistakably be a regime of "law and order," although it will no doubt be far more cautious than Gandhi in directly interfering with the bourgeoisie's exercise of *its* rights. While lifting the state of emergency, the government is retaining the Maintenance of Internal Security Act which codifies the latent police-state powers available to any prime minister. Nor will the new cabinet be unwilling to use those powers against the masses. As Bombay chief minister in 1956, Desai suppressed riots over the state language issue by issuing shoot-on-sight orders and drowning the conflict in blood. Significantly, the *New York Times* (28 March) describes the new federal home minister as "known for high integrity and insatiable quest for power."

Especially ominous is the presence of at least two Jan Sangh members in the cabinet. Besides its agitation for state protection and nurture of sacred cows and for faster development of nuclear weapons, the Jan Sangh has made itself notorious by the participation of its organized gangs in attacks on "untouchables" and in murderous pogroms against Muslim areas. Pervasive social discrimination against these two groups has made them extremely volatile and hence likely targets for government repression. Ram and his associates, of course, stayed with Gandhi through 19 months of the "emergency," sharing responsibility for every egregious

breach of democratic rights.

With Indira and Sanjay Gandhi temporarily out of the way, the remaining elder leaders of the Congress Party will certainly seek to carve out a role in the jockeying for position which has already begun. Broad agreement on a pro-U.S. foreign policy, repudiation of the "emergency" measures, curtailment of the troublesome Congress Youth League and more decentralized government may well open the possibility for some form of reconciliation among the old-time Congress politicians, especially to the extent that Desai needs leverage against his partners in Janata. The state politicians, both Congress and non-Congress, who were repeatedly undercut or kicked out by Gandhi's fiat, can be expected to be particularly assertive.

Stalinists Tail Congress, Janata

After the Congress Party, the big loser in the election was the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI). Despite the CPI's slavish support for Gandhi's police-state measures, the government began to lash out at the Stalinists late last year, censoring their press, arresting CPI members and dredging up the CPI's wretched pro-imperialist policies of the World War II popular-front period. Although the CPI had proved episodically useful in providing a left face for the regime and cementing the alliance with the Soviet Union, it became distinctly expendable shortly before Gandhi called the elections, when she was making gestures of accommodation to the bourgeois opposition.

Despite this shabby treatment, the CPI did its best to cling to its chosen "progressive" bourgeois-nationalist leader. But when Ram's defection indicated which way the wind was blowing, the pro-Moscow Stalinists undertook an incredibly brazen fence-straddling maneuver. In Orissa, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where Congress was clearly going under, the CPI supported Ram's CD to get a foot in the opposition bloc. But in states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu where Gandhi could still count on significant support, CPI loyalities never flagged. This wily maneuver exploded in its face on election day. Unwelcome by both sides, the Stalinists tallied a mere seven seats.

The independent Stalinist CPI-Marxist (CPI-M) tied its working-class supporters to the coattails of the bourgeois opposition. Unlike Fernandes' Socialists, however, the CPI-M saved some room to maneuver by not actually entering the Janata Party, but instead entering into no-contest blocs with it. Faring better than the CPI, it netted 22 seats. However, its post-election behavior—promising to support the Janata government in parliament—indicates it will follow the servile road it trod when participating in state coalition governments over the last decade in Bengal and Kerala.

The CPI-M along with the SP and the CPI will one day pay dearly for their treason to the workers' cause. Whether tailing Desai's coalition of venal old Congress bosses with dangerous Hindu communalists or apologizing for Gandhi's blood-stained tyranny, the reformist workers parties are criminally guilty of binding the working masses to an unbroken cycle of poverty and police repression.

Opportunities to wrench the workers and peasants from their misleaders will soon arise as the trade unions decide to test their new-found "freedom" by demanding the pay raises which they were denied throughout the "emergency." As the motley governmental coalition joins hands with the opposition Congress Party to crush any working-class upsurge, the masses will taste the bitter fruits of the class-collaborationist policies foisted on them by the reformists. An Indian Trotskyist party, armed with the program of permanent revolution, consistently defending the political and organizational independence of the proletariat, is required to turn such opportunities to the advantage of the struggle for a revolutionary workers and peasants government. ■

ADEX...

(continued from page 3)

informers, "listening posts," mail surveys, warrantless wiretaps and the rest of its domestic spy machinery. The FBI reportedly deployed about one-third of its "total investigative force"—nearly 16,000 agents controlling 5,000 informers—in this "security" operation. *CounterSpy*, relying on Sanford Ungar's book, *FBI*, estimates that today one-fourth of the FBI resources are devoted to "internal security and counter-intelligence matters." This may be a conservative estimate.

With the end of Joseph McCarthy's particular style of anti-Communist witchhunting and the inability to sustain public support for this level of anti-Communism, the witchhunt of the left went on more or less as usual, i.e., both "legally" and extralegally. Court rulings after 1956 tended to restrict the applicability of the "speech crimes" laws as violating provisions of the First and Fifth Amendments (the Voorhis Act has never been used as the basis for any prosecution).

In the courts the definition of Smith Act "advocacy" became narrowed to a call for immediate action. This rendered the law largely useless judicially, but it is still the rationale for things like ADEX. As Anthony Lewis, guardian of old-time liberalism, recently pointed out:

> "The Supreme Court has found such constitutional difficulty in that act [the Smith Act] that it is almost a dead letter as far as prosecutions go; but it has provided a justification for many F.B.I. investigations of supposedly subversive groups, with wiretaps and other doubtful actions."
>
> —*New York Times*, 14 March

The American government is more comfortable without the category of "political prisoner." Lewis is particularly concerned that in the midst of Carter's anti-communist "human rights" crusade, the Smith Act

> "casts a shadow on American claims of freedom. Indeed, a Soviet apologist has recently pointed to the Smith Act as an indication of American hypocrisy in defending Soviet dissenters."
>
> —*New York Times*, 10 March

FBI witchhunting has never been fundamentally affected by the conveniently oscillating niceties of bourgeois law. It is surely more than coincidence that at the very time the courts were making "speech crimes" prosecutions more difficult, the FBI in 1956 began its now infamous COINTELPRO ("counter-intelligence program") against the Communist Party and "related organizations." In 1961 COINTELPRO was expanded to include the Socialist Workers Party, against which the FBI conducted an admitted 92 burglaries between 1960 and 1966.

Abolish the CIA/FBI!

The liberals' campaign against "intelligence abuses" has not stopped the FBI's criminal activities. On the contrary, it has offered a sophisticated cover-up in the form of the idea that exposure itself is reform. Meanwhile, the FBI compiles new "dirt" for ADEX and the like. The "reforms" simply streamline and prettify the American imperialists' reign of terror at home and abroad.

The Congressional investigations, carried out after the exposures have been leaked to the public through the press, have not curtailed the illegal actions of the CIA/FBI (except perhaps to discourage sloppy and promiscuous "bag jobs" against bourgeois parties). Their main result has been to try to plug up the leaks by creating stiffer penalties for the "leakers." Congress has proved to be the best cover-up and "plumbing" operation.

Muckrakers and "reformers" will never outgrow their illusions that the U.S. government's secret political police can be cajoled into acting like "gentlemen." As new "abuses" of the FBI's so-called "legitimate authority" are announced and piously decried, the liberals can only shake their heads and wonder why the FBI and CIA show such a persistent penchant for violating the conventions of bourgeois "law and order." It is their class allegiance which blinds the liberals to the simple fact that these agencies' central purpose is to do the dirty work considered inappropriate to the "normal" administrative mechanisms of bourgeois democracy.

Revolutionists welcome any measure that actually makes more difficult the murderous business of the official and unofficial terror organizations of U.S. imperialism. But the liberal streamlining attempts have no such intent. Nothing less than the victorious proletarian revolution can abolish capitalism's secret political police and their death-dealing "dirty tricks." ■

Assata Shakur...

(continued from page 7)

was convinced that "unless citizens interested in maintaining [!] a fair and impartial judicial system intervene, this woman will not leave the New Jersey prisons alive." And following the conviction, defense lawyer William Kunstler remarked: "The reality is, this beautiful young black woman never had a chance, but we, like liberal fools, still had hopes" (*New York Times*, 26 March).

The naiveté of Mssrs. Hinds and Kunstler in relying on bourgeois "justice" will no doubt appear touching to many other "liberal fools," but it is Assata Shakur and other militants who pay for such liberal illusions with their lives. The key to saving the ex-Panthers from the prison hellholes was a massive mobilization of the left, labor and black movements, which regrettably never took place.

Mass murderer Charles Manson will be eligible for parole next year, while Jimmy Carter self-righteously excoriates the Soviet bureaucracy for violations of human rights. But Assata Shakur is a bonafide political prisoner of American capitalist "democracy," who may well sit in jail until she is released by a victorious workers revolution—that is, unless she falls victim to death penalty laws or cold-blooded prison murder, as in the case of George Jackson. The left must not let this case be forgotten. We continue to demand the immediate, unconditional release and dropping of all charges against Assata Shakur! ■

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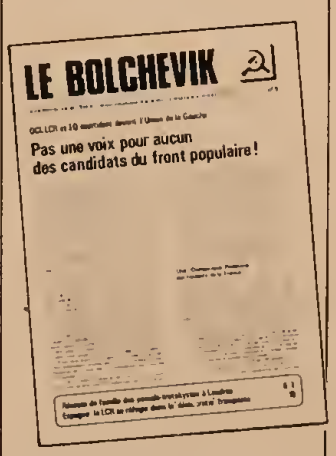

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Shop Committee Fired

Fremont GM Provokes Walkout

FREMONT, California, March 29 – Workers at the huge General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant here, members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364, walked off the job at noon yesterday.

The strike involving some 5,000 workers was called by the shop committee when management refused to meet union demands to remove a foreman from his supervisory position. The foreman in question had racially insulted an alternate committeeman and assaulted another committeeman attempting to file a grievance against deliberate company harassment of an injured worker.

Management arrogantly announced its refusal to consider the union's demand and denounced the strike as "illegal" citing Paragraph 117 of the GM/UAW national contract! In retaliation for the strike action GM promptly fired the entire shop committee!

The company's hand was immediately strengthened by the UAW International which informed the 1364 leadership that it too considered the strike a wildcat!

This is just one more in an unbroken chain of atrocities by the Woodcock leadership. While the company attacks the union head-on, the sell-out Solidarity House gang stabs its striking brothers and sisters in the back!

Local 1364 must demand the UAW International reverse its treacherous position and give full sanction to the strike. Let Woodcock come to Fremont and explain why it is that he feels it is "illegal" for the union to strike to defend its representatives from being assaulted, abused and insulted!

Local 1364 members should also demand that the Local's leadership stop calling the strike a "wildcat" or "unauthorized." The strike was called by the elected Local leadership over a just demand. The membership shows enthusiasm and support of the strike and has plenty to strike over. No union can exist without the right to strike over working conditions. To call this strike a "wildcat" or "unauthorized" is to fall into the hands of those who want to crush the strike—GM and pro-company UAW bureaucrats.

It is clear from GM's hard-line posture and its firing of the entire shop committee that the company has deliberately provoked this strike. GMAD is intent upon getting in on the year-long anti-labor offensive in the Bay Area. It wants to break the back of one of the most militant UAW locals in the country.

At stake is not simply the issue of the assaulted and insulted committeemen but of the very ability of the union to fight to protect its members. The incident which provoked the strike is just the tip of a very large iceberg. Local 1364 has been working without a local contract since the UAW national contract expired last September while the company has carried on a brutal rampage of forced overtime, speed-up, and harassment.

If the company can force the union in this strike, many militants, including the Local leadership, may face the axe. Company harassment of workers and the union representatives will become even more intense than the already harsh treatment dished out daily.

Unfortunately, the leadership of Local 1364, having stumbled into an unexpected strike, is attempting to keep the strike confined to the narrow issue of the removal of a foreman. Such a policy is, of course, of a piece with their agreement with Woodcock and Company that the strike constitutes a "wildcat."

According to the strikers interviewed by *WV* reporters, the policy of the Local 1364 leadership and its shop chairman Earlie Mays has been to keep a lid on the militancy. Only token picketing has been organized (to avoid injunctions not even issued!). Recently hired workers have been encouraged to report to work (i.e., to scab). And Teamster trucks have been permitted to go and come from the plant grounds freely.

"This is a gentlemen's strike," complained one picket to *WV*. He went on to explain how the union should have struck when the skilled tradesmen in the plant rejected the proposed Local contract for a second time.

To ensure that only their version of the strike gets out, the 1364 bureaucrats have from the beginning tried to enforce a policy of censorship on the members, ordering them not to talk to any reporters. At the same time they have told the membership to wait until the International representatives arrive to negotiate an end to the strike.

This is a suicidal policy. Right now Woodcock, fresh home from his journey to Vietnam as an emissary for imperialist chief Carter, is busy breaking a similar strike in a Chrysler plant in Indianapolis. There, 3,100 workers "wildcatted"—i.e., were left to hang and turn in the wind by the International. Four officers, five committeemen and 14 shop stewards have been fired, and 44 of the most active picketers suspended. In addition Chrysler has filed a multi-million dollar damages suit. Today, Woodcock's hand-picked successor Doug Fraser harangued a mass meeting of the Indianapolis Chrysler strikers, ordering them back to work with vague "promises" that he would "attempt" to get "some" of the suspensions lifted. A similar fate awaits the Fremont GM workers if things are left to continue as they have been.

The company, for its part, is clearly taking a tough stand. Mounds of grievances over speed-up, harassment, medical and health and safety issues have piled up. Discipline has been intense. A short while back another committeeman was fired when he tried to defend himself against an assault by a foreman. More recently, 11 workers from the truck line received disciplines. The company alleges that a leaflet issued by supporters of the October League's *Call* proved that the 11 disciplined workers were engaged in an unauthorized work action.

UAW picketers outside Fremont GMAD plant March 28. WV Photo

The 1364 brass, while doing nothing for the 11 workers, brought charges against one of the *Call* supporters—an act of utter hypocrisy and cynicism. A leaflet issued by the class-struggle opposition group, the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), entitled "Hands Off the Idiots," pointed out that while the *Call* leaflet was indeed stupid and irresponsible, it provided no basis for the company discipline. The CMUAW demanded that the bureaucrats drop the charges against the *Call* supported because the local union tops, with their policy of appeasement and collaboration with the comapny, were the real criminals intent on trying to purge anyone associated with an "unauthorized" work action.

Nevertheless, such bureaucratic purge attempts are indicative of a rise in a red-baiting purge mentality among the Local leadership. The irony is that just one month after the attempt to purge the *Call* for having had a hand in an "unauthorized work action," the self-same bureaucrats are now in hot water with the Solidarity House gang for *leading* such an action. The red-baiting atmosphere whipped up by the Mays/Malone/Nano leadership may very well backfire as the International dumps them for their inability to "handle" the Local 1364 workers.

Why has the Mays bureaucracy felt compelled to call a strike? There have been allegations that Mays & Co. wanted to refurbish their badly tarnished reputations as militants. Elections for delegate posts for the United Auto Workers convention this spring are coming up, and many militants were predicting that Mays would lose. In any case, the cause is just and however badly prepared the union, the battle lines have been drawn! The strike must be won and GM soundly defeated!

The only alternative to the UAW tops' call for a capitulation, with all its dire consequences, is to wage a solid strike. GMAD's attack must be stopped in its tracks! It is high time the labor movement—and auto workers in particular—stopped taking it in the neck.

It is clear that the basis of the strike should be broadened to obtain a Local contract with real protection. Key to this, as the present strike so clearly shows, is the right to strike without prior International authorization over working conditions, including line speed and hours. Paragraph 117 must be junked!

Mass picketing should shut down the GM Fremont plant tight with *nothing* and *no one* being allowed *in* or *out*!

The union should call a mass meeting of all its members at the plant to democratically elect a strike committee with representatives from each work group in the plant to organize the picketing and conduct of the strike.

The experience of the San Francisco city workers' strike last year shows that it is not good enough to rely just on the promises of the leaderships of the various central labor councils to build solidarity with the strike. Mass delegations from Local 1364 should be sent to the other GM plants in California to shut them down, and militants in other unions must push for delegations to the Local 1364 picket lines to demonstrate their solidarity.

Mass delegations should also be sent to the transportation unions, Teamsters, rail and longshore, to demand that all GM goods be "hot-cargoed" for the duration of the strike. Transport workers must refuse to handle any GM goods in California for the duration of the strike!

But a solid strike that can force GM to back down will not come about automatically. Not only will Local 1364 members face the full fury of GM and its cops, courts and judges, but also very real opposition from the UAW tops. A genuine but limited victory can be won in the present strike, but only *in spite of* the present UAW leadership. Such a victory could help lay part of the basis for the formation of a movement to oust these treacherous misleaders from their positions in the union in favor of a class-struggle leadership willing to wage a genuine struggle in the interest of the workers and against the companies. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 152 8 April 1977

James Callaghan – A Would-Be Ramsay MacDonald

Break the Liberal/Labour Coalition in Britain!

LONDON, April 1—Britain came close to its third general election in as many years last week when Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan was forced to conclude a last-minute pact with the small bourgeois Liberal Party to avert defeat in a Conservative no-confidence motion. The significance of this formal parliamentary bloc was summed up by Liberal leader David Steel, who commented that "Socialism is the one thing this country will not get so long as this agreement lasts..." (*Guardian* [London], 25 March 1977).

Steel has a point. Not that anyone in Britain believes that the Labour government was headed toward socialism—but the long-standing allegiance of the British working class to the Labour Party is primarily due to its claim to somehow stand for the class interests of the proletariat, and its vague rhetorical commitment to some sort of "socialism." The Labour cabinet's precarious parliamentary position meant that it was forced to conclude an agreement with the Liberals in order to cling to power. The price was to give up the claim to represent key working-class interests or "socialism," at least for the duration of the bloc.

Of course, Labour would much prefer to retain the fig leaf of socialist rhetoric as a cover for its nakedly anti-working-class Social Contract (wage restraint). Callaghan's parliamentary predicament results from the loss of a string of supposedly "safe" Labour seats to the Tories [Conservatives] in recent by-elections. This in itself provides an index to the deep dissatisfaction of masses of Labour Party supporters with the Callaghan government and its plans to "save" the economy by further attacking the workers' pathetic living standards.

The by-elections losses combined with the defection of two Scottish Labour MP's [Members of Parliament] has changed Labour's slim majority with which it was elected in 1974 into a minority, and has meant that for the past several months the government has been depending on the votes of at least some of the 41 MP's who belong to the minor parties in order to stave off a vote of no-confidence. Until recently the government had been able to count on the 16 votes of the Scots and Welsh nationalists. However, Labour's failure to secure passage in parliament last February of its Devolution Bill (providing for federal institutions in Scotland and Wales under the rubric of "home rule") due to the refusal of hard-core Labour "unionists"—opponents of devolution—to support the government's proposal has meant that the nationalists are now bending all their efforts to bring down the cabinet and thus precipitate an early election.

In its search for support in the House of Commons, the Labour Party was conducting parallel negotiations with the ten MP's of the United Ulster Unionists, the reactionary parliamentary representatives of the Protestant ascendancy in Northern Ireland. Among their number are the fanatical Rev. Ian Paisley, and the notorious racist Enoch Powell. The bargaining with the Ulster Unionists was over more MP's from the province and also doubtless on demands for more British army units to suppress the Irish Catholic minority. But apparently Callaghan wasn't able to negotiate a satisfactory deal with the Unionist MP's and seven of them voted with Margaret Thatcher's Tories.

Labour's Deal with the Liberals

The terms of the parliamentary coalition with the Liberals were carefully outlined in a joint statement issued just before the debate on the no-confidence motion. Essentially the agreement establishes a "joint consultative committee" (presided over by Michael Foot, prominent Labour "left") to review bills proposed by both Liberals and Labour before they are presented in Parliament, and pledges the cabinet ministers to regular consultations with their Liberal counterparts. The agreement also pledges the government to support Liberal proposals for direct elections to the European Economic Community (Common Market) parliament, and to support a Liberal Housing (Homeless Persons) Bill, both relatively unimportant measures. The joint statement specifies that "this arrangement between us should last until the end of the present parliamentary session when both parties would consider whether the experiment has been of sufficient benefit to the country to be continued" (*Guardian*, 24 March).

The most revealing aspect of the whole squalid affair is the lack of serious opposition to the deal from within the ranks of the parliamentary Labour Party. The most that the kept "lefts" of the Tribunite group have done is to make a few objections to the deal for the record. As part of their token "protest" some of the Tribunites issued a statement on the agreement with the Liberals which cravenly pledged to "support the Government because of the possible danger of the most reactionary Tory government of this century." They made only a perfunctory effort to cover their left flank by stating that, "we categorically reserve our right to vote against such a deal in whole or in part" (*Tribune*, 25 March).

Having reserved the "right" to oppose the policy of formal cooperation with the Liberals, the "leftists" of the Tribune group are now happy to go ahead and support it. As the bourgeois press has repeatedly pointed out, there is a good reason why most Tribunites actually *favoured* the arrangement with the Liberals—it postpones the next general election. Many Tribunites hold marginal seats and given the present pronounced swing away from Labour (recent opinion polls show the Tories leading Labour by 20 percent), an election in the near future would certainly mean a Tory landslide and a scramble among Tribunite ex-MP's for places in the dole queues [unemployment lines]. As the London *Times* (20 March) noted in analysing the lack of opposition to the coalition from Labour "lefts": "The prospect of a Thatcher Era, not to mention the loss of his own seat, concentrates the mind of a Tribunite wonderfully."

Socialist Worker

Workers at British Leyland protest Labour government's wage restraints.

Callaghan's deal with Steel has also been met on the whole with the approval of the trade-union bureaucracy. The general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, Len Murray, was quoted in *Socialist Press* (25 March) as saying that he found the "prospect of keeping a Labour government in power a very agreeable thought."

The Liberals, of course, have their own reasons for entering a coalition with Labour at this time. In the event of an early general election and the probable Tory landslide, knowledgeable bourgeois political commentators are predicting that the Liberals would stand to lose up to ten of their present total of 13 seats, thereby obliterating them as an appreciable factor in British politics. Thus the Liberals are happy to assume the role of co-partners in the government and postpone an election, seeking in the longer run a path to permanent, direct involvement in the cabinet.

Labour's pact with the Liberals has been well-received by the bourgeois establishment. When the Lib-Lab deal was announced the *Financial Times* stock index jumped 19 points! A few days before the agreement, the influential *Sunday Times* (20 March) advised

continued on page 11

A review of Wanted!—The Search for Nazis in America, by Howard Blum

How U.S. Opened Doors to Nazi War Criminals... 6

Letters

27 February 1977

To the Editor:

In defending your trade union line (*WV* [No. 145], 18 February 1977) you come up with a quotation from A.J. Muste. You are entitled to him if you insist, but the quotation discloses that Muste's line towards the nascent CIO is closer to Third Period Stalinism than to Leninism. Muste characterizes the fight of the industrial union bureaucrats in the AFL against the craft union bureaucrats as fake ("a mock battle"). He then tells us that "the conservative forces in the A.F. of L. today are the Lewis-Hillman forces, the more dangerous because they masquerade as progressive...." Notice, I do not say Muste's line here is exactly a Third Period line; it isn't—he doesn't call Lewis and Hillman social-fascists. But if the Trotskyists had followed Muste's line, they would have played no part whatever in the organization of the CIO in the auto, rubber and steel industries.

Muste was a splendid organizer but should not be regarded as a reliable expositor of Leninist trade union tactics. His line in the quoted passage is abstentionist. When he wrote it Muste was the leader of the sectarian faction in the Workers Party which wanted to keep out of the factional turmoil which gripped the Socialist Party. His view of the struggle within the AFL which led to the CIO and his view of the struggle within the SP which led to the split between the Militant and the Old Guard are in harmony. Six months after identifying Lewis and Hillman as "more dangerous" than Green and Woll, Muste abandoned secular sectarianism and returned to Christian pacifism, the ultimate form of abstention from all struggle with a violent component. You should ask yourselves why you found this particular quotation from Muste impressive.

You should also become less fundamentalist in your use of the bound volumes of the Trotskyist press. Not everything printed in the 1935 *New Militant* is pure gospel. You have to consider the political character and evolution of a given writer and whether what he writes makes sense. You also have to compare what was said with what was actually done. If you read the old documents in this spirit you will get more out of them. Older and grayer (though not necessarily wiser) heads than yours can also be of use in the effort to understand and preserve what can be learned from the past.

I must ask you not to impute to me the view that the SWP had a policy of "generalized support, however critical, of the Lewis wing of the bureaucracy." It's true that Trotsky was for Lewis running for President of the United States and that Cannon in 1941 referred to A.D. Lewis of District 50 of the United Mine Workers as "our son of a bitch." All this is not generalized support, though it is miles away from the Muste line you cited so uncritically.

David Herreshoff

WV replies: Comrade Herreshoff's previous letter on this matter (referred to above) was written to solidarize with another correspondent who sought to justify the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) support to United Steelworkers out-bureaucrat candidate Ed Sadlowski in recent elections in that union. Thus what is really at issue is the attitude to take in squabbles between putatively progressive and reactionary wings of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

In our original polemic (see "Should Revolutionists 'Walk with Sadlowski'?" *WV* No. 142, 28 January 1977) we carefully distinguished between blocs with bureaucratic elements to achieve specific and common aims of the working class, and electoral support to dissident bureaucrats (and *their* programs) in union elections. Herreshoff confuses these questions and, in his final paragraph, throws in the question of support to a union leader against candidates of the capitalist parties in general elections. He argues, if not for "generalized support," then at least for a generalized "tilt" toward the "progressive" bureaucrats.

WV insisted that Trotskyists—while they would bloc with John L. Lewis, for example, on industrial unionism or in an organizing drive—cannot give support to candidates in union elections in the absence of a break with the class collaborationism of the bureaucracy on at least one key issue. We pointed to the sorry experience of the United Mine Workers under "reformer" Arnold Miller to demonstrate the bankruptcy of the SWP policy of backing aspiring bureaucrats whose only program is cheap talk of union "democracy."

But the Spartacist League (SL) believes that the goal is to forge a cohesive opposition to *all* wings of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, and this can be done only by standing on a consistent record of class-struggle politics. The working class will not recognize as its revolutionary leaders charlatans like the SWP which supported I. W. Abel in 1965 and Arnold Miller in 1972 and backed Sadlowski who pledged in advance to enforce Abel's ENA no-strike deal until 1980!

Herreshoff does more than disagree with the SL's class-struggle trade-union policies. By amalgamating critical support and various united-front tactics he ends up, perhaps unconsciously, misrepresenting the history of Trotskyist work in the unions. His earlier letter argued that revolutionists should have supported John L. Lewis against old-line craft-union autocrat William Green at the 1935 AFL convention. We replied by pointing out that the SWP's forerunner, the Workers Party (WP), blocked with Lewis on industrial unionism but did *not* give political support to Lewis against Green.

Comrade Herreshoff's answer is to deny that this was party policy, attributing it to alleged "abstentionism" on the part of the author of the *New Militant* article on the convention, A. J. Muste. But as we show below, first, this was the policy of the WP leadership as a whole; and second, Muste was far from being an abstentionist.

The Trotskyists did indeed deny that Lewis and Hillman were qualitatively more "progressive" than Green & Co., and considered the basic class stance of the two wings of the labor bureaucracy to be identical. For example, the *New Militant* of 14 December 1935, reporting a speech by WP leader James P. Cannon on the AFL, quoted him as saying: "The difference between Lewis and Green is one of intelligence and not of radicalism." Or Arne Swabeck, writing in the 30 November 1935 *New Militant*: "It would be absurd to assume that there is a real distinction between the Lewis forces and the Green forces in questions of basic class ideology." So much for the view that Muste's article was an individual aberration.

We also take exception to Herreshoff's rather selective view of the Trotskyist press. The *New Militant* utilized signed articles in a different way than does *Workers Vanguard*. But the fact that an article was signed did not, in general, mean that the party refused to take political responsibility for its line, and if the *New Militant* had consisted instead of a potpourri of articles with counterposed political lines—some of which didn't "make sense" and were at variance with "what was actually done"—then it would have been a social-democratic, Menshevik press and not a Leninist press. This would have made it impossible for most party members and close supporters, let alone the general non-party readership, to derive any coherent political line from the paper.

In particular, there is no reason to question the authority of Muste's articles on the AFL convention. Following the fusion of the Communist League of America (CLA) with the American Workers Party (AWP) in December 1934, Muste (together with Cannon) was one of the two top leaders of the Workers Party. Not only was Muste national secretary of the WP, but at the time he had probably the greatest stature in the organized labor movement of any party member. His articles obviously carried the full authority of the party.

To say that A.J. Muste was sectarian and abstentionist is far from the mark; indeed, the reverse is closer to the truth. He was essentially an activist who plunged himself with great energy into various causes. As for the accusation of "Third Period" abstentionism, Muste earned the enmity of the Stalinists for fighting *within* the AFL (on a program of amalgamation, industrial unionism, a labor party and recognition of the Soviet Union) at a time when the Communist Party (CP) was urging workers to desert the AFL.

CP bigwig William Z. Foster published a blistering attack on Muste's Conference for Progressive Labor Action in 1931 entitled "Little Brothers of the Big Labor Fakers" and took the Musteites to task for their refusal to support the sectarian Stalinist line of forming tiny "red" unions. As long as Muste was active in the workers movement, he was adamant about the importance of defending and working in the existing unions. In an essay entitled "Trade Unions and the Revolution" written in 1935, Muste asserted: "The slogan 'Deeper into the Unions' (whether they happen to be AFL or independ-

Columbia SYL Protest Demands "Keep Kissinger Off Campus"

WV Photo

Eighty people demonstrated on the Columbia University campus in New York City March 25 to protest the proposed appointment of Henry Kissinger to the faculty. The action was called by the Ad Hoc Coalition to Keep Kissinger Off Campus, a united-front coalition initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League.

The prospect of the butcher of Vietnam draped in the gowns of Ivy League "respectability" provoked considerable revulsion on campus. The anti-Kissinger rally was the largest militant action at Columbia in several years.

Speaking at the demonstration were Columbia professor Alexander Ehrlich and representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee, Friends of the Filipino People, Friends of Santucho, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union and the SYL. The committee also attracted the active support of a number of unaffiliated students.

Following the rally, demonstrators marched to the University Senate meeting, which was about to discuss Kissinger's appointment. Inside the meeting, Professor Ehrlich read a statement on behalf of the SYL and Ad Hoc Committee which pointed out that in the case of Kissinger there was no question of academic freedom. Kissinger is not an academic apologist for U.S. imperialism but a symbol of the American war on Vietnam and a genuine war criminal—the architect of the murderous 1972 Christmas bombing campaign against Hanoi.

"Kissinger must be driven away—not for his views, but for his deeds," the statement read. Instead of the impotent liberal tactic of relying on the university administration it called for "broad, militant actions to keep Kissinger off campus."

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ent) must be applied by the party and all its committees and members much more thoroughly and enthusiastically than ever before."

Nor is Comrade Herreshoff's assertion that on the purely political plane Muste was "the leader of the sectarian faction in the Workers Party" strictly accurate. There were, in fact, *two* groupings in the WP opposed to entry into the Socialist Party (SP). The genuine sectarian element was the Oehler-Stamm faction, which believed that entrism constituted *in principle* a betrayal of the independence of the revolutionary party. Muste and a circle around him at one point formed a bloc with the Oehlerites on opposing entry into the SP; however, the Musteites were always a political distinct grouping.

The Muste-Oehler bloc soon disintegrated, and it was Muste himself who put forward the resolution that called the Oehlerites to order for threatened violations of party discipline. In his *History of American Trotskyism*, Cannon is very careful to distinguish the Musteites from the sectarians. Cannon characterized Muste's "ill-starred bloc with Oehler" as an example of "combinations which cut across the lines of principle."

Herreshoff implies that Muste's abstentionist attitude toward the turmoil in the SP was linked to a similar disinterest in the birth of the CIO. Quite to the contrary, Muste's opposition to entry into the Socialist Party was based on fear that it would circumscribe participation in the labor upsurge then occurring. In his recollections Muste complained that "mass work remained neglected" and asked, "if, in the Workers Party, we had stuck to mass work and wooed the younger elements in the Socialist Party by different means," wouldn't it have been possible to win the best militants from the SP anyway? (quoted from Nat Hentoff, ed., *The Essays of A.J. Muste*, 1967).

Muste was never able to overcome his distaste for factional and inner-party struggle (no doubt at least partly the result of his Christian pacifist background), and thus could not become a fully formed revolutionary politician. His reconversion to religious pacifism in 1936 took place very suddenly, and in all he spent under two years as a Trotskyist. But Muste was a genuine spokesman for a layer of worker militants, and the CLA-AWP fusion, in which he played a major role, represented the first regroupment after years of disintegration within the communist movement.

This fusion along with the Workers Party refusal to either capitulate before the "progressive" bureaucrats (as the CP did in the popular-front period) or to abandon the existing trade unions (as the CP did during its earlier "Third Period" sectarian phase) enabled the Trotskyists to achieve hegemony among the ostensibly communist opponents of the Stalinists. On these points there was no question that Muste fully shared the views of Cannon—in fact, it is certain that without agreement on these trade-union policies there never would have been an AWP-CLA fusion. And it is also clear how fundamentally this Leninist policy differs from the latter-day reformism of the degenerated ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party today.

Thus Herreshoff has wrongly posed a little-known—but, on examination, luminous—period in the history of the American Trotskyist movement, in order to derive conclusions that are flatly contradictory to the practice of that earlier generation of revolutionary socialists. ■

Courts out of the IBT!

Oppose Teamster Expulsion of Camarata, Ferdnance!

DETROIT—On March 25, bureaucrats from Teamster Local 299 in Detroit announced the expulsion from the union of dissident members Pete Camarata and Al Ferdnance. Both are leading members of the reformist opposition group Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which is the real reason they were expelled. Both were charged with involvement in an unauthorized work stoppage by car haulers last August at the Willow Run terminals of Complete Auto Transit (not, as we earlier reported, for a separate car haulers strike at another firm last June).

The decision was rendered by a trial board composed of Local 299 president Robert Lins, secretary-treasurer Otto Wendel and five hand-picked stewards who sat in for absent executive board members. TDU leader Gene Fleszar asserted to a *WV* reporter that the substitutes were intended to lend some appearance of rank-and-file support for the expulsions. As well, even the hidebound Local 299 officialdom may have been reluctant to include Richard Fitzsimmons (son of Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons and widely hated vice-president of the Local), who is currently under indictment for embezzling union funds, as a judge in a trial for alleged "misconduct"!

Working-class militants must oppose the efforts of Teamster bureaucrats to purge the union of these critics of Fitzsimmons and his local lackeys. But militants must stand equally opposed to the instant response of Camarata, Ferdnance and the TDU to these bureaucratic attacks: running to the bosses' courts. At an April 2 rally in front of the Local 299 hall, attended by about 80 TDU supporters, the TDU distributed a statement which boasted that a temporary restraining order was issued in U.S. district court against the expulsions. On April 8, TDU lawyers planned to ask the federal court to issue a preliminary injunction for the same purpose. In addition, TDU announced that "there will be a full jury trial to assess monetary damages resulting from the wrongful conduct of the union officials." Camarata and Ferdnance are seeking $15,000 each in damages from Local 299's treasury.

The TDU has apparently, if only temporarily, succeeded in having the courts decide what constitutes "unbiased and fair" internal union proceedings. But as the Spartacist League has repeatedly pointed out, this policy runs directly against the necessity of fighting for the independence of the workers movement from the bosses government. The courts, Congress and various government agencies intervene in union affairs not to bring "justice" to the labor movement, but in order to shackle the unions closer to the capitalist state.

WV Photo

Pete Camarata (center) in TDU demonstration outside Teamster Local 299 hall protesting expulsion from the union.

This is particularly clear in the case of the Teamsters, which once again faces the strong possibility of a massive government invasion spurred on by charges of graft, nepotism and dictatorship. But previous government sorties got the crook Dave Beck only to yield the crook Jimmy Hoffa. And Hoffa was jailed only to be replaced by the Nixon-loving, Mafia-tied Frank Fitzsimmons.

The government is not interested in "honest" union officials, just pliant ones. It especially fears the strength of the Teamsters, the nation's largest labor union, with many thousands of members who know not to cross picket lines and have pretty firm ideas about how to handle scabs. Increasingly broad sections of the bourgeoisie believe they had better step into the Teamsters before a rank-and-file explosion blows the lid off and releases forces that may not be so easy to control.

Court suits like Camarata and Ferdnance's are counterposed to such a class mobilization; they only serve as left cover for government union-busting under the guise of "reform." As well, such court "remedies" play right into the hands of the bureaucrats. The labor hacks are allowed to appeal to the class instinct of the rank and file against outside government intervention to discredit their opposition. Despite his obvious corruption, Jimmy Hoffa maintained a wide and loyal Teamster following for years, in part by tapping the membership's legitimate resistance to the government deciding who should be in and run their union.

The TDU's appeal to the courts has not only been proven historically ineffective in "democratizing" the unions, but can also be turned against the defense of dissident members. The Teamster membership may not appreciate their much-drained treasury being further bled by oppositionists' damage suits.

Local 299 hacks Lins and Wendel (who both, ironically, received Camarata's support last year for appointment to the Local presidency) have decided to tough it out against any oppositionists. In a signed article in the 28 March issue of the International Socialists' *Workers' Power*, Camarata describes a series of recent confrontations over TDU-backed by-law changes. Camarata had filed charges on Lins over being excluded from the car haulers craft meetings of Local 299, and, three days later, was notified of his own "trial."

The sham trial and drastic verdict against Camarata and Ferdnance had also been prepared by a frenzied red-baiting campaign against the TDU. The TDU recently replied to these charges with the claim that "Pete is a Catholic who is very active in his parish" (*The Rank and File Speaks*, April 1977). Evidently, assertions of Christian activism did not pacify Camarata's bureaucratic persecutors, however.

But the Local 299 tops, like Fitzsimmons who is pulling their strings, are also scared. The obviously peaceful demonstration on April 2, which included Teamster wives and children, sent security guards scurrying to lock the gates to union property and to summon the Detroit police. Nervous bureaucrats barricaded themselves inside the several Teamster halls along Detroit's Trumbull Avenue.

The hold of these labor skates is exceedingly brittle and can be shattered. But that is the job of the Teamster ranks, not the labor-hating government! This task requires the construction of a class-struggle leadership pitted against the companies, their bootlickers in the union *and* the capitalist government. By its policy of running for protection to the employers' courts and its mild-mannered program of minimal reforms, the TDU forfeits any claim to this role. Any alleged connection between the TDU and real socialist politics is only the result of a gross and many-sided misunderstanding. ■

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FORUM

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Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee

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CHICAGO

MEC Lies and Whispers

Several months ago the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) began gearing up for an exclusion of the Spartacist League. The MEC—a kind of latter-day "Free University" which provides a sheltered environment for homeless U.S. supporters of the centrist European majority of Ernest Mandel's "United" Secretariat, together with "Marxist" academics, burnt-out radicals and other social-dilettantes—has been increasingly disturbed by the intervention of the SL (which "disrupts" the monotony of the MEC's empty "radical" cheerleading by raising Trotskyist politics). The MEC accordingly initiated a whisper campaign about SL "lies and slanders," which we demanded be put in writing. Finally five weeks ago, the document appeared in the form of a letter from "MEC coordinator" Stephen Kass.

In print—where the MEC has to take responsiblity for them—the charges have been reduced from "lying" and "slandering" to "glaring inaccuracies." We will not inflict upon our readers Kass's petty and petulant opus, which would take up a page and a half in *WV*. The charges boil down to the following: that we did not accurately report the MEC's December 24 "Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women"; that we insulted Laura Allende; that we distort the MEC position on defense work; that we accuse the MEC of "supporting" Nazi political prisoners; and that we "violate the norms of workers democracy." Finally, the letter casually informs us in passing that the MEC has come up with a singular new fringe benefit for its "teachers": the "discretion to limit SL attendance to one representative per class." Kass's accusations are nothing but the pretext by which the MEC hopes to excuse this and future political exclusion.

"Night of Solidarity"

Last November 15 the MEC sent the SL Women's Commission an invitation to participate in a "cultural and political event being organized around the international oppression of women." In our response declining this "Invitation to a Betrayal" (see *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976) the SL explained:

> "The broadest possible defense efforts against savage junta terror in Latin America and throughout the world have consistently been among our most urgent concerns. But the defense of class-war prisoners against right-wing repression can only be damaged by the sectarian feminist 'event' you are planning."

The MEC objects to our "irresponsible" prediction that the event would be a "shameless display of feminist sectarianism." But the invitation (which *WV* reprinted) clearly invoked:

> "...the unitary character of imperialism's attack on women through its state apparatus: openly on women freedom fighters as prisoners, and in less obvious ways on all of us, especially Third World Women."

Our indictment of the "event" for drawing the "sex line where it is absolutely crucial to draw the class line" was a political charge amply supported. That the MEC does not like it does not make it a slander.

Moreover, the "Night of Solidarity" completely bore out our prediction (see "MEC Feminist Fete Defends Women Only," *WV* No. 138, 24 December 1976). Annette Rubinstein asked the audience to send Xmas cards to Puerto Rican political prisoner Lolita Lebrón while barely mentioning her four male comrades jailed along with her; Myra Tanner Weiss declared that Chilean women prisoners were the most oppressed because they had not only been seized by the class enemy but were now being held in "male-dominated jails."

Does the MEC deny that these statements were made? Clearly it cannot. But Kass claims our account was distorted because we did not also mention the unmemorable, uncritical speech by the MEC's Mary Boger, whose remarks were in no way a departure from the evening's feminist politics. If Boger disagreed with Rubinstein or Weiss, it would be news to the audience which gathered that evening to hear her uphold the MEC's public propaganda bloc with the feminism whose most egregious expressions *WV* reported.

Kass indignantly protests that *WV* should have quoted from an MEC pamphlet, something called "Feminism and the State," which contains "our [MEC] political positions." As the MEC meanders over the shifting sands of opportunism, it leaves behind contradictory tracks, including a left face which is convenient, of course, when it encounters the SL (though its "Feminism and the State" with its talk of "our sisters" is hardly an example). It is revealing that the MEC—this "open forum" which cringes at the prospect of an explicit political program, where nobody can ever be found to take responsibility for anything that is said, where there are no leaders but only "coordinators" and "respected teachers"—suddenly can come up with political positions when it wants them. But what the MEC *doesn't* do is forthrightly defend the feminist invitation for the "Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women," which just happens to be the document we polemicized against.

One can only shudder at what students are taught in this school for "Marxist education." At the MEC's International Women's Day forum, Arthur Felberbaum again reiterated the MEC's feminist defense position, claiming that the vicious persecution of former Black Panther Assata Shakur "shows, when given the choice, the state will go after a woman" as if Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, George Jackson, John Huggins, Bunchy Carter, etc., had never existed.

Kass accuses us of taking "cheap shots" at "a person who was jailed and tortured for her opposition to the Chilean junta": Laura Allende. In fact, *WV* gave Laura Allende her due, and this is no doubt what is so embarrassing to the MEC. For it was Allende and not any of the speakers associated with the MEC who separated herself from the evening's rampant feminism. As we reported at the time:

> "...even the featured speaker, Laura Allende, sister of the late president of Chile and herself an official in the Chilean Unidad Popular (UP) government, understood the implications and took pains to draw a sharp line between herself and the feminists. She began her remarks by pointedly greeting 'compañeras...and compañeros, because I do see men here,' and went on to point out that many women who participated in Chilean left-wing politics did so because their *class instincts* dominated over their *sex* instincts."

Our criticisms of Laura Allende are not "cheap shots," but are profound political differences directed at a leading spokesman of the suicidal popular-frontist strategy of preaching reliance on the "constitutionalist" officer corps, leaving the Chilean proletariat defenseless before the bloody coup. Kass would have us believe that her remarks that night (calling for more arms—now that the battle is over) make her some sort of left critic of the popular front. Yet only the night before, Allende—who is presently a representative of Chile Democrático, the popular front in exile—addressed the International Human Rights forum to call for building a "better" popular front with "better" bourgeois forces in it.

Fascism

Kess's letter complains of "a slanderous charge" which "leaves us open to attacks by the bourgeoisie and its agents." The supposed charge is:

> "...your presumption that we would support Nazi political prisoners.... The implication of your spurious charge has the effect of trying to put the MEC outside the Left. (After all, any group that would support and defend fascists should be treated like them, i.e. attacked out of social existence by whatever means the situation requires.)"

But the SL never said that the MEC defends fascists! What we did say was:

> "Your sex-defined strategy for political defense would not in principle preclude the defense of, for example, an Isabel Perón, or a Nazi like Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan who is certainly a political prisoner in imperialist West Germany. Your attempt to apply the feminist concept of 'sisterhood' to defense work leaves you with no way to separate the defense of women prisoners in the

continued on page 10

Victory to Atlanta Sanitation Workers Strike!

Striking Atlanta sanitation workers, members of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), are continuing to hold out this week in the face of the vicious drive by Mayor Maynard Jackson to smash their strike.

The walkout began one week ago when the city refused to grant the union's demand for a 50 cents-an-hour wage increase. In a frenzy of anti-labor hysteria the city council delivered an ultimatum to the more than 1,000 striking sanitation and water works employees, 80 percent of whom are black.

Letters were sent out to the strikers threatening them with dismissal if they did not return to work—at the same time it was announced that the city was taking applications to replace them if they were not back on the job by April 2. Moreover, on April 4, the mayor began a massive scab operation. Schools, shopping centers and fire stations were designated as pick-up points where scabs, backed up by the Atlanta police, broke through the workers' picket lines to collect the garbage.

When black Democrat Maynard Jackson became mayor of Atlanta in 1974, the liberals praised him to the skies and the AFSCME labor tops themselves worked tirelessly for his election. The first black mayor of Atlanta was hailed as the harbinger of the "new South" where labor organizing would be encouraged and racial antagonisms ended. But Maynard Jackson is certainly no champion of black civil rights; he and his Democratic cronies have abandoned busing for school desegregation, counterposing instead their "Atlanta Plan" which merely calls for increased black representation in the local public school bureaucracy.

However, the Spartacist League insisted at the time that the working masses must place no confidence in such *capitalist* politicians. The Democratic Party will never fight on the side of the oppressed—this bourgeois party is dedicated to smashing strikes, reinforcing racial divisions among the workers and everything else necessary to protect the workings of the capitalist system.

It is crucially important for the future of labor organizing in the South that Jackson's union-busting drive be smashed and the strike won. All Atlanta labor should go out in support of the courageous AFSCME strikers. Jackson's attempt to break this strike demonstrates the urgent need for the labor movement to break all ties with the capitalist parties and fight for the formation of a workers party to unite behind it all the oppressed in the struggle for a workers government.

Victory to the sanitation workers strike! ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

Contents: **No. 14**

- Weather Underground Splits
- Supreme Court Wipes Out Gains for Women
- Murderous Sterilization Campaign in India
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NEW YORK

Chicago Motorman Scapegoated in Wake of "L" Disaster

CHICAGO—The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA), operator of the dangerous and obsolete elevated railways which snake their way above the streets of this city, is waging a relentless campaign to scapegoat a black motorman, Stephen Martin, for the February 4 "L"-train collision which killed 11 people and injured 189. Within hours of the crash, which occurred in the Loop during evening rush hour traffic, the CTA claimed that "human failure" caused the disaster. Martin, who suffered a crushed pelvis and other internal injuries in the crash, bitterly stated from his hospital bed, "they [the CTA] always blame the driver, it's never the system's fault" (*Chicago Defender*, 12 February).

Recently concluded hearings before the federal National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) indicate that "motorman error" will likely be cited as the major cause of the accident. While the NTSB hearings in themselves are neither disciplinary nor criminal proceedings, their determination carries significant weight. The basis for the attempt to get Martin is largely a charge that he ignored a safety warning device inside his cab which is supposedly "fail safe." This charge was settled on after more than six weeks of character assassination and attempts to try him in the bourgeois press.

The attacks on Martin included a blatant but badly bungled drug plant. Six days after the accident the Chicago police triumphantly leaked to the press that they had "discovered" four marijuana cigarettes in a shoulder bag recovered from the wreckage which was alleged to be Martin's. However, the police had in the meantime "lost" the evidence for four days and then "found" it in the attache case of another passenger. Although the drug plant failed—this "evidence," in view of its checkered history, was not admitted in the NTSB hearings—the CTA is reluctant to drop this angle and is seeking to introduce another series of urine tests which supposedly show a trace of marijuana in his system. This would not, however, prove that he had been smoking marijuana prior to the crash, and is in any case no evidence of operator negligence.

Martin admits that he failed to wait for permission to proceed from a traffic controller after receiving a flashing red warning signal in his cab. However, he says he was unaware of this regulation, and there is considerable evidence that it was not well-publicized and seldom, if ever, applied. It was only issued in December 1976, and in testimony given before the Safety Board CTA general manager George Krambles admitted that the rule book had not been revised since 1962, despite an NTSB recommendation to update it after another fatal CTA crash in January 1976. Krambles also conceded that there were no formal briefing procedures for motormen when new regulations were introduced.

In any case, there is considerable question as to how well observed this regulation is. CTA management is notorious for keeping safety rules on the books as a hedge against accidents, while in practice expecting drivers to violate them. CTA motorman Jesse Martinez told the press: "If everybody had to call in [to controllers] when they got a flashing red, the whole line would be tied up all day." Another motorman stated, "You can proceed on the flashing red without getting permission and nothing is ever said" by supervisors. Obviously embarrassed on this score, the CTA refused to answer questions about whether the rule was actually enforced or whether any motormen had ever been disciplined for violating it (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 11 February).

Martin vehemently denied the marijuana charge and explained that a blind spot in his cab prevented him from seeing the other train. He said that the emergency braking system did not stop his train properly, allowing it to slide into the rear of the other train.

A survey taken of its membership by Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308 demonstrated that a substantial number of drivers report that CTA supervisors deliberately overlook safety violations and that it is not uncommon for supervisors to tell motormen to ignore safety regulations. Management's callous disregard for safety procedures was corroborated by interviews conducted over the last two weeks by *Workers Vanguard*. One motorman told *WV* of an incident in the past week in which he reported to a supervisor that he was unable to engage his brakes. He was told that his train was "normal" and ordered to drive it—filled with passengers—into the congested Loop area. Another worker reported that once during a snow storm her windshield wipers were inoperative and she was ordered to continue using the train in this condition.

The most treacherously cynical example of the CTA's callous disregard for the safety of both the public and train workers was documented at the NTSB hearings. An ATU member, Arthur W. Brown, recounted that minutes after the February collision, while two train cars full of trapped commuters dangled perilously over the street from the elevated tracks, he was instructed to drive a Lake Street/Dan Ryan train around the curve. Brown was terrified that the vibrations of his passing train might "jostle the cars dangling from the structure" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 18 March).

Train wreck in downtown Chicago February 4. AP

With a notorious safety record (including 32 deaths in 50 years), the CTA is morbidly afraid of disclosures which reveal to the public its outrageous safety violations. Several workers told *WV* reporters that they had been explicitly threatened with firing if they discussed the safety of the CTA system. One driver, Jesse Martinez, was threatened with suspension after he circulated a petition critical of safety procedures shortly after the accident. The CTA backed down only after Martinez complained to the press and an editorial blasting the CTA appeared in the liberal *Chicago Sun-Times*.

The most recent disclosure of widespread company negligence was the survey conducted by ATU Local 308 of the $25 million "fail-safe" system designed to prevent collisions. Some 201 motormen (out of 400) completed the questionnaire, and a good 96 percent claimed that they had received wrong signals from the safety system: green lights when the track ahead was occupied, hold lights when the track was clear, etc. An overwhelming majority of the motormen felt that the new system of signal lights in the cab was less reliable than the old system of wayside signals on the track.

While not explicitly defending Martin, the Local 308 leadership submitted the results of its survey to the NTSB hearings to denounce the CTA. The ATU also issued a statement complaining that Martin was being scapegoated: "Blaming the motorman before investigations are complete or before the man can speak in his own defense is both unfair and misleading to the public.... The news media's rush to raise sensational charges and then have trial and conviction by publicity brings a rain of abuse on the individual and on all transit operating employees" (quoted in *Chicago Defender*, 15 February).

The union threatened to set up its own 24-hour hot line to take complaints about safety equipment, claiming that they were routinely ignored by Transit Authority supervisors. However, the union bureaucracy's denunciation of the CTA is certainly hypocritical. Its own record of defending its membership against management is tarnished; large numbers of workers interviewed by *WV* were so disgusted that they referred to their local as a "company union."

The bureaucracy's refusal to fight safety grievances makes it at least complicit in disasters like February 4. And its newly announced threat to bypass the CTA and bring safety violations directly to the NTSB is a dead end. "Public" agencies like the NTSB will not defend the interests of the workers. This is proven by years of experience with such federal regulatory agencies in industries like mining, maritime, chemicals, etc. What is needed is militant union action on the job to halt management's interminable safety violations.

As for Martin himself, he is the intended victim of a railroading job orchestrated by CTA officials. Unlike New Leftists, who viewed random sabotage and shoddy workmanship as defiance of capitalism, communists do not encourage or condone wantonly irresponsible actions by workers. However, the recently concluded NTSB "fact-finding" hearing has not produced convincing evidence of gross negligence on Martin's part. The CTA regulation he violated was neither well publicized nor consistently enforced, and the "fail-safe" system of which it is a part is notoriously unreliable. The would-be discovery of marijuana was a transparent frame-up which even the NTSB refused to admit as evidence.

Finally, the attempts by the CTA to depict Martin's work record as grossly substandard are not convincing. CTA management regularly employs an arbitrary and discriminatory system of disciplinary measures against the drivers. Workers interviewed by *WV* responded overwhelmingly that his record was no worse than average for a driver of his seniority.

The CTA's despicable attempts to "get" Martin are a smokescreen to obscure decades of callous disregard for the well-being of working people and blacks who largely depend on urban mass transit. Nor will the partial revelations of CTA neglect and inefficiency in the bourgeois press produce a qualitatively better transportation system. Essential services like schools, hospitals and mass transit will continue to deteriorate in the cities, which are largely poor and black, as the capitalist class seeks to bolster its profit rate by slashing social expenditures. The provision of high quality, free social services awaits the destruction of the archaic capitalist system. ■

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How U.S. Opened Doors to Nazi War Criminals

New York Post

Rumanian Iron Guard marching in 1936.

It is common knowledge that a good number of Nazi officials escaped from Germany during the last days of the Third Reich and made their way to Spain and Latin America. There many (such as Adolf Eichmann) faded into the background and became successful businessmen under their new aliases. Others, like Otto Skorzeny, continued to ply their trade of anti-communist terrorism, advising fascist groups and military secret police agencies.

A review of
Wanted!—The Search for Nazis in America
by Howard Blum

Much less publicity has been given to the fact that, for decades, the United States government has sheltered an unknown number of former Nazis. Among them are numerous ex-members of the Rumanian Iron Guard, the Croatian Ustashi, the Latvian Daugavas Vanagi and other East European clerical-fascist groups who slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Jews, communists and subject nationalities during World War II.

A recent book by Harold Blum, *Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1977), details the cases of several of these war criminals. The title, however, is somewhat misleading, for what the book shows is not an official search for Nazis but the opposite: a consistent policy, reaching to the highest levels of government, to cover up for and protect fascist refugees from justice.

The book is also valuable for its recounting of the barbaric crimes of East European fascists. While years of Hollywood World War II movies have shaped American popular opinion to see the archetypal Nazi as an arrogant Prussian officer in polished black boots, a former German Einsatz commando chief commented on the Balkan and south Slav fascists that "We were actually frightened by the bloodthirstiness of these people."

Of course, the German army found the pogroms unleashed by the rabidly nationalistic, mystical-terrorist native fascist groups (and special non-German SS detachments recruited from among local anti-Semites, anti-communists and criminals) quite useful in consolidating its brief occupation of East Europe. After the war, these local Nazis who fell back with the retreating Wehrmacht before the advancing Red Army tried to hide themselves in the mass of several hundred thousand "displaced persons." But with the onset of the "cold war" they soon resurrected themselves as "refugees from Communist totalitarianism" and found a comfortable haven in the U.S.

The anti-communism and thwarted nationalist ambitions of these sadistic killers coincided with U.S. imperialism's desire to reconquer East Europe, and ultimately the USSR, for capitalism. That is why they have been protected by conservative Republican and liberal Democratic administrations alike, just as have the Cuban racketeers and Saigon generals who followed in their footsteps. These are the people who set up CIA-funded operations like the Assembly of Captive Nations, waiting to regain power in John Foster Dulles' plans to "roll back Communism." These are the broadcasters who beam "free world" propaganda from the transmitters of Radio Free Europe. This is the advance guard of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade.

Who Are the Nazi Hunters?

The book describes the efforts of a few individuals, stubbornly working for years, even decades, against bureaucratic apathy and sabotage to uncover fascist war criminals at large in America. The character of the "Nazi hunters"—isolated men, each driven by bitter personal experience—is revealing.

Blum follows the dogged efforts of three men—Anthony DeVito, a former Immigration Service agent who successfully brought Mrs. Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan, the Maidanek concentration camp guard, to trial; "Harold Goldberg" (a pseudonym), an ex-NYC cop who stumbled across the bloody history of Circassian fascist Tscherim Soobzokov in the course of an investigation for the Social Security Administration; and Charles Kremer, a Jewish dentist originally from Rumania who sought to bring the authors of a 1941 pogrom in Bucharest to justice.

None of the three originally had doubts about the fairness of the "American system." The cop and the Immigration agent felt that, after all, they were simply doing their job. Yet both were constantly blocked in their efforts. Vital files disappeared, DeVito was transferred away from Nazi-catching activities, Goldberg was threatened by his superiors and local New Jersey politicians. Kremer's over 3,000 letters to government authorities about Rumanian fascist Valerian Trifa were ignored for years.

Despite official sabotage, they persisted on their own. Goldberg was a devotee of unsolved mysteries, bored with his Social Security job and relishing his role as a tough cop-detective hunting down criminals. Kremer was a "self-made man" who was not about to let faint-hearted compatriots prevent the avenging of the dead in the Bucharest pogrom. For Anthony DeVito, one of the first Americans to enter Dachau concentration camp after it was taken by the Allies, the image of the crematorium stacked with bodies, skulls on top of skulls, was fixed indelibly into his memory.

New York Post

Mrs. Ryan at the time she was concentration camp guard.

New York Post

Maikovskis in the Latvian S.S. in 1943

New York Post

Bishop Trifa in 1954

These men uncovered not only the existence and dark histories of Nazis living in America, but a sinister web of U.S. government complicity and protection of the war criminals they sought. DeVito has come to believe that the Nazis have infiltrated the government and have a plot to get him. Even a conservative reviewer, the *New York Times'* Harrison Salisbury, states: "Blum has brought *The Odessa File* to life.... His findings are chilling, scandalous, and read like the latest fictional suspense story."

But the real source of the obstructions is far deeper than lonely hunters like DeVito comprehend, or than "responsible" bourgeois journalists would care to admit. There are countless circles of right-wing exiles in the U.S., and no doubt a fair number of fascist plots; but it has been the deliberate policy of the American government—not a secret conspiracy of former SS officers—that has protected the Nazi war criminals. While a few of the more pathological, usually lower-echelon, butchers have been brought to trial (although Mrs. Ryan is the *only* one ever actually deported), former high-ranking Nazi collaborators such as Dr. Hubertus Strughold, associated with murderous medical experiments on Jewish prisoners at Dachau, were brought to America to strengthen its military-research apparatus.

Valerian Trifa—Iron Guard Pogrom Instigator

On 11 May 1955 Bishop Valerian Trifa of the American diocese of the Rumanian Orthodox Church, gave the opening prayer to the U.S. Senate: "...bless them [the senators] that they may remember...Rumania and all the oppressed nations who are still longing for 'a government by the people, and for the people'." Trifa's presence on the dais was requested by none other than Vice President Richard Milhous Nixon.

In 1941 Trifa was a leader of the fascist Iron Guard and president of the National Union of Christian Rumanian Students. By January 20 of that year, the Iron Guard had become impatient with the pro-Axis military government

of General Ion Antonescu and sought to precipitate a coup against him, which, while it failed, led to a night of wholesale murder of Jews. Trifa's speech in Bucharest that evening was the signal for the pogrom/uprising to begin. Proclamations over his name distributed in the streets of the Rumanian capital demanded "the replacing of all Masonic and kike sympathizers in government...."

Only several weeks later did the news of this slaughter reach the outside world, in a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch which Charles Kremer read and saved:

> "Perhaps the most horrifying single episode of the pogrom was the 'kosher butchering' last Wednesday night of more than two hundred Jews in the municipal slaughterhouse.... There the Greenshirts forced them to undress and led them to the chopping blocks, where they cut their throats in a horrible parody of the traditional Jewish methods of slaughtering fowl and livestock....
>
> "Some mangled bodies were disposed of by pouring them down manholes to the sewers usually used to carry animal remains. Other naked, headless bodies were hung on iron hooks and stamped *Carne Kosher:* kosher meat."
>
> "The general staff which ordered the massacre consisted of Vice President Horia Sima, chief of the Greenshirt Legion, Dimitry Groza, boss of the Legionary Workers Corps, and Viorel Trifa, leader of the frenetic Greenshirt student movement."

After the failure of the 1941 putsch, Trifa and other Iron Guardists fled to Germany where they were kept in reserve by Hitler as a useful threat to keep Antonescu in line. In 1945 he went to Vienna, from there to Italy, and finally entered the United States in 1950. He became bishop of the American Rumanian church in 1952 and a U.S. citizen in 1957.

Trifa's ordination as bishop was not religious at all but an out-and-out political putsch. The fact that the incumbent prelate, Bishop Moldovan, had been appointed by the patriarch in Bucharest gave Trifa his opening to seize a position of authority in the Rumanian exile community through a coup based on McCarthyite red-baiting. On July 4 a group of former Iron Guardists surrounded the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate in Michigan chanting "Com-mu-nists, Com-mu-nists!" hurling rocks through the windows and slashing car tires. The phone lines had been cut so the residents could not appeal for aid, and the bishop finally surrended the mission to Trifa and his cohorts.

Some months after Trifa moved in (he had by now dubbed himself Valerian and had himself ordained "bishop" by an anti-Communist Ukrainian exile archbishop), Kremer was present at an unusual meeting in New York of the United Rumanian Jews of America (URJA). Bishop Moldovan had come to appeal for their aid in exposing Trifa, the author of the 1941 Bucharest pogrom. Kremer was enthusiastic, but not his organization. "It doesn't concern Jews," said one. Others feared that to challenge the government's admission of Trifa to the U.S. would make Jews seem foreign and unpatriotic. Later Kremer went to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. They told him: "Don't rock the boat. America has been good to the Jews. Leave well enough alone."

Kremer was infuriated and vowed to pursue Trifa. He was elected president of the URJA and began sending out letters on its letterhead. But it was no use: Trifa was anti-Communist, and this was good enough for the Immigration Service. Trifa subsequently made himself of use to the government by aiding in witchhunting "reds" among Detroit auto workers in the 1950's. But above all he was protected because a close friend and former Iron Guardist, industrialist Nicolae Malaxa, was in tight with Nixon.

Malaxa had supplied the Iron Guard with arms and money in Rumania, but when the Nazis were defeated he made a deal to pay large sums to the local station chief of the American Office of Strategic Services (OSS—forerunner of the CIA) in return for admission to the U.S. Arriving as part of a trade mission, Malaxa never left. But despite support from California Congressman Nixon, who introduced a private bill in the House of Representatives to allow Malaxa to remain permanently in the U.S., he encountered some difficulties. So the Iron Guardist and the witchhunter worked out a clever scheme: in 1951 at the height of the Korean War Malaxa set up a company called "Western Tube Corp.," whose offices were located at the address of Nixon's Whittier, California, law firm. By pushing a petition to have Western Tube declared a vital wartime priority, Nixon managed to obtain permanent resident status for his protégé.

Ustashi and Einsatzgruppen

Another of the cases recounted by Blum is that of Andrija Artuković, founder of the secret police of the puppet Ustashi regime in Axis-occupied Croatia (see "U.S. Harbors Ustashi Death Camp Butcher," *WV* No. 105, 16 April 1976, for a fuller account). Artuković authorized and supervised the imprisonment of the 30,000 Jews of Croatia, of whom 90 percent were murdered. During the first summer of Nazi occupation, the Ustashi slaughtered over 180,000 Serbs, gypsies, Communists and Jews. Artuković reveled in the blood: "Kill all the Serbs and Jews without exception," he ordered his chief of police.

When the Germans pulled out in 1945, the Ustashi leaders fled with them,

Nixon in 1948, hunting "Reds" at home.

some going to Spain. By 1948 Artuković had made his way to the U.S. In 1951 the Yugoslav government requested his extradition to face charges of war crimes, but the State Department has consistently refused to comply. FBI officials testified as "character witnesses" for Artuković at his first trial, while his lawyers argued he was just a persecuted victim of International Communism. At his final trial in 1958 the Ustashi mass murderer was declared a victim of "political persecution" and the next year he was officially granted asylum. The Catholic Church, Knights of Columbus and various anti-Communist Congressmen have all backed him.

The two other fascist war criminals whose histories are detailed in Blum's book are Tscherim Soobzokov and Boleslavs Maikovskis, both members of SS Einsatzgruppen, special "anti-partisan" units set up by the Nazis to exterminate Jews and communists in occupied East Europe. Soobzokov made his way to Jordan after the war, where there was a substantial community of emigrés from the Circassian region of the Caucasus; from there he proceeded to the U.S. After struggling as a factory worker in Paterson, New Jersey, for two years, he returned to the Near East. Although posing as an antique dealer, his real task was as an agent of the CIA, a role he filled again shortly after the U.S. Marines' invasion of Lebanon in 1958.

There were repeated official denials of Soobzokov's connection with the U.S. spy agency, but Goldberg discovered during his investigation that the former Obersturmführer of the Einsatzgruppen was paid several thousand dollars from the Army Civilian Payroll Section, a well-known conduit for CIA funds to temporary operatives. Upon his return to the U.S., Soobzokov quickly worked himself into New Jersey machine Democratic policy, setting himself up as the man who could deliver the vote of Paterson's Circassian community. His influential friends eventually squashed Goldberg's investigation.

Boleslavs Maikovskis, today a retired carpenter living in Mineola, Long Island, joined the Einsatzgruppen in Latvia, where he participated in mass executions of the population of entire Jewish villages. From there he was sent to the Baltic University in Germany in 1941. This was the school from which Nazi masterspy Reinhard Gehlen recruited his network of agents for the East European service.

When the end of the Third Reich was in sight, rather than face a Russian firing

continued on page 9

S.F. Nazi Office Smashed

SAN FRANCISCO, April 2—Provoked by anti-Semitic vandalism, a crowd of up to 150 residents of the Sunset district yesterday ransacked and burned a "bookstore" recently opened by American Nazis. This exemplary treatment of the fascist scum forced the local Nazi leader, Allen Vincent, to flee the store and seek refuge with the police.

The "Rudolf Hess Bookstore," complete with a large swastika on the window, was clearly a deliberate provocation by the Nazi vermin. The store was located in the center of a German Jewish community of survivors of World War II, right across from the community synagogue. Ironically, the landlord, Nathan Green, who unknowingly rented the storefront to the Nazis, is a Polish Jew who survived the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz. Green is seeking a legal eviction notice. Earlier in the week one self-proclaimed stormtrooper, Carl Herler, clearly admitted that the Nazis were deliberately trying to provoke a reaction: "We are going to be evicted or bombed out or burned out," he boasted (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 April).

Only hours after a small crowd ransacked the store on Friday evening, the nearby synagogue was vandalized with bottles or rocks thrown through the stained glass windows. Soon after that the Nazi store was burned, and when firemen arrived a large crowd of local residents tried to restrain them.

As usual, bourgeois justice tilts in favor of the fascists. While police protected Nazi leader Allen Vincent, they arrested Morris Weiss, a concentration camp survivor, and his son Allan. The elder Weiss was booked for aggravated assault and resisting arrest, requiring $2,750 bail—apparently because he allegedly kicked the fascist leader and shouted "dirty Nazi bastard"! The younger Weiss was charged with malicious mischief, requiring $300 bail. Clearly it is in the interest of

UPI

S.F. Nazi bookstore after trashing.

working-class justice that these charges be dropped.

The Nazis have recently increased their exploratory probes into the San Francisco Bay Area, traditionally a center of working-class and left-wing strength. The fact that these cowards have felt emboldened enough to make such attempts is a sign of the heavy blows dealt to the labor movement in the recent period. Fortunately though, the Nazis have been driven back each time—such as at San Francisco State University in 1975, where the Spartacus Youth League helped drive off the Nazis under the banner "No Platform for Fascists!" In 1966 an outraged crowd of trade unionists, including longshoremen, joined Jewish refugees in breaking up an attempted Nazi demonstration at San Francisco Civic Center.

The fascist bands will ultimately be the last defense of the decadent bourgeoisie, and the working class must learn *now* how to deal with them—through organized defense squads. Workers must have no illusions that the capitalist police will "protect" the labor movement. Nor must they be misled by the predictable wails of liberals and reformists who bemoan the infringement of the Nazis' "constitutional rights" instead of solidarizing with those whose just outrage put a halt to the fascist provocation. (We wonder whether the super-legalist Socialist Workers Party, which has openly defended "free speech" for the Nazi and Klan terrorists around the country, will carry its wretched civil libertarianism to its logical conclusion by coming to the defense of the Nazi storefront!).

In the absence of a labor-based defense squad, it is possible that the outrage of the Jewish refugees may be manipulated by the ultra right-wing Zionist terrorist Jewish Defense League (JDL). The day after the ransacking, at least one sign appeared near the bookstore bearing the JDL slogan, "Never again."

The left has had numerous run-ins with these anti-communist reactionaries. However, we defend those who resist fascist attack, while warning that the Zionists' own goal to assemble all Jews in Israel neatly dovetails with the fascists' desires to drive them out of the country. The only protection against a revival of serious anti-Semitism lies in winning the unions to class-struggle policies and ultimately in carrying out a working-class revolution. ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 12)

International to negotiate an end to the strike.

Only four pickets were assigned to each plant gate! Management was freely allowed in and out of the plant and new hires were *encouraged* to report for work (i.e., to scab). At the same time pickets were instructed not to try to stop Teamsters from entering or leaving the plant grounds. According to one picket interviewed by *WV*, when a Teamster driving a truck loaded with frames refused to cross the lines, Local 1364 bureaucrats came out and unsuccessfully urged him to make the delivery!

As if these leaky picket lines weren't enough, Mays also refused to call out the GM parts warehouse workers, also members of Local 1364.

To fend off criticism of its no-win strategy, the Fremont UAW bureaucracy, with Mays and vice president Ed Malone in the lead, unleashed a vicious redbaiting attack against its opponents in the Local. Dovetailing with this slander campaign was an attempt to physically seal off the membership. Mays and his cronies tried to drive off and intimidate members of socialist organizations trying to sell their papers to the strikers. Striking UAW members were also instructed not to talk to any reporters or newspaper salesmen.

At a time when sentiment was building in other sections of the Bay Area labor movement to support the strike, Mays launched his drive against "outsiders"! However, Mays' bungling of the strike made it progressively ever clearer that his witchhunting was simply designed to squelch criticism of his weak-kneed policies. Only a day after the Local 1364 president reportedly denounced the company/International return-to-work ultimatum before a mass meeting, he buckled under.

Under the terms of the agreement announced by Mays, the firings of the shop committee and other strike activists are to be lifted. Nevertheless, the company will "note" the firings in its records. Further, Mays is to receive a 30-day disciplinary layoff (DLO) on his record; the rest of the shop committee had 14-day DLO's recorded. This means Mays can now be fired for *any* infraction of company rules, with the rest of the shop committee just two steps away from a firing!

In selling this capitulation to the workers, Mays also assured the assembled workers that he had the International's "word" that it had GM's "word" that GM would order its foremen to stop assaulting (!) UAW officials on the plant floor. The International also "promised" to help get a local contract for Fremont UAW, which given the miserable national contract should make GMAD quite happy.

Meanwhile, the Oakland *Tribune* of 2 April quoted a General Motors spokesman as saying the issues that provoked the strike "aren't negotiable." Also, *WV* learned that foreman Holquim is back on the job today and is being conspicuously paraded around the plant.

Mays calls this a victory! No, it is a *defeat*! The union has returned to work on *GM's* terms. Holquim remains on the job, and this isn't negotiable. The union leadership has been disciplined for leading the walkout; and paragraph 117 of the national contract has been upheld.

The Development of the Strike

The Fremont defeat could have been averted. Although the Local leadership did nothing to prepare the members for a strike, once the walkout was called support for the action was enthusiastic. Local 1364 members had plenty to strike about. Working without a local contract since last September, Fremont workers have had a steady diet of overtime, speed-up and harassment.

There was considerable sentiment on the picket lines to broaden the strike to obtain a local contract and to clear away the mountain of accumulated grievances. However, the membership was not reluctant to fight for even the limited demands of the Local bureaucracy—wanton insulting of union officials was clearly seen as an attack on the entire membership. Had the foreman been removed and the shop committee brought back with all disciplines lifted, it would have been viewed as a reversal of the past period of defeats, paving the way for the union to go on the offensive.

However, this required a decisive show of strength by the Local against the company and the strikebreaking International. But Mays adamantly kept the lid on, refusing to set up mass picket lines or appeal to other union locals. It is clear that there was sentiment in favor of the strikers within the Bay Area labor movement. When the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League threw up a small picket at a Chevrolet dealership in nearby San Leandro in order to show support for the strike and bring it to the attention of the labor movement, union machinists refused to cross the line. By Monday those same machinists, along with 1,700 other machinists in the Bay Area, were on strike to obtain their own contract.

The ILWU Local 6 executive board passed a motion to "stand in solidarity with the UAW Local 1364 strike" and asked the strikers if their union could aid the strike in any way. When ILWU Local 6 executive board member Bob Mandel attended a UAW Local 1364 strike meeting on Thursday, read the motion and declared his union's solidarity with the strike, he received thunderous applause.

The International had already broken one strike that week, by Local 1226 at an Indianapolis Chrysler plant (see article in this issue). While Doug Fraser faces no serious opposition as Woodcock's chosen successor, the rapid-fire beheading of UAW shop committees throughout the country would not be a favorable inauguration for his administration. Given the volatility of the UAW membership, any shop chairman—no matter how servile to Solidarity House—could find himself in the position of Local 1226's Larry Shick or Local 1364's Earlie Mays. Fraser does not want to needlessly alienate local officials, however, and doubtless this factor was among those cushioning the extent of the defeat at Fremont.

Attempts to bludgeon Local 1364 could easily backfire, provoking a massive turnout by enraged Fremont workers at the UAW convention scheduled in Los Angeles in six weeks. Fraser and Woodcock would find this especially embarrassing given the scheduled appearance at the convention of imperialist chief Jimmy Carter.

But instead of standing up to the International, the Local 1364 leadership devoted its energies to redbaiting, hoping no doubt to lay the ground work for blaming a defeat on a "fifth column" within the union, or on "outsiders." However, the character of the strike and the demands themselves—which largely centered around the leadership—make it obvious who was responsible for the course of the strike.

The witchhunting policy failed. When three vans of bureaucrats drove up to two *WV* salesmen on the picket lines and threatened them, pickets and other workers on the scene came to their defense, telling the bureaucrats these sellers supported the strike and had a right to sell their papers. (Several years ago, in response to Maoist thuggery, Local 1364 passed a motion upholding the right of all labor and socialist organizations to freely distribute their literature outside the plant and union meetings.)

Time and again, Fremont UAW members made it clear to *WV* that they had no intention of letting their "leaders" muzzle them or tell them what they could or could not read. Even some hardened right-wing bureaucratic supporters mobilized by the Local leadership to keep *WV* salesmen out of the union hall parking lot told us they were mystified by the union's policies. "Why are they [the Local 1364 leaders] doing this? I don't understand this hostility," said one of these workers, puzzled at having to guard his union from people who clearly supported the strike.

It is indeed ironic that Mays & Co.—who in their redbaiting invoked the totalitarian horrors of Stalin's Russia and Mao's China—act exactly like the bureaucrats who run the deformed workers states...and for precisely the same reasons. Like Hua and Brezhnev, Mays and his pals tried to quash all criticisms of their sellout policies and bureaucratically suppress dissent. What both the Stalinist and trade-union bureaucrats fear above all else is that the workers will learn the truth about their betrayals and throw them out. And the Fremont strike indeed gave Local 1364 members a chance to see their "leadership" in action under fire. It failed miserably.

A Test

This strike was also a test for the various oppositions to the incumbent leadership. Among those who miserably failed this test are the various Maoist-supported groupings. Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF), which is politically supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), spent most of the strike trying to crawl back into the good graces of the Mays leadership, which it helped get into office in 1973.

After Mays' initial blast of redbaiting on Monday, AWUF timidly held back from speaking in the strike meetings. Instead, it spent its time collecting signatures for a petition, presumably to be delivered to Mays, listing its strike demands and calling for mass picketing. What bankruptcy! Instead of fighting to get the membership together in favor of solid strike action at the many mass meetings which took place during the strike, all these cowards could do was to give Mays a piece of paper, telling him "UAW members feel that the membership must be organized and united to go all out to fight the company"!

While Auto Workers United to Fight called for the International to sanction the strike, its method for fighting for such action was simultaneously legalistic and idiotic. On Monday the AWUF presented its only motion of the entire strike to the membership: that the union refuse to recognize receivership should the International impose it on the striking Local. This accepted defeat as inevitable and was, rightly, simply laughed off the floor.

Mays' redbaiting also sent supporters of the October League, the "Resistance" group supported by the August 29th Movement, and supporters of the Workers Viewpoint Organization scurrying for cover. But whereas the AWUF was at Mays' feet throughout the strike, these groupings were at his throat. All

CMUAW Leaflet:

Let's Win this Strike!

We are not on a wildcat—This is a legitimate official strike called by our elected local union leadership in response to extreme provocation by the company. GM has made its position clear; they would rather fire the entire shop committee in an attempt to break Local 1364 than remove one foreman.

Our strike is solid; it's the International that has branded it a wildcat. They are stabbing us in the back by refusing to sanction it. It is expected that they intend to read us the riot act at today's union meeting. The International has been using the no-strike Paragraph 117 to break a series of local strikes. At Indianapolis as well as Fremont, they have abandoned locals because they say company assaults on union reps are not a strikable grievance.

No matter what our criticisms of Mays and the shop committee (and we have plenty of them), they are the strike-leadership. In attacking the shop committee, GM is attacking all 5,000-plus members of the local. If this strike is defeated by GM with the International's help, we will pay the price for it back in the plant with intensified harassment and a weakened union. This strike and the incidents leading up to it show the need to get rid of Paragraph 117 which is being used to undercut our just struggle.

To protect ourselves, we must do everything possible to expand the basis of this strike. Instead of wasting time red-baiting at union meetings, we should be discussing ways to make this a winning strike.

• SEAL OFF THE PLANT! To make this strike hurt the company, nothing must move through the gates. To date, carriers full of trucks and cars have been allowed to pass through the picket lines—this must stop. Not management, not new hires, NOBODY should be allowed through. The Parts plant should be brought out to join us. Not the present skeleton picket lines, but solid mass picket lines involving the whole local are needed to stop traffic of trains, trucks and people.

• EXTEND THE STRIKE! This morning Ford Milpitas is scheduled for a strike vote, opening up the possibility of expanding the strike. Our local can send delegations to other UAW locations in Region 6. Also, a lot of other unions in the Bay Area have been hit hard by the employers; they might be inclined to send us reinforcements in response to an official request (ILWU, Teamsters, etc.).

While winning the present demand with no reprisals would constitute a limited victory, what we should really be going after is a local contract which includes settlement of all grievances and the junking of Paragraph 117 so we can deal directly with company harassment.

The incident precipitating this strike is a just cause, but everybody knows that it is part of a steady stream of abuse of workers and union reps, racial insult, job harassment, and killing overtime. Only a few hundred out of thousands in this local even came out to vote on the local agreement. It is that suppressed anger that is reflected in the solid turnout for this strike.

GM thinks they can fire our shop committee, but it is another thing to fire the whole plant. We have the power to win this strike, and we do not need the International stabbing us in the back either by a back-to-work order or an unacceptable compromise. This local leadership must hang tough and demand that the International sanction the strike. They must take every step to extend and strengthen this strike and hold out for VICTORY!

—The "UAW Militant," 30 March,
published by the Committee for a Militant UAW, a class-struggle opposition caucus of Local 1364

denounced Mays' motives for the strike, claiming he called it to touch up his tarnished image as a militant; and they all demanded that he be dumped.

While it is likely that Mays' motives involved more than a defense of the assaulted committeeman, it was important to point out that the cause of the strike was just and that once the lines had been drawn, the battle had to be won. By failing to do this, and by failing to make it absolutely clear that the firings of Mays and the shop committee were an attack on the entire union which must be lifted, these supporters of various Maoist sects edged very close to the position of opposing the strike and blocking with GM.

Workers Viewpoint Organization went over the edge when one of its supporters told *WV* Mays should stay fired because he was a class collaborator! Likewise, both the *Call* supporters and Resistance failed to clearly demand the rehiring of Mays and the shop committee, stressing that Mays should be dumped just when General Motors had "dumped" him. Certainly, the Local 1364 bureaucracy should be kicked out of office; but this must be decided by the membership, not General Motors!

Once again it has been demonstrated that Maoism, with its idealist notion that whether someone is a capitalist or not depends on whether they have "bad" or "good" ideas, is unable to see the class line. Internationally, this leads the Maoists to prostration before U.S. imperialism as a consequence of the betrayals of the Chinese bureaucracy. Likewise in the trade unions, those who look to Maoism are either spineless lackeys of the "progressive" wing of the bureaucracy, or end up denouncing the trade-union misleaders as "capitalists" and "bosses."

While Auto Workers United to Fight, *Call* supporters, Resistance and Workers Viewpoint Organization all emerged from the Fremont strike widely discredited, this was not the case with the only other organized oppositional grouping in the Local, the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW). Unlike the other oppositions, CMUAW has always stood for a clear and principled program of class struggle. When supporters of the *Call* and AWUF were backing Mays in 1973, CMUAW refused to go along and pointed out that in power his Brotherhood Caucus would be just another gang of sellouts, no better than the Unity Team it replaced.

During the strike, the CMUAW made it clear that not only did it support the strike, but it was crucial that the entire union stand as one against the company's firing of the shop committee. CMUAW supporters were the only oppositionists able to effectively cut through Mays' redbaiting and get a sympathetic hearing on the real issue facing the Local—how to win the strike. By the end of the strike, the CMUAW was acknowledged by both the Mays leadership and large numbers of strike militants to be *the* opposition in the Local.

The strike at Fremont is now over. It ended in a defeat for the union, but certainly not an irreversible one. If the militants of the CMUAW can, in the light of the authority which they won during the strike, take to the membership a sober and realistic assessment of the role played by the Mays leadership and the several fake-militant oppositionists during the strike—patiently explaining to the most thoughtful and militant workers the way forward—the path will be open to forging a new leadership in Local 1364 and throughout the UAW, to fight against the companies for the real interests of the working class. ■

ABONNEZ-VOUS

Le Bolchévik

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Nazis...

(continued from page 7)

squad Gehlen surrendered to the Americans and was spared from the Nuremberg war crimes trials. A few years later, he was asked by the CIA station chief in Bonn to reconstitute his spy network. When the head of West Germany's official intelligence agency defected to East Germany in 1954, Gehlen's CIA-financed organization was simply taken over in toto and became the Bundesnachrichtendienst, the new federal intelligence agency. (Valerian Trifa also worked for Gehlen while in Vienna in 1945.)

Maikovskis arrived in the U.S. from West Germany in 1951 and soon became vice chairman of the American Latvian Association and a delegate to the Assembly of Captive Nations. Repeated requests by the USSR for his extradition have been turned down by the United States government. A 1966 investigation of Maikovskis by the Immigration Service was halted after only four months on instructions from Washington. When DeVito became interested in the case, the files disappeared.

Yet these are only a select few out of hundreds of cases. Its hand forced by publicity surrounding the trial of Hermine Ryan, the U.S. government announced last year that it now has over 85 alleged fascist war criminals "under investigation," including Maikovskis, Trifa and Artuković.

Another of those supposedly under investigation is the Latvian Edgars Laipenieks, a member of the Latvian secret police during the Nazi occupation, who is accused of murdering hundreds of Jews. Last fall the *New York Times* (15 October) reported that his defense against attempts to remove his citizenship is a longstanding relationship with the CIA. From 1963 to 1968 he traveled extensively at the expense of the imperialist spy agency to "plant certain information about the Soviet Union."

Vilis Hazners, another Latvian former Nazi collaborator and secret police butcher, is a former president of the Committee for a Free Latvia and a delegate to the Assembly of Captive Nations. He was for years a script writer for Radio Liberty, a U.S.-funded anti-communist propaganda vehicle preaching the virtues of "freedom and democracy" to the Soviet Union.

In detailing these cases, the *New York Times* (28 November 1976) reported that "The State Department has long balked at seeking information on suspects from the Russians, who have sometimes used the war-criminals issue for propaganda..."; that "There have also been allegations that the war-crimes inquiries here were deliberately impeded"; and that Hazners and Laipenieks "may be beyond the reach of the law" because they entered the U.S. after 1952, and thus were not required to declare that they had not persecuted any nationality or minority!

Another *Times* article (23 November 1974) reports that in the case of the former head of the Luftwaffe's Medical Research Center, referred to earlier in this article, "Dr. Strughold's record of postwar activities suggests the sponsorship of American intelligence and security officials."

The obstructions, subterfuges, delaying tactics and other obstacles placed by American officials to hamper the uncovering and prosecution of Nazi war criminals are endless. For many years, their defense was "ignorance"—that there were no known Nazis living in the U.S. Yet both Laipenieks and Hazners appeared on a list of 34 Nazi criminals published on 7 January 1949 by *Aufbau*, the New York German-Jewish weekly. This was *before* either applied for U.S. citizenship, yet the Immigration Service claims it never heard of any suspects until the mid-1960's.

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The "Black International"

No one should delude himself that these fascist war criminals are nothing but a dwindling group of harmless old men, without influence and quietly whiling away their last years as "model citizens" who "go to church, work hard,

Florea/Life

Bodies at Nordhausen concentration camp, Germany, in 1945.

and tend their flower gardens," as the *New York Times* (18 October 1976) claimed. We have demanded that Artuković be extradited to Yugoslavia and others of these Nazi vermin be placed before juries of surviving relatives of their victims. It is a matter of elementary justice that these mass murderers must pay for their crimes—and also a vital measure of self-protection for the workers movement.

The capitalist world is not currently experiencing the degree of social crisis such that the frenzy of a desperate petty bourgeoisie provides a breeding ground for fascism to flourish. But the networks of ex-Nazis and fascist terrorists are still there, ready to be activated. They are especially active in Italy where a fascist "strategy of tension" led to an attempted coup d'état by military officers in 1970 (a plot headed by the "black prince" Valerio Borghese and implicating the Italian air force chief of staff and the head of military intelligence), numerous bombings of leftist meetings, the blowing up of an international express train by Ordine Nero (Black Order) and assassinations of left-wingers.

In Italy the connections to the Mussolini era are obvious, with several levels of fascist organization ranging from the legal Italian Social Movement to an unknown number of secret rightist terrorist organizations. Internationally these groups meet periodically under the auspices of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). The WACL has drawn support from "respectable" imperialist politicians, and its September 1970 world conference held in Tokyo was addressed by U.S. senator Strom Thurmond and received greetings from American vice president Spiro Agnew, Korean dictator Pak Chung Hee and long-time Taiwan strongman Chiang Kai-shek (*Daily World*, 13 October 1970). Also affiliated to the WACL is the World Union of National Socialists which includes German, Swedish, Chilean and Argentinian chapters.

Ex-Nazi war criminals have played an important role in these international terrorist conspiracies. A prime example is Otto Skorzeny, the former SS officer who "rescued" Mussolini from the Badoglio government in 1943 and then was instrumental in suppressing the 1944 "generals' plot" against Hitler. While supposedly "living quietly" in Madrid since the war, he has been identified as advising the French fascist shock group Paladin, the Italian Ordine Nero and in 1975 the "Portuguese Liberation Army" (ELP) which carried out an extensive bombing campaign against Communist Party leaders and left-wing military officers (*O Seculo* [Lisbon], 29 March 1975). Skorzeny reportedly died last year.

Others have played key advisory roles to the murderous secret police agencies of Latin America. Thus in Chile, Walter Rauff, a former SS colonel who devised the gas trucks used to murder at least 97,000 Jews in 1941-42, in the period before Hitler's extermination camps were completed, played an important part in setting up Pinochet's murderous DINA secret police after the bloody 1973 coup (*New York Times*, 18 May 1975).

Today, while the Carter administration has launched a major international campaign of phony "human rights" propaganda as a means of isolating the Stalinist-ruled USSR and simultaneously restoring the tarnished image of U.S. imperialism, the United States continues to harbor scores if not hundreds of Nazi war criminals. The profoundly anti-democratic, murderous fascist filth collected by the Allied "democracies" as a part of the anti-Soviet cold war was dramatically revealed recently at a New York City forum for "Soviet dissidents" at which leading social democrats were howled down. In slightly different circumstances they would have been lucky to escape with their lives from the clutches of these fascist scum.

It is these vicious forces of reaction which the U.S. government has protected, while refusing to admit tens of thousands of Jews during and after World War II, excluding Chilean left-wingers tortured in junta concentration camps and deporting several million innocent foreign workers. The New York *Daily News*, in propagandizing in favor of fascists right up until the bombing of Pearl Harbor, merely said openly what the liberals would not admit: that the imperialist bourgeoisie would use these anti-labor, anti-communist race-hate nationalist terrorists as their final weapon to defend the capitalist order. Only international proletarian revolution will finally wipe the Nazi, Ustashi, Iron Guard and other fascist vermin from the face of the earth. ■

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152

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Indiana Chrysler Strike...

(continued from page 12)

and shop committee chairman Ted Ward claimed that they had tried, unsuccessfully, to get the workers back on the job. The failure of the Local leaders to actively mobilize the membership greatly strengthened the International's hand. UAW president Woodcock called a Local meeting for March 29 and appointed Fraser, the union's Chrysler Department head, to do the hatchet job.

In 1973 he gained a certain notoriety by bitterly opposing a series of pre-contract summer wildcats. He castigated Chrysler for "giving in" after two black workers secured the firing of a racist foreman at Detroit's Jefferson Ave. plant by locking themselves in an electrical power cage and shutting off the juice. Later he played a prominent role in defending the 1,000-man goon squad of union bureaucrats which broke the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant sit-in.

Also in 1973, in his capacity as head of the UAW Skilled Trades Department, he helped cram a rotten agreement down the throats of Ford skilled tradesmen who had voted it down. In 1974 he backed the cops, judges and local union officials who broke a wildcat strike at the Dodge Truck plant. Here, truly, is a man with experience.

Before Fraser left Detroit, he let his strikebreaking intentions be known, along with the threat to place Local 1226 in receivership. "We will ask the workers to go back to their jobs at the meeting in Indianapolis," Fraser said. "I don't want to contemplate what we'll do after that if they don't end the walkout. I'm reluctant to take control. First we'll try to convince them to do the right thing" (*Indianapolis Star*, 29 March 1977).

At the massive meeting of 2,000-2,500 workers at the Market Square sports arena, Fraser predictably described the situation as untenable and, foisting the blame on the strikers, promised merely "to try to salvage the damage already done." Mimicking Chrysler's line that no negotiations were possible until work resumed, Fraser urged the workers back and assured them that negotiations on the grievance against the foreman would begin only *after* that.

One striker, a 23-year Chrysler worker, complained to *WV* that Fraser "didn't want to hear our side" and that members had to demand that Fraser allow Local president Larry Shick to speak in the meeting. Shick said he explained the situation but, instead of forthrightly denouncing Fraser's backstabbing, told the workers "you have to make the decision." Fraser called for a straw vote; in the absence of a fighting alternative leadership, two thirds of those voting decided to return to work while a majority (including the Local leadership) abstained.

Shick told *WV* that the role of Solidarity House in the strike was a "travesty." But his refusal to openly fight the International, to organize mass picketing and to call for solidarity action from other locals gave Fraser a free hand to strangle the strike. "They do their job, we do ours," Shick said lamely. Following the meeting, pickets were removed and the second shift reported for work.

The pro-capitalist UAW bureaucrats in Solidarity House see their "job" as maintaining labor peace at any cost. In this case, the price was a broken strike and a beheaded Local. Union officials who seek to find safe ground between Woodcock/Fraser & Co. and the hard-pressed rank and file, will either be crushed, or, as is more often the case, they will simply capitulate to the union tops.

Either way the workers lose. The UAW needs leaders who break with the pro-capitalist treachery of Solidarity House and the equivocation of local leaders caught in the squeeze. For a class-struggle leadership in the UAW! ■

Lewis 17X Dupree Acquitted

Lewis 17X Dupree was acquitted on March 27 of murder charges stemming from a 1972 police attack on the Nation of Islam's Mosque No. 7 (now the Malcolm Shabazz Temple) in Harlem. The trial, which began in February, was the second for Dupree on the same charges. The first, one of the longest and most expensive trials in the state's history, ended with a hung jury last November. But the prosecution would not give up in its determination to railroad the Muslim teacher.

Dupree was arrested along with Bobby 9X Hopes on 14 April 1972, the day of the police raid. It began when two cops barged into the mosque, claiming they had received a phone call for help from a detective inside. Dozens more helmeted police arrived while outraged neighborhood residents gathered outside. Almost immediately, as if planned in advance, over 100 police in full riot gear, including machine guns, laid siege to the mosque.

In the melee a cop was shot; he died several days later, most likely as a result of wounds received in the police crossfire. Dupree and Hopes were charged at the time with assault, but two years later the charge against the mosque teacher was changed to murder. Bobby 9X Hopes' trial is scheduled for next month.

The state's frame-up case against Dupree was based mainly on the testimony of police "eyewitnesses" and a paid police informer, who admitted in the first trial that he received $140 from the cops for his services and was under indictment for using stolen credit cards. To encourage other "witnesses," the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association offered $25,000 to anyone providing "evidence" leading to a conviction of Dupree.

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League demand that the charges against Bobby 9X Hopes be dropped immediately. Stop the cop vendetta! For more information, write to the Lewis Ali Defense Fund, c/o Malcolm Shabazz Temple No. 7, 102 West 116 St., New York, NY 10026. ■

MEC...

(continued from page 4)

> torture centers of Chile from the cases of *other women who are their class enemies.*"

The MEC is here engaging in the most despicable dishonesty. We nowhere said or implied that the MEC defends fascists, much less that it "supports" them.

Our objection to the civil libertarian defense of "all political prisoners" is an important part of the SL's principled political history. More than ten years ago we exposed the refusal of the SWP-supported USLA to explicitly disavow the support of fascist political prisoners; this social-democratic evasion finds its full political logic in the SWP's explicit position in favor of "free speech" for fascists as well as in USLA's sectarian redbaiting of the campaign to free Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz.

The MEC's silly demagogic syllogism is a blatant attempt to justify MEC exclusionism. The argument goes: the SL says the MEC defends fascists; therefore the SL reads the MEC out of the workers movement; therefore the SL must feel it would be principled to disrupt MEC classes; therefore we must exclude the SL.

Kass's letter also includes a hilarious defense of the MEC's sectarian failure to endorse the campaign to free Muñoz. Says Kass, "we feel just lending our name does not have much impact in supporting the case." MEC literature boasts that the MEC supported the "Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, the campaign to save Hostos College, the Fourth of July Coalition, the Puerto Rican cement workers struggle, the June 5, 1976 meeting in defense of the Portuguese Revolution," but we are asked to believe that it was misplaced modesty that caused the MEC to make its name conspicuous by its absence from the long list of trade-union organizations, left-wing tendencies and individuals concerned with democratic rights who endorsed the campaign which became a symbol of the plight of victimized Chilean militants and refugees in Argentina.

"Disrupting"?

Finally, we are told that the SL violated the "rights of the rest of the audience, packed our meetings, attempted to monopolize discussion periods...." What is this supposed to mean? "Packing a meeting" invokes images of people who are not members of an organization turning out to be counted for a vote. What meeting? What vote? SL members have attended MEC classes, public forums, special "events." At these gatherings, no votes are taken.

The MEC's plaintive wail about the rights of "the rest of the audience" apparently boils down to a complaint that the SL has paid too much attention to the MEC, has sent too many people to participate who have argued too vigorously and effectively for our politics. We are sorry that our interventions have apparently wounded the inflated egos of MEC honchos who are forced to defend their revisionist and often unintelligible theories against Leninist criticism. But we defy the MEC to produce a single instance where SL supporters have "packed" meetings, shouted anybody down, threatened anyone, assaulted anyone, or committed any kind of violation of the practices of workers democracy.

The SL's interventions put the MEC into the uncomfortable position of admitting that it has political positions—something which is always threatening to the paper "unity" of this heterogeneous "collective." The Kass letter is nothing but an attempt to legitimize suppressing our exposure of the MEC's prostration before feminism and popular frontism, our counterposition of the Marxist program to the MEC's opportunist cheerleading for "Third World" nationalists and Stalinists. It is the bureaucratic formalization of the petty gripe and gossip campaign by which the MEC leadership hopes to shield its members from the principled Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League. ■

Urgent PDC Fund Appeal

Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: $10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of $_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (*Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund."*)

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of $_____ to aid the work of the Partisan Defense Committee.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Partisan Defense Committee

Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. (212) 925-2426
Box 6729, Main Post Office, Chicago, IL 60680
Box 26078, Edendale Station, Los Angeles, CA 90026
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The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League

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Britain...

(continued from page 1)

the Liberals to "Keep Labour in—on approval," and opined that "the consequences of a Tory victory now are, frankly, worrying." And the *Economist* (26 March) "tentatively welcomed" Callaghan's deal with the Liberals.

Why is it that every important organ of bourgeois opinion now favours maintaining in office the Callaghan government over an election which would bring the Tories to power? Why do British capitalists and their most intelligent spokesmen prefer a Liberal-Labour coalition to their own traditional party and direct agency of bourgeois rule?

The British working class has powerful economic organizations and a tradition of trade-union militancy and solidarity. The recent long strike of 3,000 Leyland toolmakers against the Social Contract, though broken by bureaucrat Hugh Scanlon, put a scare into the ruling class. They knew that a violently right-wing Tory government would provoke massive industrial action which could explode in a revolutionary confrontation.

As the *Financial Times* (23 March) put it just before the Lib-Lab deal was announced:

> "However sceptical one may be about the success of Phase Three [of the Social Contract], it is at least arguable that Labour has a better chance of preventing a wage explosion than a new Conservative Government would have...."

At the present time, only the reformist Labour misleaders have the political authority to force the working class to accept a drastic cut in living standards. The rabidly anti-working-class Thatcher could impose an economic austerity program like Callaghan's only through widespread state repression, inciting fascistic forces such as the National Front and ultimately risking civil war.

Callaghan has been quick to discover another advantage from being the "hostage" of the Liberals (apart from the obvious one of remaining in office). Already he is alibiing the bloc with Steel by explaining that:

> "...because we are a minority government then we have to do certain things that wouldn't be done if we were a majority....there are times when you want to take certain actions that you find difficult to take because you can't construct a majority for it."
>
> —quoted in *Tribune*, 25 March

Unfortunately for Callaghan, the British workers have just experienced two years of majority Labour rule, and they are not liable to quickly forget the "certain actions" (wage freezes, social service cuts, etc.) that Callaghan used his parliamentary majority for.

Ramsay MacDonald's Coalition Government of 1931

Recently in West Europe there has been a rash of coalitions involving mass social-democratic or Stalinist parties and one or several bourgeois parties. The French Union of the Left; the Italian Communist Party's attempts to "historically compromise" itself with the Christian Democrats; and, the case which most closely parallels the present situation in Britain, the West German coalition government since 1972 of the dominant Social Democracy with the Free Democrats (a small liberal bourgeois party) are all examples of this trend. However, the British working class has traditionally more strongly opposed "coalitionism" than have its continental counterparts. This is largely due to the lingering stench of the "National Government" established in 1931 by Ramsay MacDonald, the former leader of the Labour Party.

MacDonald headed the second Labour government, which was elected in 1929. This cabinet, like Callaghan's, was a minority government and required the support of the Liberals to get any legislation through parliament.

Economist

"Left" Labour cabinet members Tony Benn (left) and Michael Foot complained about coalition with Liberals, then backed Callaghan.

After the 1929 stock market crash, British financiers were threatening the government with the collapse of the entire British banking system, and demanding drastic cuts in public expenditure, particularly unemployment benefits.

MacDonald was unable to get his Labour government to agree to impose such unpopular anti-working-class measures and instead led 12 (of 254) Labour MP's into a reactionary coalition government with the Liberals and Tories. In the subsequent election the Tories scored tremendous gains, the Liberals' vote declined sharply and Labour only managed to retain 52 seats. The new cabinet, headed by MacDonald, proceeded with its attack on the working class, including such measures as the vicious Means Test to push the mounting numbers of unemployed off the dole.

Callaghan is no doubt hoping that the fading memory of the 1930's, his own fast talking and the unanimous support of the loyal fake-lefts in parliament will be sufficient to dispel the taint of "MacDonaldism" which attaches itself to this most recent coalition. However, traditional hostility to "the traitor MacDonald" and coalitionism remains strong enough that Callaghan has been compelled to explicitly disavow the historic parallel. Callaghan, Foot & Co. are already busy denying that their deal with the Liberals is a coalition and claiming that it does not represent a denial of the "basic principles" of the Labour Party.

In one sense, of course, Callaghan is right—for inasmuch as the fundamental "principle" of the Labour brass is class collaborationism, this bloc with the Liberals is only a variation on the same theme which runs straight through the history of their wretchedly reformist, social-democratic party. However, the most class-conscious Labour supporters will see this coalition with the Liberals as a formal repudiation of the Labour Party's traditional claim to stand for the interests of working people against the capitalists.

It is this militant layer to which revolutionaries must address themselves in the coming period, seeking to use Callaghan's open bloc with the Liberals as a lever to separate chunks of Labour's base from the treacherous tops. One important tactic for revolutionaries in doing this is to put forward a policy of conditional non-support to Labour in upcoming elections unless and until they repudiate coalitionism.

The "Far Left" Tails Labour, as Always

Those groupings to the left of the Labour Party in Britain have generally expressed displeasure at the Lib-Lab coalition. The Communist Party's *Morning Star* denounces Callaghan and Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey, drawing the parallel with MacDonald. But then it uncritically reports "for the record" objections of the Tribunites, neglecting to mention that every one of these fakers is continuing to give the Callaghan leadership their full support. The political simpletons of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists) were only able to draw the abstractly correct but one-sidedly syndicalist/economist conclusion from the Lib-Lab deal that, "this week has proved it one more time...we can't rely on parliament" (*Socialist Worker*, 26 March). The Cliffite program is well summed up as,

Economist

James Callaghan

"support of all workers in struggle for higher wages."

The lead article of the 25 March *Militant* (the paper of an ostensibly Trotskyist tendency of Labour-loyal parliamentary cretins, led by Ted Grant) notes with relief that, "The attempted overthrow [!] of the Labour government by Mrs. Thatcher and her sorry crew of Tory 'extremists' has failed." After railing against "the Tory Shadow Cabinet in their brainless greed for office," the *Militant* goes on to offer its own advice to Callaghan: "*Only socialist policies can save the Labour Government.*" Thus the Grant group presents its own utopian-reformist strategy of "winning the Labour Party to peacefully transform capitalism into socialism" as the most expedient way for the pro-capitalist Labour tops to save their government (and their portfolios) from the Tories. But Callaghan is no more interested in "socialist policies" than socialists should be in "saving" Callaghan's vicious anti-working-class Liberal-supported Labour government!

The response of the self-styled "Trotskyist" "far left"—the centrists of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the International Communist League (I-CL) and the Workers Socialist League (WSL)—has been to combine verbal opposition to the Lib-Lab deal with continuing support to Labour. After going through a ritual denunciation of the crimes of the Labour government, the IMG concludes that "whenever the election takes place *Red Weekly* will call for a vote for Labour" (*Red Weekly*, 24 March). The coalition with the Liberals did not change the IMG's electoral loyalism to Callaghan.

The I-CL, writing before the bloc had been finalised, advised that it would be "*better a thousand times that the Labour party should vacate office than that it should depend on Liberal or Ulster Tory votes*" (*Workers' Action*, 24 March). The I-CL also advised the Tribune group not to support the government on the Tory no-confidence motion, but could not bring themselves to advise a vote *against* the Labour Party (in coalition with the Liberals)—so they counselled abstention. Like the IMG, the I-CL indicates that come what may it will support Labour in any election. Thus in explaining to the Tribunites the difference between not supporting the government in the no-confidence vote and in a general election, the I-CL states that, "To support the Government is not an act of preference: if it were we would say, Labour in, Tories out!"

The Workers Socialist League noted that, "Even when the ignominious pact had been concluded, not a single [Labour] 'left' MP was prepared to come out with decisive condemnation... with friends like these, workers fighting the government need no enemies" (*Socialist Press*, 25 March). From these essentially correct observations, the WSL somehow concludes that the "lefts," despite their manifest real appetites, "should have demanded and themselves set up a new leadership based on socialist policies." Thus the WSL's at best naive position ("make the lefts fight") logically leads to the same capitulatory conclusion as the IMG and I-CL—continuing to support the Labour Party (or at least a wing of it).

The response of the Healyites was predictable. Denouncing the Lib-Lab deal as a betrayal, these political bandits called on Labour supporters to "turn out at once to the factories and housing estates [public housing] to build the Workers Revolutionary Party as the alternative to these traitors" (*News Line*, 25 March). And what does this mean concretely? The lead editorial answers: the "Euro-March '77" consisting of youth from eight countries will set off from Dortmund, West Germany, and will link up with no less than four other marches in Britain.

All this marching will culminate in London, where "a giant rally will be held focusing on one question—the main question; calling for the independent strength of the working class to bring down the Lib-Lab coalition government!" Why wonder how the German Healyites feel about a 500-mile hike to end up simply protesting the Labour Party's parliamentary manoeuvre—such is life in Healy's "little English" "International." All in all, the Euro-March '77 will be far less politically potent and significant than the historical event it most resembles—the 14th-century Children's Crusade.

Labour's parliamentary coalition with the Liberals poses the fundamental contradiction between the socialist aspirations of the British working class and the parliamentary character of its party, the Labour Party, in a particularly acute fashion. The various "Trotskyist" groups which inhabit the British left have all once again demonstrated their incapacity to respond to the treacherous social democrats except by sectarian posturing as *the* mass alternative to the Labour Party on the one hand, or by offering counterrevolutionary bureaucrats their political support on the other. The disorientation and capitulation of the ostensibly revolutionary left in Britain underlines the urgent necessity for the construction of an authentic Trotskyist party in Britain as part of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Strike Ends, Nothing Solved

Defeat at Fremont

FREMONT, California, April 4—The strike by some 5,000 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 at the giant General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant here ended in defeat last Friday with none of the issues which provoked the four-day-long strike settled.

The Fremont GM workers walked out at noon on March 28. The strike was called by shop chairman Earlie Mays after the company arrogantly refused to meet union demands that foreman Clem Holquim be removed from his job. Holquim, who has a long record of treating the union with utter contempt, assaulted a committeeman filing a grievance against GM harassment of an injured worker. Holquim also racially insulted an alternate committeeman working on the same grievance.

In retaliation against the walkout, GM fired the entire shop committee, haughtily announcing that the issue of Holquim's job was "not negotiable." To justify these outrageous acts it labelled the strike a "wildcat," and "illegal" under the UAW/GM national contract's paragraph 117 (prohibiting strikes without International authorization).

At the same time that Local 1364 was being kicked in the face by GM, the UAW International stabbed it in the back by refusing to sanction the strike. Instead, the Woodcock bureaucracy denounced the walkout as a "wildcat" and told the Local to go back to work. The positions of both the UAW International and GMAD were identical. Local 1364 had to end its "wildcat" and return to work before negotiations could begin.

But the strike was not a "wildcat." It was called by the elected officials of Local 1364 in response to a deliberate and serious company provocation. No union can permit company goons to freely harass, insult and intimidate its officials and members. The right to strike is the chief weapon of the trade unions and any union which renounces the right to strike over working conditions is giving up its ability to defend its members.

By drawing a hard line on the foreman issue and firing the whole shop committee, GM was announcing its intent to tame the Local, one of the most militant in the UAW, and to try to turn the clock back to the early 1930's when there were no unions in the auto plants and company goon squads roamed the shop floors, terrorizing militants at will.

From the outset of the strike it was clear that GM's firing of Mays and the shop committee was an attack on the entire union and that all union members, whatever their criticisms of the Mays leadership, should unite to overturn these firings. Yet events were to make it perfectly clear that Mays and the Local 1364 shop committee, having stumbled into a strike provoked by management, had no stomach for waging a serious fight.

WV Photo

Picket at San Leandro Chevrolet dealer in solidarity with Fremont GM strike.

To begin with, Mays too called the strike a "wildcat," playing into the hands of the company and the Solidarity House gang in Detroit, both of whom wanted the strike over as quickly as possible. The Local 1364 leadership also adopted the suicidal policy of limiting picketing while looking to the UAW

continued on page 8

Doug Fraser Breaks Indiana Chrysler Strike

INDIANAPOLIS, March 30—Yesterday Doug Fraser, who is slated to succeed Leonard Woodcock as president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) later this year, broke the back of a twelve-day strike at Chrysler's Indianapolis Electrical Plant. The longest UAW "wildcat" in recent years was terminated by the heavy hand of the International without gaining a single concession! The fate of 23 officials of Local 1226 who were fired during the strike and of 44 Local members who were suspended has been left to post-strike negotiations.

The action stemmed from an incident March 15 when a 6 ft. 8 in. foreman assaulted a union steward. The strike began three days later when outraged workers watched the foreman being escorted back into the plant by a bristling circle of armed cops. As a further provocation, Chrysler had other cops stationed throughout the area as well. One Local official told *WV* that it was "almost like a concentration camp."

Workers in the windshield wiper department began jeering and booing the reappearance of the foreman, backed up by state firepower, and soon walked out. The entire second shift followed, and the next day all 3,200 plant workers were on strike.

Pickets went up around the plant. But Chrysler rushed to obtain a strikebreaking court order which limited pickets to four per gate and precluded blocking traffic. On March 21 Chrysler stepped up its legal offensive by issuing a battery of lawsuits against the Local and its officers. The corporation sought a $200,000 damage suit plus $238,000 for each continuing day of the strike as well as $1.5 million in punitive damages. And a week later, Chrysler fired the Local president, the vice-president, the recording and financial secretaries, five committeemen and 14 stewards, also suspending 44 militants "identified" on the picket lines. Reportedly, another list of "identified" pickets was also prepared.

Despite this barrage, Local 1226 members solidly supported the strike. Union officials estimated that no more than five workers crossed the picket lines. At a Local meeting on March 20 only two or three workers voted to return to their jobs out of more than 600 in attendance. More than 200 workers appeared at a subsequent press conference and showed similar solidarity.

The Local 1226 membership has a history of defending itself. They struck for 17 days in January over the Local contract. Last September they wildcatted to keep plant cafeteria workers in the bargaining unit. The plant manager moans that the factory has the "worst" strike record in the corporation.

Thus the Local 1226 ranks have a demonstrated capacity and willingness to fight. What spelled defeat in their recent struggle was the absence of a leadership capable of outlining and implementing the class-struggle policies

WV Photo

Doug Fraser

needed to beat the cops, courts, Chrysler *and* the UAW International. By refusing to take the steps that could defeat this unholy alliance the Local leadership managed to stab itself in the back.

To win the strike, mass picketing should have been instituted to shut the plant down tight. Acquiescence to the court injunction limiting picketing not only allowed Teamsters to cross the token lines, but inevitably demoralized the striking workers. Equally important, mass picketing would have served dramatic notice to both the company and the International of the ranks' solidarity and determination to win the strike.

A broad-based strike committee should have been elected to draw large numbers of militants into active participation and leadership of the strike. Such a committee could have served as a rallying point, calling on other UAW locals to support the strike and bolster the picket lines. It would also have provided a focus for militant opposition to the Local leaders' buckling under to the International, the company and the government.

Such tactics would have helped to counter the virtual news blackout imposed by Indianapolis' two pro-Republican, staunchly anti-labor newspapers. Management took out full-page ads denouncing the strike and emphasizing that it was unauthorized by the International. A belated union ad claimed that the strike had "the sanction of human decency." This was printed only after 25 Local members picketed the *Star and News* Building March 25 to protest the delay.

Local 1226 officials told *WV* that they were not involved in calling the strike,

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 153 15 April 1977

Israeli armor burning after Sinai battle in October 1973. Del/Gamma

Rabin Out, Inflation Soars, Strikes Rage in Israel

Crisis in the Zionist Bunker

For Arab/Hebrew Workers Revolution!

APRIL 10—While Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was ambassador to the Zionist state's chief imperialist benefactor, he was not above looking after his own. During his sojourn in Washington Rabin lined his pockets through the time-worn tactic used by American politicians of soliciting legal bribes through speaker's fees. It is reported that he made some $90,000 in this fashion, a drop in the bucket compared to the millions the CIA lavished on King Hussein of Jordan, but enough to cause a minor scandal in Israel where Zionist leaders raised on the kibbutzim are supposed to live more spartan lives.

After returning to Israel, Rabin left some $20,000 stashed in Washington, D.C., bank accounts in his wife's name, an illegal act under Israel's stringent currency laws. When confronted with this malfeasance Rabin lied, claiming that the amount involved was only $2,000. (The practice of Israeli courts is that a sum that small would subject the malefactor only to a small fine, whereas for $20,000 he may well have to go to jail.) However, the lid blew off Rabin's cover-up, and this was the straw that broke the back of his campaign for re-election as prime minister.

The Rabin resignation and general government crisis was only a culmination of the mounting social crisis in Israel. Inflation continues at near-South American rates, provoking the greatest strike wave in the history of the Zionist state. Arab protest demonstrations continue on the West Bank. While a new candidate for the governing coalition was soon selected, he is in no better position than Rabin to deal with the severe social crisis.

Rabin was the candidate of the leading party of the Zionist establishment, the so-called "Labor Party." This is a clique-ridden bourgeois formation based on petty political barons and their personal fiefdoms in the highly statified and corporatist Israeli capitalist economy. The "Labor Party" was formed in 1969 through the re-unification of two split-offs, Ben Gurion's Rafi Party and Achdut Ha'Avoda (Unity of Labor) with the traditional party of "labor-Zionism," the Mapai (Palestine Workers Party).

Even the fused "Labor Party" has never been able to garnish enough votes in the Knesset (Israeli parliament) to form a government. A Knesset majority relied on a coalition with the right-wing National Religious Party (NRP), based on the orthodox rabbis who impart talmudic clericalist sanctimony to the chauvinism and racialism of the Zionist state, and the "left-wing" Mapam (United Workers Party), who drape this reactionary client of U.S. imperialism with a threadbare red flag and May Day "socialist" rhetoric.

As has been previously reported in *WV*, the present parliamentary crisis was precipitated when the NRP Knesset members abstained on a no-confidence motion tendered by the even more fanatically orthodox "United Torah Front." The Torah Front accused the Rabin government of desecrating the sabbath when a ceremony for the newest and most advanced U.S. fighter planes to be added to the Israeli arsenal ran late into a Friday afternoon. Rabin expelled the NRP from the cabinet, and lacking a majority in the Knesset, he then resigned, forcing the present elections.

Schezen/Gamma

Israeli troops patrol Nablus during November 1974 demonstrations by West Bank Palestinian Arabs.

"Allon Plan" and the NRP

The bourgeois press explained Rabin's expulsion of the National Religious Party as a result of incompatible positions on the territories Israel occupied in the 1967 war (Golan Heights, West Bank and the Sinai peninsula). Rabin's formal position, the "Allon Plan" (named after the Israeli deputy prime minister and foreign minister Yigal Allon), is based on maintenance of "defensible borders," that is, continued Israeli military occupation of that land and of those borders which the Zionist chauvinists consider necessary to their military security.

Under this plan Israeli military forces would continue to occupy most of the Golan Heights, a substantial strip of the eastern Sinai peninsula and an armed ring around Samaria and Judea, the densely populated portions of the Palestinian-Arab West Bank. Troops would also be stationed along the Jordan River, and the old city of East Jerusalem is considered annexed by the Zionists. Samaria, Judea and the densely Palestinian-populated Gaza Strip would be placed under Jordanian control to be policed by the hated "Black September" butcher of the Palestinian people, the Hashemite monarch King Hussein.

It is clear that the Israeli government would not proffer even this token restitution if it were not for tremendous international pressure. But, speaking for "labor-Zionists" Allon gives a rationale for the thief returning a fraction of the spoils: the desire to retain the exclusive "Jewish character" of Israel and not to add to its already existing Arab minority of 400,000. The NRP opposes the return of any occupied territory, especially in the West Bank, while supporting the Jewish

continued on page 8

Imperialists Scream "Red Menace"

Cuba in Africa ...6

Kennedy Assassination Fairy Tales

Who Killed Cock Robin?

Over the past 14 years Congress has resisted demands that it conduct real inquiries in the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Malcolm X and Martin Luther King despite the fact that, according to recent public opinion polls, 69 percent of the population rejects the official version of the King assassination and 60 percent doubt the suspect findings of the Warren Commission on the Kennedy assassination.

Last September a reluctant Congress established the Select Committee on Assassinations. Apparently the Committee never intended to probe too deeply. Malcolm X's assassination was not even included in the investigation, and none of Congress's big-name "stars" took part. In fact, the more "prestigious" Senate left the inquiry entirely up to the House of Representatives, some junior members of which no doubt hoped to be provided with the same sort of springboard to stardom which Watergate had been for Howard Baker of Tennessee and others.

There was heavy resistance from the House leadership and even the assassinations committee chairman, Congressman Henry González. Their hostility was directed at chief counsel Richard Sprague, accused of everything from highhandedness to overeagerness to expand the investigation. Only when he was dumped on March 30 was the House Select Committee grudgingly granted a new lease on life in the wake of a spate of highly publicized "leaks" of new "evidence."

The new "evidence" includes the testimony of a Dallas cocktail waitress who claims that Jack Ruby introduced her a few weeks before the JFK assassination to one "Lee Harvey Oswald of the CIA," and that she also just happened to be taking photographs of the famous "grassy knoll" when Kennedy was shot (photographs which were confiscated by two men claiming to be federal agents); and the testimony of a nurse at the Dallas hospital to which Kennedy and Texas governor John Connally were brought that *many* bullet fragments were removed from Connally (undercutting the government's single-bullet story). By and large the new "evidence" is no more substantial than previous stories that conflict with the Warren Commission report; they merely rehash the familiar speculations of Mark Lane (*Rush to Judgment*) and a host of other assassination-conspiracy buffs whose books, lecture tours and Hollywood movies have become a lucrative genre of American popular culture.

Another recent and evidently more sinister revelation deals with the connection between Oswald and George de Morenschildt, a wealthy oil financier and former French intelligence agent. De Morenschildt, who had testified to the Warren Commission that Oswald killed Kennedy, committed suicide on March 29, before he was due to testify to the House committee. Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans has now come forward with his story that de Morenschildt had told him that there was a conspiracy including the FBI, the CIA, Texas oil millionaire H.L. Hunt, Jack Ruby and several Cuban exiles to kill Kennedy, and that de Morenschildt had been the middleman. Of particular significance is that Oswald, who is usually painted as a hopelessly embittered loser, should have had such intimate relations with an international wheeler-dealer like de Morenschildt.

Wide World

SNCC

Martin Luther King (left) and Ralph Abernathy just before fatal shooting. Malcolm X (right).

How credible is this testimony? Oltmans also quotes de Morenschildt, who had made several suicide attempts in recent months, as telling him: "Let's face it. I only made up the story [about Lee Harvey Oswald] because everybody makes a million dollars off the Kennedy assassination, and I haven't made anything. So now it's my time."

Least plausible of all are the rumors suggesting that Castro "hit" Kennedy in retaliation for the infamous CIA attempts on his life or for CIA involvement in the Bay of Pigs fiasco. There is no bourgeois agency which would not be delighted to reveal such a Castroite plot if such could be demonstrated, and it seems inconceivable that the Warren Commission and J. Edgar Hoover would have passed up such an exquisite opportunity for witchhunting and propaganda if there were a shred of evidence to support this theory of Castro acting in his own self-defense.

Newsweek

Plethora of magazines and books produced about Kennedy's assassination.

Regarding the King assassination, the House committee, in the short time it has been in existence, has listed some 600 "unresolved questions." One of the most interesting of these is where and how James Earl Ray obtained the money he lived on between his escape from prison in April 1967 and his arrest in London in June 1968. During this period Ray is known to have visited Acapulco, Montreal, Chicago, New Orleans, Toronto, London, Lisbon and Brussels. He also bought a new car, expensive camera equipment and other items. The FBI estimates his total income for the period as $664.34, which he earned as a dishwasher. There has been some speculation that Ray's money came from bank robberies, but the FBI has never succeeded in linking him with a single robbery or burglary of any sort during this time.

Other unanswered questions involve how Ray was able to engineer a prison escape, why Tennessee authorities did not insist on a full investigation of him and whether the FBI, which had King under close surveillance, knew of the assassination scheme before it was carried out. Even the Carter administration evidently doesn't buy the story that Ray acted alone, for Attorney General Bell has said he wanted to personally interview the prisoner. Sprague, meanwhile, reports that Ray has said that a mysterious "Raoul" aided him with "certain weapons and certain money" (*New York Times*, 12 April).

Finding the answers to these questions after so many years would be difficult even if there were a real determination to leave no stone unturned. Whatever FBI and/or CIA links there may have been to the slayings were likely never explicitly committed to paper and any circumstantial evidence has long since seen the inside of government shredders. Many potential witnesses died years ago—"mysteriously," as assassination freaks add reflexively—and the living witnesses are aware of the fate of Sam Giancana and John Roselli, who were murdered and had guilty knowledge of CIA-Mafia efforts to assassinate Castro.

So for the assassination buffs, it's back to the campus and talkshow circuits, to pouring over the 27 volumes of Warren Commission testimony, to screening the graphic Zapruder film of JFK's grey matter being sprayed around Dealey Plaza, to filing Freedom of Information Act lawsuits.

To the extent that the assassination buffs have explicit politics, they are well within mainstream liberalism. Shocked by Watergate and the events of the 1960's which it culminated, bourgeois liberals pointed as one to "Black Friday" in Dallas as the date on which "America lost its innocence" and from which an ensuing torrent of violence, vituperation and despair could be dated. The supposedly cultured and cosmopolitan court (now revealed as sex-crazed) of Jack and Jackie's "Camelot" was replaced by the "vulgarity" of LBJ. The clean-cut "idealism" of the Peace Corps was superseded by the ever-more-radical Students for a Democratic Society, and the docile Martin Luther King by the Black Panthers and ghetto uprisings.

Of course, this myth has been undermined, in its turn, by the same recent scandals which gave impetus to the assassination probe in the first place. Between Kennedy's presiding over COINTELPRO repression and constant attempts to overthrow Castro and restore capitalism in Cuba, and his tumbles with the various "Fiddles," "Faddles" and Mafia gun molls, the image of Camelot has faded fast. From Camelot to Carter stretches an unbroken chain of imperialist dictatorship, oppression, terror, spying and slaughter.

But in the absence of a perceived revolutionary alternative to bourgeois politics, the conspiracy industry and the muckraking fad have succeeded only in feeding the widespread cynicism. The

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Before HSINHUA WEEKLY 20 September 1976

After RENMIN HUA BAO November 1976

Pictures Do Lie

How Maoists Were Turned into Shrubbery

Joseph Stalin died in 1953 but the "Stalin School of Falsification" lives on, and not just in the Kremlin. The Maoist bureaucrats in Peking recently made blatant use of one of the well-worn Stalinist specialties for rewriting history: doctored photographs.

The November 1976 issue (distributed in February 1977) of *Renmin Hua Bao* (the Chinese edition of "China Pictorial") was devoted to pictures depicting the life and death of Mao Tse-tung. Naturally, nowhere do the likenesses of such "unpersons" as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao appear. But in some of the photos there are obvious gaping holes where party leaders used to be. We have selected two of the clearest examples of this disgusting distortion of history and supplied the original photos for comparison.

Before HSINHUA WEEKLY 20 September 1976

After RENMIN HUA BAO November 1976

党和国家领导人华国锋、×××、叶剑英、×××、宋庆龄、××、×××、李先念、陈锡联、纪登奎、汪东兴、吴德、许世友、韦国清、李德生、陈永贵、吴桂贤、苏振华、倪志福、赛福鼎在追悼大会上。

In the first, showing Mao and his entourage in Shensi province in 1947, his wife Chiang Ching (now in disgrace) has become invisible, as if vaporized in a sci-fi movie. In the second, taken at a mass memorial meeting for Mao in September 1976, the solid line of assembled Maoist dignitaries has become a broken line, with the "Gang of Four" miraculously transformed into shrubbery. But the new gang in power doesn't even shrink from admitting their falsification: in the accompanying Chinese caption the purge victims are shamelessly denoted by "X's."

This sinister practice was by no means invented by Mao's heirs. From Stalin's practice of ordering offending pages of the "Great Soviet Encyclopedia" cut out and returned to the publisher every time the "general line" changed or another old party leader was executed, to the Maoist reprinting of pages from the "Little Red Book" to remove references to Liu Shao-chi, the methods of the Stalinist bureaucrats are the same.

In its Orwellian manipulation of reality, as in its bureaucratic travesty of proletarian democracy, Stalinism renders invaluable service to the bourgeois redbaiters' hypocritical outcry against "Communist totalitarianism." The Stalinists' cult of the personality requires systematic forgery and fraud, "newspeak" and "doublethink." Even the most loyal adherents of "socialism in one country" may overnight be transformed into shrubbery and "X's"—in photograph and in fact.

The authentic communist vanguard, however, is bound by Trotsky's admonition to "say what is." As Lenin put it, "the truth is revolutionary."

GMR's "Workers Republic of Quebec":

Nationalist Trap for Quebec Workers

Montreal unionists march in 1973 May Day demonstration.

—reprinted from Spartacist Canada No. 15, April 1977

The recent joint national tour by spokesmen for the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) and League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO) demonstrated the difficulties faced by the Canadian supporters of the revisionist "United" Secretariat (USec) as they seek to pave the road to fusion. Meetings in several cities featured sharp debates between the putative fusion partners: on the one hand, the centrist GMR and its English-Canadian cousin the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), and on the other, the craven reformists of the LSA/LSO. Particularly sharp were debates on the LSA/LSO's bootlicking support for the New Democratic Party.

All three Canadian USec adherents are, however, proclaiming substantial agreement on the question of Quebec. The GMR, RMG and LSA/LSO all capitulate to Quebec nationalism, supporting independence and posing a separatist strategy for socialist revolution in Quebec. All cite this "agreement" as justification for a rotten-bloc fusion.

But in fact—as the speaking tour served to underline—the "agreement" is at best skin-deep, and the groups' differences on this question, as on many others, remain profound. Just as the LSA bows before social democracy in English Canada (a social democracy which is notoriously English-chauvinist!), so the LSO scrapes at the feet of reactionary clerical nationalism in Quebec. Thus LSO spokesman Suzanne Chabot spent almost all her speaking time justifying her group's position on the language question, arguing for the "consistently" national-chauvinist demand of a "unilingual French Quebec."

On the other hand, the GMR's thrust is to pose a "proletarian nationalist" alternative to the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois, by seeking to channel trade union militancy into an "anti-imperialist," "national liberation" struggle. Thus its spokesman Jean-Paul Pelletier discussed the massive Common Front strike struggles of 1972, analyzed the state of the Quebec workers movement today, and elaborated his organization's line for an independent "workers republic of Quebec."

It is this demand for a "workers republic of Quebec" which, more than anything else, summarizes the GMR's political perspective. While it has obviously shifted to the right in order to consider a fusion with the LSO, the GMR remains fraught with contradictions. It has many subjectively revolutionary impulses (certainly far more than the cretinous LSA/LSO), yet it remains a parochial *nationalist* organization whose political line is unable to show the way forward for the militant Quebec working class. The GMR's strategic perspective—"national liberation" à la Cuba as the road to revolution in Quebec—can only divide the struggles of the North American proletariat along national lines, thus acting against the interests of both French- and English-speaking workers in the fight for socialism.

Struggles for democratic national and language rights have helped fuel the combativity of the Québécois proletariat, to the point where it is the most advanced on the continent. Revolutionaries uphold Quebec's right to self-determination in order, above all, to promote class unity by opposing all unjust national oppression. This is particularly important since Quebec workers can play a leading role in the North American revolution.

But the GMR's response to the enhanced militancy of the working class in Quebec is to *reject* any perspective of joint class struggle in favor of the utopian strategy of establishing a proletarian enclave on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Effacing the leading role of Québécois workers in several recent cross-Canada labor struggles—the fight against wage controls, as well as postal and rail strikes—the GMR calls for nationalist breakaways by Quebec unions from the American-dominated Internationals. Last year in its pamphlet "Pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec," the GMR announced:

> "The liquidation of the more or less corrupt bureaucracies of the international unions cannot be achieved except by a break with the American centers and the taking in hand of these unions by the Quebec unions themselves. That is to say, the reorganization of trade unionism on an industrial basis inside a United Labor Federation of Quebec."

Thus the GMR abandons the need to fight against the ossified, pro-capitalist labor tops of the Internationals, and fosters illusions in the Quebec trade union bureaucrats by posing a relative immunity to bureaucratization for the nationalist unions. And by overestimating the strength of the international bureaucrats (who "cannot" be defeated "except" by breakaways), it denies the possibility of building a class-struggle opposition among the "backward" English-speaking workers. Accordingly, says the GMR's nationalist logic, the important ties between the combative working class of Quebec and its class brothers and sisters in the rest of North America must be *broken*.

For United Class Struggle!

In a recent polemic against Canadian nationalist Cy Gonick's pleas for "Canadian unity," even the RMG is forced to recognize the iron necessity of a unified struggle by French- and English-speaking workers in North America:

> "Gonick correctly says, 'Clearly this liberation of the dominated classes in Quebec is linked to that of the North American proletariat as a whole.'
>
> "True enough. But his 'unity argument' reveals his lack of understanding that the connection goes both ways."
>
> —*Old Mole*, 18 March

Of course real unity cannot be forged while great-nation, anti-Québécois chauvinism holds sway among English-speaking workers. Nevertheless the RMG is only too willing to follow the illusion-mongering of the GMR by posing a separatist road to power for the Quebec proletariat. Hence the argument:

> "...the assertion that Quebec workers, the most militant and politically advanced in North America, should hold back their struggles against the national oppression of capital and wait for anglophone workers to catch up—this assertion reeks of national chauvinism and is thus a service to reactionaries."
>
> —*ibid.*

But this demagogy only avoids the central question. While Cy Gonick and the Communist Party may yearn for the Quebec working class simply to forget about its national oppression and "unite" against "American domination," revolutionary internationalists certainly do not tell Quebec workers to "hold back their struggles." Rather, revolutionary workers parties must be forged to lead the struggles of *all* North American workers to state power. The question is *how* the North American socialist revolution can be achieved.

A separate "workers republic of Quebec" is conceivable under only two historical circumstances. One, the possible secession of Quebec from a North American soviet state to form an independent workers republic, is clearly not applicable today. The second, an isolated seizure of state power in one corner of North America, is only an *episodic possibility*. Unless the rest of the North American proletariat is able to follow rapidly and consolidate power throughout the continent, such an uprising is doomed to failure and the militant Québécois workers will be crushed.

Of course Quebec could secede from Canada to form an independent capitalist state, and a Québécois capitalist ruling class could consolidate its rule and develop its own relations with the imperialist world market. Under such circumstances, the proletarian revolution could *theoretically begin* within the framework of the Quebec nation-state. But even in this case the conquest of power in Quebec would either be the prelude to the struggle for proletarian power throughout North America, or it would be defeated.

The high degree of integration of the North American political economy and the overwhelming economic, political and military dominance of the United States mean that proletarian power will only be consolidated on a continent-wide basis. Thus any attempt at proletarian revolution in North America which fails to achieve state power in the United States is ultimately doomed. A separate "Canadian socialist revolution," much less a "Quebec socialist revolution," is a utopian impossibility.

Lessons of the Commune and the Catalan Federation

Two historical lessons on this subject are provided by the fate of the Paris Commune in 1871 and Trotsky's polemics against the Catalan Federation in Spain during the early 1930's. In 1871, the workers of Paris were provoked into a premature uprising, and established the Commune under militarily unfavorable circumstances, with insufficient prior revolutionary work among the workers and peasants outside Paris. Marx and Engels called for support to the Communards and for standing with them on the barricades. However they pointed out that power could not be consolidated in Paris alone, but had to be extended through the support of the toiling masses in the rest of France. In fact, the defeat of the Commune after only seventy-two days led to the decimation and demoralization of the flower of the French proletariat. It took an entire generation after the Commune for the Parisian workers to begin to reach a similar level of combativity and class-consciousness.

Writing on Spain in 1931, Leon Trotsky warned against the illusion, fostered by Joaquin Maurin's Catalan Federation, that the militant Catalan proletariat could come to power in the absence of a similar class uprising in the rest of Spain. Agreeing that "Catalonia is the vanguard," Trotsky admonished Maurin:

> "...But if this vanguard will not march in step with the proletariat and later on with the peasantry of all of Spain, the Catalan movement will at best be concluded as a magnificent episode in

continued on page 10

FORUM

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NEW YORK

Solidarity House Victimizes Oppositionists

UAW Convention Must Defend Jordan Sims, Steve Smith

Chrysler Corporation and the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy recently struck blows against the union ranks by ridding themselves of "troublemakers" in Local 961 (Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle) and Local 140 (Dodge Truck) in Detroit. Militants in the plants must sharply protest this company/union purge of dissidents and oppose their victimization at the UAW convention in Los Angeles next month.

Although the immediate history of Jordan Sims, just removed by Solidarity House from the Local 961 presidency, and Steve Smith, former steward at Dodge Truck, are different, there are striking similarities between the two cases. Both held elected local union office and have been fired by Chrysler for alleged involvement in unauthorized work stoppages. Both are critics of Woodcock & Co., and this attitude is the reason that the union tops were as anxious as the corporation to be rid of them. And in both cases, the victims' reformist politics led them to pursue anti-union lawsuits to fight their bureaucratic persecutors.

WV Photo

Flanked by cops, company supervisors and union officials, black-robed judge orders arrest of Dodge Truck strikers, June, 1974.

Sims was fired from the Eldon plant for alleged participation in a local job action in 1970. He was later elected Local president by a narrow margin in a 1973 Labor Department-supervised election. Almost immediately, however, he ran afoul of hostile Local executive board members who were based primarily on white skilled tradesmen. When Sims, who is black, suspended two local officers after months of internecine warfare, the International clamped receivership on Local 961 in late 1975 (see *WV* No. 83, 31 October 1975).

An audit of the Local's books was conducted for the period December 1973 to September 1975 and International secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey subsequently charged Sims with financial misconduct. However, Sims told *WV* that several previous audits had been conducted which revealed no irregularities. Mazey asserted that Sims accepted several thousand dollars in wage increases, vacation pay, sick pay and sick leave pay to which he was not entitled. The Local set the president's salary in February 1974 at $300 per week with no mention of benefits: the International claims that therefore Sims is entitled to no benefits whatever, while he maintains that this wage increase did not cancel the benefits he was eligible for under past Local practice and according to later votes by the membership.

Sims was initially suspended from office by Leonard Woodcock but was allowed to appeal. An International executive board appeals committee predictably upheld the original decision. When on March 14 of this year the UAW's "Public Review Board," without allowing Sims a hearing, upheld the Solidarity House edict and demanded that he repay the total of $4,196 to Local 961, Sims was finally removed as president and barred from seeking further office in the UAW.

Watergate in Local 961?

Sims denies the charges and refuses to return the money. He explained to *WV* that the membership in Local 961—on two different occasions—approved granting the Local president the same benefits enjoyed by the Local's office workers, members of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU). Furthermore, the financial secretary, Vernal Johnson, cleared this policy with Solidarity House and testified to that effect. But International spokesmen denied Johnson's statement. Sims told *WV* that he himself received approval for the Local financial arrangement from International vice-president Marc Stepp and Region 1-A director Buddy Battle, but "those same people got amnesia now."

Sims states his willingness to answer all charges before the Local 961 membership and in fact called a special membership meeting in August 1975 to air the charges. According to Sims, this meeting reaffirmed the 1973 membership decision to peg the president's benefits to those of the Local office workers. Solidarity House discounted that meeting also. Clearly the International is rather selective about the evidence it accepts!

Financial misconduct by a union officer is a serious charge and there is some unclarity in this case over whether Sims was entitled to all the vacation and sick pay claimed, even if the OPEIU contract is used as a yardstick. But since Sims apparently made a number of attempts to clarify the situation, even the Public Review Board was forced to acknowledge that "it is not charged that he intentionally defrauded the Local Union."

What is clear is that Sims' bureaucratic opponents wanted to keep the Local 961 membership from deciding on these issues. Though Sims' finances were discussed at a number of Local executive board meetings in 1974 and 1975, none of his pro-International adversaries ever brought charges against him in the Local. Any accusation against Sims should be turned over to the Local membership, who can determine if a Local trial is required.

Solidarity House intervened against Sims not for any financial irregularities but because he is an irritant to the UAW bureaucracy. Were it not for its ruthless suppression of dissent, the Woodcock/Fraser gang might be accused of excessive paranoia—Sims' politics do not in fact represent much more than a nuisance to Solidarity House. In 1973 Sims voted for the sellout contract with Chrysler, much to the embarrassment of his allies in the United National Caucus (UNC). Today, he supports Doug Fraser—the man who co-administered his Local during receivership and voted for his ouster—as the "lesser of three evils" to succeed Woodcock as International president!

Sims' role as co-chairman of the reformist UNC is likewise no danger to Woodcock/Fraser. The UNC barely exists today, despite years of attempting to patch together a lowest-common-denominator "unity." It has largely decomposed into its constituent elements: disgruntled skilled tradesmen, a few aspiring bureaucrats and scattered "radicals" supported by the International Socialists (I.S.). Neither the UNC nor the I.S. has even bothered to publicly defend Sims, the only relatively well-known black leader of the UNC.

Down on the Ranks—Relying on the Courts

Sims sees his next step as a lawsuit against Local 961 and the International. He is also heartened by rumors that the Labor Department may audit Local 961's books. Sims told *WV*, "I would rather have someone come in here who's going to be truly objective and protect the rights of my members with no political motivation." Sims' warm invitation to the capitalist courts and Labor Department will not only most likely prove fruitless, but is also deeply unprincipled. By asking the bourgeois state to peruse the Local's financial records and decide, in place of the membership, what constitutes proper union procedure, Sims helps undermine the independence of the unions from government control.

When the *WV* reporter challenged Sims' dragging the union into the bosses courts, counterposing mobilization of the ranks, Sims scornfully dismissed the membership: "Today, the average guy in the plant...concerns himself with one thing: how big a paycheck he can get in any one week and getting his ass out of there and balling with it, or putting it in the bank. I got guys out there who'd sell their mothers for two hours of overtime."

This cynicism speaks volumes as to why Sims' support has eroded and why he does not look to organizing the Local 961 members in his defense. It is also telling evidence for what the Spartacist League has always said—that, at bottom, those who turn to the capitalist courts and government agencies have a profound contempt for the ability and capacity of the working class.

It is true that the beleaguered auto

continued on page 9

Markley, Suares Convicted in Labor-Spy Frame-Up

On March 26 Alex Markley and Antonio Suares, organizers for the United Electrical Workers Union (UE), were convicted of illegal possession of destructive devices that the prosecution claimed were used to blow up scab trucks during a strike against the Worthington Compression Corporation in Holyoke, Massachusetts. Sentencing is scheduled for April 14.

WV Photo

Alex Markley, left, speaking at Springfield rally in early March.

The perpetrator of this outrageous frame-up is the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATF), which views itself a sort of minor-league FBI. The ATF, which in an era of budget cutbacks has doubled its budget since 1972, ensures continued funding for itself by entrapping "potential violators," particularly in the labor movement, and using them to set up others.

Of his 12-hour interrogation in the ATF office on the day of his arrest Markley says:

> "They spoke with me about cooperating with them, how they wanted to hit me with $100,000 bail and how I was facing 60 years in jail. Every time I asked to call a lawyer they said no, there's no need of it, we can work something out."
>
> —quoted in *Real Paper*, 19 February 1977

But Markley and Suares refused to "work something out," i.e., to become labor spies for the government. Their principled refusal to cooperate ("I told them to have someone else do their dirty work for them," says Markley) leaves them facing long jail sentences.

In a related case, Sandi Polaski, the victimized leader of another UE local in Massachusetts (Cambion-Cambridge Thermionic Corporation), recently pleaded guilty to reduced charges of assault with a dangerous weapon receiving a six months' suspended sentence and one year's probation. But while she was able to escape a long jail term, the UE at Cambion was defeated in a recent NLRB representation election.

The labor movement must demand that all charges against these trade-union militants be dropped at once! In a period when government provocations against the labor movement are increasing, the need for a strong working-class defense of victimized activists is more urgent than ever. ■

Imperialists Scream "Red Menace"

Cuba in Africa

No U.S. Aid to Mobutu's Zaïre!

APRIL 11 –The Western press covered the recent African junkets of Fidel Castro and Soviet president Nikolai Podgorny with a renewal of the shrill "red menance" drumbeating that had accompanied Cuba's military intervention a year ago against South Africa in the Angolan war. U.S. and British newspapers and magazines have featured ominous stories of proliferating so-called "Marxist" regimes, Soviet naval and air facilities, and Soviet/Cuban military forces in sub-Saharan Africa. *Time* (4 April) graphically depicted a tightening "Soviet belt" running from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean through Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Madagascar.

The shaky government of Zaïrean president Mobutu Sese Seko eagerly joined the hue and cry, charging that insurgent forces in Shaba province (formerly Katanga) had invaded from neighboring Angola and were spear-

headed by Cuban and Russian soldiers. On April 4 Mobutu broke diplomatic relations with Havana. While the Carter administration guardedly says that "no hard evidence" of a Cuban role has been presented, it nevertheless rushed $2 million in military aid to the CIA's number-one man on the continent.

One particularly strident piece was carried in the London *Sunday Telegraph* (20 February) and reproduced as a full-page ad—paid for by a shadowy group of right-wing South African and international investors, known as the "Club of Ten"—in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal* and other influential imperialist mouthpieces. The article, entitled "Moscow's Next Target in Africa," begins:

> "Can the West learn from Angola's tragedy, or are we condemned to relive the experience? What the Russians learned from Angola is that war by proxy pays off. They will be strongly tempted to use the same technique in other places—and almost certainly in the assault on Rhodesia and South-West Africa.
> "The Cubans are Moscow's all-purpose mercenaries...."

The author, Robert Moss, poses as a champion of democracy. However, last year he was exposed for authoring a book financed by the CIA (and distributed by the Chilean junta's embassies) which justifies Pinochet's bloody coup.

Such hallucinations of a revolutionary Soviet offensive in Africa aside, it does not require deep political insight to recognize that Podgorny and Castro's leap-frogging missions (climaxed by a top-level meeting in Moscow) were part of a joint effort to use the political capital gained in the Angolan war to gain increased leverage in the region. The Soviet Union hopes to offset its diplomatic reversals in North Africa and the Near East by acing out U.S. and Chinese influence in southern, central and east Africa. While Castro drew bigger and more enthusiastic crowds, Podgorny returned with the trophies: Ethiopian endorsement of a "common anti-imperialist front" of temporarily pro-Soviet states in the Red Sea area (Somalia, Ethiopia and Southern Yemen), a friendship treaty with Mozambique (Moscow promulgated a similar treaty with Angola in mid-March) and a joint communiqué with Zambia.

The Stalinist *Daily World* (30 March) noted of the latter: "Podgorny's visit to Zambia, even more so than his visits to Tanzania and Mozambique, symbolized a real breakthrough, in the opinion of most African observers. Zambia's policy earlier had been considered pro-imperialism...." Only a year ago Zambia backed the South African-led forces in Angola, labeling the USSR and Cuba as "a marauding tiger with its deadly cubs." But following the breakdown of the Geneva talks on Rhodesia, chameleon-like Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda embraces Podgorny in order to force the Carter administration to take a harder line against Ian Smith's intransigent white-supremacist regime. It only takes this single calculated and self-serving gesture for Zambia to enter the Stalinists' blue-ribbon list of "non-capitalist" and "anti-imperialist" states!

"New Gurkhas"?

While much of the bourgeois press brands Castro's soldiers in Africa "Russian mercenaries," "helots" and "the new Gurkhas" (Daniel Moynihan's phrase), radical enthusiasts of the Cuban deformed workers state see a vindication of Havana's claims as "Third World" vanguard of "international proletarian solidarity." Noted left-wing Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez wrote a lengthy account of Cuba's military involvement in Angola for the Mexican magazine *Proceso*, from which extracts were published by the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina in January. This semi-official version highlights the hazardous undertaking of transporting the initial forces to Angola in aging turboprops and hastily drafted steamers; U.S. threats and attempts to scuttle the air- and sea-lift; and the militarily decisive character of the Cuban intervention.

Márquez cites "Che" Guevara's role in training and leading nationalist rebels in the ex-Belgian Congo (now Zaïre) in 1965, early Cuban military aid to guerrillas in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, as well as to the governments of Cameroun, Sierra Leone and Sékou Touré's Guinea. He concludes that: "Cuba's act of solidarity with Angola was far from a casual or impulsive act, but rather the end result of a continuous policy toward Africa by the Cuban revolution" (*Washington Post*, 12 January).

Besides the romantic description of the daring airlift of 650 soldiers in early November 1975 as a kind of Cuban Operation Entebbe, Márquez' account is notable for its efforts to separate

Fidel Castro at rally in Tanzania. Economist

"heroic little Cuba" from the lumbering Russian bear:

> "Cuba was sure it could count on solidarity and material aid from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, although it was also aware of the implications its action might hold for the policy of peaceful coexistence and international détente....
> "Far from what has so often been said, it was an independent and sovereign act of Cuba. Only after the decision was made, not before, was the Soviet Union informed."

Whatever the exact timing and details of the decision, it is ludicrous to assume that Cuba and the Soviet Union were not working in tightly interlocked coordination. Nor does Cuba's African policy run counter to the Soviet strategy of "peaceful coexistence" (which has never precluded economic and diplomatic competition or even military confrontations in secondary arenas).

Moscow's political ties with and military assistance to the nationalist MPLA were also of long standing, and the Soviet Union feared that if Luanda fell to the South African-led pincer attack, its efforts to carve out a diplomatic sphere of influence south of the Sahara would be jeopardized. While some 15,000 Cuban soldiers were transported to Angola, the Soviet Union opened vital aid spigots, pouring in the sophisticated tanks, rocket launchers and other heavy weapons without which Castro's forces could not have turned the tide.

Clearly Márquez' pro-Cuban fervor outruns his grasp of political realities. Last summer, in a series of glowing Prensa Latina articles on a trip to Cuba, reprinted in his Colombian radical weekly *Alternativa* (16-23 August), Márquez was quoted as saying bombastically, "The defeat of imperialism in Angola is the most powerful blow which it has experienced in the West during its entire history." Having assigned an independent role to Cuba in international politics, he ascribes world-historical importance to the temporary setback suffered by the U.S. and South Africa in Angola. In reality, for U.S. imperialism southern Africa represents an area of distinctly secondary strategic importance compared to Europe and the Near East, or even Latin America and East Asia.

Soviet Diplomatic Maneuvers

In our article "Smash the Imperialist Power Play" (*WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975), written soon after the South African invasion, we stated that, "The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time... is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed, South African-organized offensive." It was absolutely necessary to oppose this attempt to establish a puppet black regime, bound hand and foot to Pretoria, and to stand with the embattled MPLA, Cuban and Soviet forces against the imperialists. At the same time we warned: "The MPLA while presently aligned with Moscow could tomorrow become the favorite of Washington, and it is in any case no less hostile to the slightest expression of working-class independence."

The U.S. remains hopeful that it can yet persuade Agostinho Neto and his cohorts to pull a Sadat-style switch on the USSR and Cuba. Even while Moscow and Luanda proclaim their eternal friendship, Gulf Oil pumps out millions of dollars in profits from its Cabinda refinery. Such prominent U.S. black Democrats as Carter's UN ambassador Andrew Young and Congressman Charles Diggs, moreover, have

Podgorny in Mozambique on his recent trip to Africa. UPI

DR

Nathaniel Mbumba, leader of the insurgent FLNC.

cautiously lauded Cuba for bringing "stability and order" to Angola.

Ironically, Márquez' views complement those of the imperialist scaremongers in one important aspect. Although Castro apologists bridle at any suggestion that Cuban foreign policy is subordinated to the Soviet Union's, they join Moss and the right-wing propagandists who believe that Cuba is playing a revolutionary anti-capitalist role in Africa and that the Angolan pattern is likely to be repeated in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa (Namibia).

But Castro's criterion for distinguishing "revolutionary" regimes is manifestly the same as Podgorny's—diplomatic alliance with the Soviet bloc. In Somalia, the Cuban prime minister hailed tinpot military dictator Siad Barre as "one of the firmest and most brilliant revolutionaries in Africa." In Addis Ababa, Castro toasted Derg strongman Mengistu Haile Meriam (whose troops butcher leftist students carrying portraits of "Che" and continue Haile Selassie's dirty colonial war in Eritrea) and invited him to visit Cuba. While Idi Amin's reign of indiscriminate tribalist, religious and ethnic terror was a bit too embarrassing to include in either Podgorny's or Castro's itinerary, Uganda radio reported that Amin met with both Soviet and Cuban envoys on March 4 to thank them for "supporting his country."

As for a repetition of Cuba's direct and massive combat role during the Angolan war, Cuban spokesmen have persistently and repeatedly stressed the exceptional character of the Angolan conflict. The blatant intervention of apartheid South Africa into what had been a civil war among competing black nationalist forces provided sufficient international "legitimacy" for the Soviets and Cubans to set aside their normal conciliatory stance and wage a brief—and successful—military struggle against a minor imperialist power backed by the U.S. During a trip to Japan last spring Cuban deputy prime minister Carlos Rafael Rodriguez assured the press:

> "Cuba has no intention of launching a military intervention against other countries. It can be said, therefore, that Cuba may send its troops to other countries in case the same conditions exist as those in the case of the Cuba-Angola relations. But it is just inconceivable that the same conditions will exist again."
>
> —*New York Times*, 21 May 1975

Turmoil In Zaïre

In Mozambique Castro also repeated denials of any Cuban role in the fighting in Zaïre's Shaba province: "there is not a single Cuban soldier involved. We have nothing to do with it at all and we have not equipped or trained the forces that are fighting the ruling clique in Zaïre" (*Daily World*, 24 March).

The conflict remains a murky affair given a comic opera quality by conflicting press accounts and the antics of Mobutu. When Zaïre is appealing for U.S. aid, the "invaders" are reported advancing; shortly after aid is delivered, they are reported to be in full retreat; a few days later the rebels are again "advancing," and then comes another urgent plea for aid. Towns near the Angolan border are reported lost and recaptured without any evidence of fighting. Mobutu has personally ferried newsmen to the area in his private plane to demonstrate that the government still holds key towns, but none have witnessed any battles and they are quickly shuttled back to the capital, Kinshasa, where their reports are subjected to government censorship.

Initially diplomats in Brussels reported that 500 former secessionist Katangan gendarmes were peacefully resettling in the area (*New York Times*, 16 March), while Mobutu was claiming that "5,000 invaders" were battling his soliders along a "62-mile front." Zaïrean general Bumba revised the estimates up to 10,000 rebels and announced that "my soldiers have seen Russians, Cubans and Portuguese at the side of the former militiamen, and these mercenaries are fighting shirtless, without uniforms" (UPI dispatch, 2 April). Two days later Bumba was replaced as chief of staff.

Press reports universally agree that the "invaders" are remnants of Moïse Tshombé's secessionist Katangan forces who were driven into Angola around 1967; that they are received with open arms by their fellow Lunda tribesmen, who straddle the border; and that little concern or support for the war exists in the Zaïrean capital. One hapless Associated Press newsman was expelled for sending off a dispatch which reported a government-sponsored rally in Kinshasa "marked by an almost complete absence of cheering or other signs of spontaneous enthusiasm."

Chauvel/Sygma

Zairian troops

A counter-barrage of press releases has come from a Paris-based group calling itself the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), which claims to be leading the insurgents in this amorphous conflict. An FLNC communiqué in early March maintained that it was not "an invasion by mercenaries in the pay of Angola," but "a national uprising by the Congolese people sustained and supported by fighters of the FLNC" (*Times* [London], 12 March).

This group is led by a General Nathanaël Mbumba, formerly a Katangan police chief. An account of the Shaba conflict carried in the 4 April issue of *Afrique-Asie* reports that the FLNC was founded in Angola as early as June 1968 by Mbumba at the head of former Katangan gendarmes who fled from imprisonment in Zaïre. The article makes much of the FLNC's self-description as "a revolutionary and progressive movement," while simultaneously admitting that the Katangans served for seven years as a mercenary force (called the "Black Arrows") for the Portuguese colonial army!

Having fought mainly against Holden Roberto's FNLA in northeastern Angola, this force (reportedly several thousand soldiers) simply transferred their allegiance to the MPLA as independence approached. (The marriage of convenience was also indicated by the FNLA's close ties to Mobutu, the nemesis of the Katangan gendarmes.) The FLNC is also allied with a group based in Brussels called the Movement for Action to Resurrect the Congo (MARC), which is backed by Belgian liberals and reportedly "disposed to cooperation with the West."

Several journalists have suggested a seemingly plausible explanation for the Shaba affair. Mobutu has unleashed the defeated FNLA forces to make harassing raids into northern Angola and allowed the puppet Cabinda secessionists to strike against that oil-rich enclave and even into the neighboring Soviet-aided Congo Republic. (Naturally, there is little mention of these provocations in the Western press.) Luanda may well have given the green light to its ex-Katangan allies to move into Shaba province in order to harass Mobutu in retaliation for his continued covert support to anti-MPLA forces.

Eager to discover some new "progressive" cause to cheer on, the radical New York *Guardian* has been building a case for tailing the FLNC, quoting its bombastic self-praise and arguing that it has assimilated revolutionary politics from the MPLA. Like the Stalinists, New Leftists seek to sharply distinguish between "neo-colonialist" and "anti-imperialist" regimes in Africa. This impressionistic method has nothing to do with the class struggle, but simply represents a form of window-shopping among the different styles of rhetoric and diplomatic alliances preferred by the various nationalist movements. No basis exists for Marxists or the working class to take sides in the Zaïre conflict.

Mobutu has attempted to internationalize the situation by his solicitation of U.S. and Chinese aid and, this week, by a French airlift of 1,500 Moroccan troops to back the Zaïrean soldiers who seem to have no taste for the fighting. Revolutionaries do have a stake in opposing all imperialist efforts to dig in deeper in Africa by propping up disintegrating regimes like Mobutu's. Therefore, we denounce the imperialist war scare and demand, "No aid to Zaïre!"

For Real Proletarian Internationalism!

The balance sheet of Cuba's policy in Africa is a rhetorically more militant version of Soviet efforts to win diplomatic allies and port-of-call rights for its ships. The blood shed in defense of Angola against imperialist aggression has become just another asset in the Kremlin's great power account ledger. Moscow and Havana can (at least for the moment) chalk up some new friends to replace those they have lost in the Near East. The Ethiopian junta has been jettisoned by the U.S. and desperately needs a deal with Somalia (which claims one of its provinces and could control Ethiopian access to the sea via the Territory of the Afars and Issas, due to become independent in June).

But just as Addis Ababa embraces the USSR and Cuba, Somalia is beginning to turn cold, harkening to the call of Islamic "unity"—spelled "o-i-l $$$." Podgorny and Castro have Idi Amin's throne of blood by default, since Uganda is something of an international pariah at present. And Zambia's friendly relations with the USSR are likely to last about as long as it takes the U.S. or Britain to land an envoy in Lusaka with a better offer.

Genuine international proletarian solidarity does not consist in forming mutual admiration societies with left-talking nationalist demagogues. In fact, it demands the opposite: effective aid to the working masses oppressed and exploited by these petty tyrants, the building of revolutionary Trotskyist parties to smash the two-bit bonapartes (and their Stalinist allies), wrenching the ex-colonial countries free of imperialism's bloody talons through socialist revolution, not diplomatic deals. ■

Prensa Latina

Castro, right, being greeted in Addis Ababa by Ethiopian strongman Mengistu last month.

Zionist Bunker

(continued from page 1)

clerical-fascist Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) settlement movement in Samaria and Judea. To retain the "Jewish character" of Eretz Yisrael, the NRP calls for forced population transfer of the Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank to Jordan.

Whatever their programmatic differences, there has been enough effective unity in action up to now between "Labor" and the NRP to preserve the coalition government. The minister of housing who is responsible for the government's settlement policy gave financial support to the "illegal" settlements and expropriated additional land to provide for their expansion.

Imperialist Peace vs. Zionist Annexation

U.S. policy has always hewed close to the "Rogers Plan" named after Nixon's first secretary of state and embodied in UN resolutions 242 and 338. Under this plan Israel would relinquish most of the occupied territories for a peace treaty through which the surrounding Arab regimes would recognize Israel as defined essentially by the pre-June 1967 borders. The "Rogers Plan" like UN resolutions 242 and 338 is purposely ambiguous, calling for "secure" borders and not defining how much of the occupied territories Israel actually has to relinquish.

George W. Ball, who as U.S. undersecretary of state from 1961 to 1966 was a major architect of the imperialist rape of Vietnam (and who is presently a partner in the bond brokerage of Lehman Brothers charting the financial rape of New York City), argues in an article in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* (April 1977) that Israel should be forced to relinquish all of the occupied territories and recognize a Palestinian statelet in the West Bank and Gaza. The quid pro quo would be a peace treaty and diplomatic recognition by the Arab states. However, he argues that to induce the Israeli leadership to accept this plan nothing less than a U.S. *diktat* will do. He writes:

> "America's indispensable role is to provide the means of relieving the political leaders on both sides of the need to make politically unpalatable decisions by furnishing them the escape route of yielding reluctantly under relentless pressure of outside forces."

Considered as an abstract possibility, an American bourgeois government might force Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, imposing the "Rogers Plan" by unilateral fiat. But no existing American bourgeois tendency which is a serious contender for governmental power favors such harshly anti-Zionist policy. An American *diktat* to withdraw from the occupied territories would produce such a profound crisis in Israel that it would risk destabilizing the entire Near East. In addition, the pro-Zionist lobby remains quite powerful, backed by popular sympathy toward Israel, in part reflecting racist attitudes toward the Arabs.

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Carter is not committed to a new, different Israel-Arab policy. His erratic and totally contradictory recent statements on the subject reflect his double-talk electioneering style and the fact that Lester Maddox couldn't teach him the forms of international diplomacy.

Carter recently gave free rein to his penchant for talking out of both sides of his mouth. Zionist candidates for Israeli elections know that the real campaigning takes place in the U.S., not in Israel. So, of course, Rabin had to make the pilgrimage and carry his campaign to his old hunting grounds in the capital of U.S. imperialism. Carter greeted him by supporting the demand of the "Allon Plan" for "defensible borders."

This heartened Rabin and dispirited the Arab rulers. But two days later, as Rabin was departing, Carter held a press conference where he paid lip service to both the "Allon Plan" and the "Rogers Plan," calling the difference between "defensible" and "secure" borders "just semantics." Stating that "defense lines may or may not conform in the foreseeable future to these legal borders," and suggesting possible "extensions of Israeli defense capacity beyond the permanent and recognized borders," in the same press conference Carter also called for "substantial withdrawal" and only "minor adjustments in the 1967 borders."

Carol Gootter/Newsweek

Zionist demonstrators seize land from Arabs in occupied West Bank.

Immediately afterwards, in the midst of and playing to the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo, Carter ventured out in a demogogic fashion to be one with the people and made another contradictory statement before a Clinton, Massachusetts, town meeting. He stated that "There has to be a homeland provided for the Palestinian refugees who have suffered for so many many years." This sent spirits soaring among gullible PLO supporters, but the following day he made yet another "clarification," placing the "homeland" securely "in the framework of the nation of Jordan."

Retired secretary of state Kissinger chided Carter for not preserving the norms of hypocrisy, deception and obfuscation inherent in bourgeois diplomacy, and for being too blunt. However, Carter's "bluntness" consisted in crudeness, deception and deliberate ambiguity, not in any frank statement. For Carter everything is reduced to semantics, and even the Gush Emunim will support a "homeland" for Palestinians—as long as it is *east* of the Jordan and is inhabited by all the Palestinians currently living west of the Jordan! Carter's contradictory statements managed to simultaneously confuse his own State Department spokesman as well as undermining Rabin.

Graft and Corruption in Eretz Yisrael

While there are real and ultimately incompatible policy differences between the Israeli "Labor Party" and the NRP, especially regarding the occupied territories, a more important reason behind the expulsion of the NRP probably was to hold elections before the scandals emerging from the trial of Asher Yadlin were made fully manifest. The Yadlin trial revealed what the Hebrew masses always suspected, namely that in the promised land of Mosaic law and the "socialist" paradise of the social-democratic lepers, the Zionist government is saturated with the stench of graft and corruption.

Yadlin was the head of the Histadrut's sick fund, the Kupat Holim. The Histadrut is not only Israel's major trade-union federation, it also controls 25 percent of Israeli industry and most of its social services, including hospitals and clinics. Thus Yadlin controlled most of the country's health and medical services.

In August 1976, Rabin appointed Yadlin to be governor of the Bank of Israel, a position at least as powerful as the chairmanship of the Federal Reserve Board is in the United States. After his appointment was announced, Yadlin was accused of accepting $9,000 in bribes. The entire "Labor Party" ruling establishment was implicated.

In particular the minister of housing, Avraham Ofer, was accused of accepting bribes when he headed the Histadrut's construction company. On 3 January, Ofer committed suicide; and when Yadlin heard of Ofer's suicide, he suffered a heart attack. After several weeks in the hospital, Yadlin decided to sing. A little plea-bargaining brought a little honesty and Yadlin's testimony at his February 14 trial further implicated "Labor Party" leaders including Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinowitz.

Popperfoto

Rabin with Carter during his recent trip to Washington.

"Democratic"-Zionism, "Socialistic"-Zionism, Stalinist-Zionism

The main benefactor of the revelations of rampant corruption within the "Labor Party" has been the "Democratic Movement for Change" (DMC) led by the archeologist Yigael Yadin, the Jimmy Carter of Israel. While claiming to fight "big" government and "big" business (which in corporatist Israel are often the same), and to fight corrupt politicians, Yadin's "Movement for Change" is merely cheap populist demagogy which masks positions and candidates who have often defected from the right wing of the "Labor Party."

For example Neir Zorea who headed the Land Development Authority under Rabin and was responsible for the policy of the Judeasation in Galilee of expropriating Arab land, has defected to the DMC. Likewise the former head of the Israeli secret service Mossad, Assa Harel, has joined the DMC. The DMC under Zorea influence has taken a hard line on defending Zionist settlements in the occupied territories and has called for the denationalization of the Israeli state sector, more incentives to private enterprise and support to a vicious compulsory arbitration law that would effectively ban strikes.

Shimon Peres, Rabin's Defense Minister and arch rival within the "Labor Party," replaces Rabin as the "Labor" candidate for prime minister. Within the framework of the "Labor Party," Peres is considered a hawk and there is some speculation that Mapam may bolt its "Alignment" with "Labor." To salve Mapam's pseudo-socialistic conscience Peres appointed Allon, who is considered a dove, to the important position of candidate for defense minister.

However, Mapam has little conscience left to salve as it has remained in the Zionist government despite its grossly chauvinist and racialist policies. Mapam claims to recognize the right of Palestinian self-determination but claims that this right can only be exercised within Hussein's Jordan, a position not fundamentally different from the "Allon Plan." Likewise the pro-Moscow Israeli Communist Party, which has grown substantially in the most recent period, calls for a mini-state solution to the Palestinian question and co-existence with a Zionist Israel. The DMC, Mapam and Rakah represent a continuum of "democratic" Zionism: all believe in the myth that the fundamental democratic questions which directly challenge the Zionist state can somehow be resolved without a social revolution.

The present political crisis within Israel takes place within the context of a profound social and economic crisis. Inflation is at an all time high. Prices increased 40 percent in 1974, 39 percent in 1975 and 37 percent in 1976. The average income tax rate, the highest in the world, is 46 percent. Disposable wages dropped 8 percent from April 1974 to the summer of 1975. Israel's external debt is $1,859 per capita, again the highest in the world.

In the context of a sharp economic crisis and as a militarily besieged society, Israel's "ingathering" of world Jewry into the "promised land" is becoming a failure. Immigration fell by half in 1975 and emigration, which averaged 7,500 per year from 1968 to 1973, jumped to 12,000 in 1973 and 21,000 in 1974. In 1976 emigration exceeded immigration and fully 60 percent of the Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union for Israel went instead to West Europe and North America.

The greatest strike wave in Israel's history is taking place now. In March alone there were strikes or slowdowns by Bank Leumi workers, customs officials, government hospital physicians, telephone operators, petroleum workers and drivers, and university lecturers. A dock slowdown paralyzed Israel's three main ports and protests on the West Bank, centering on opposition to new taxes and demanding freedom of Arab political prisoners, have continued unabated.

An Arab/Hebrew proletarian party must be forged which links the militant struggles of the West Bank Palestinians and Israeli workers against their common enemy, the racialist, chauvinist Zionist state. Such a party must call for the total withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories; for smashing the reactionary Zionist and Hashemite states; for the right to self-determination for the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking people, which can only be realized through proletarian revolution and a Near East socialist federation. ■

UAW Convention...

(continued from page 5)

workers, hit by massive layoffs and betrayed at every turn by their "leaders," have been generally quiet for several years. But Sims, like every sellout union hack in the U.S., blames the membership for lack of interest when his own treachery and incompetence are at issue. The recent massive strikes at Fremont GM in California and Indianapolis Chrysler plants indicate the willingness of the rank and file to fight with the least

WV Photo

Jordan Sims

encouragement from their local leaders.

UAW militants should demand that Solidarity House keep hands off Jordan Sims. Despite his running to involve the courts in internal union affairs and his bureaucratic view of the ranks as hopelessly indifferent, Sims is being attacked by high-echelon piecards for being an oppositionist, however pusillanimous and impotent. It remains the job of the ranks of the UAW to put their house in order and forge a real class-struggle leadership.

Death Penalty for Leading a Wildcat?

Chrysler's June 1974 firing of Steve Smith was upheld March 22 by National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) judge Walter Maloney. Smith is alleged to have played a leading role in a 31 May 1974 work action at the Dodge Truck assembly plant in Warren, Michigan. He was also held responsible for a group protest against expected company discipline at the plant's labor relations office three days later. Adding insult to injury, Chrysler also held Smith responsible for a five-day walkout protesting his firing, which began *after* he and three others were already dismissed on 10 June 1974.

The suit against Chrysler asked the NLRB to restore Smith's job and all back wages. Despite complete agreement by the NLRB counsel with Smith's charges, including that he could not be charged with actions that occurred after he was fired, the judge ruled in Chrysler's favor on virtually all counts.

Initially, Smith's suit also included charges against the UAW, claiming failure to process the grievance over his dismissal. (The grievance was dropped by the union in October 1974.) But the union bureaucracy was an eager co-defendant. Crassly fingering their own members, union bureaucrats provided names of past grievers and a list of militants which noted whether they were "leaders" or "followers," their work and discipline records, their participation in demonstrations, when they had picketed, etc. So zealous were union officials that Smith's lawyers nervously backed off and dropped the UAW from the suit.

The entire trial reeked of Chrysler's anti-communist campaign to get rid of Smith, who is a leading spokesman for a Local 140 opposition group, "Workers Unity," and of the related "Autoworkers United to Fight" (AWUF), both supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party.

Early in the trial the judge refused to admit as evidence a House Committee on Internal Security report on American Maoist groups which the company maintains was relevant to their case. The corporation appealed this decision, shamelessly citing the frame-up, hangman's case of *U.S. vs. Rosenbergs* (!) where the court held: "An American's devotion to another country's welfare cannot, of course, constitute proof that he has spied for that other country. But the jurors may reasonably infer that he is more likely to spy for it than other Americans not similarly devoted." Presumably Smith is supposed to be grateful that Chrysler did not demand the death penalty for the "crime" of leading a wildcat!

This case has all the markings of a McCarthyite witchhunt: the victimization of a working-class militant, enthusiastic cooperation of bootlicking union sellouts, and unbridled anti-communism. It also demonstrates what kind of "justice" can be expected from the capitalist courts and government agencies. Only a working-class mobilization can reverse this company/union/government victimization of a union militant.

It is not because of any sympathy for the politics of Jordan Sims or Steve Smith that the Spartacist League defends them. Sims, as his track record demonstrates, is not even a consistent reformist opponent to Solidarity House, much less a class-struggle leader. Steve Smith and his cohorts hold no future for the UAW ranks either: AWUF opposes the demand for a shorter work-week to make more jobs and opposes the minimal integration of American society through busing, while frequently using gangster thug attacks against real class-struggle oppositionists in the unions.

For Marxists the class line separating the working class and its organizations from the employers and their state is decisive. When workers defend their brothers and sisters from company/government victimization and bureaucratic back-stabbing, they will have taken a big step necessary to transform the unions into class-struggle institutions fighting for the entire proletariat. It is for this reason that UAW members must demand that the upcoming UAW convention reinstate Jordan Sims and take all necessary steps, including strike action, to force Chrysler to reinstate Steve Smith. An injury to one is an injury to all! ■

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Cock Robin...

(continued from page 2)

various conspiracy theories all share the same technocratic, idealist and moralist illusion in the centrality of control over information. This is not to deny that there are capitalist conspiracies, but the capitalist state, like all others, is based on an armed body of men, not on security classifications.

Class-struggle militants recognize the importance of exposing capitalist atrocities through propaganda. For example, a central component of the defense work of the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee is exposure of the frame-up character of bourgeois justice. We would certainly like to know the real story of the murder of Kennedy. While we sent no condolences for the passing of this enemy of the working class, we are vitally interested in knowing who was behind his assassination, as well as forcing disclosure of the murderers of Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and other black militants, and exposing what is already known about the killers of Orlando Letelier and 30,000 Chilean workers and peasants, over a million Vietnamese, the Attica and Wounded Knee militants and numerous black youth gunned down by killer cops in the northern ghettos.

The full-blown rationalizations for the liberalism of the conspiracy mongers have appeared in recent books by aged New Leftists Carl Oglesby and Kirkpatrick Sale, who seek to locate the central axis of social and political struggle in ruling-class clique fights between "eastern establishmentarians" and "sunbelt" nouveaux riches. The conceptual fallacies of these liberal theories are countless. That the bourgeois base of the Democratic Party has for decades been an *alliance* of southern oligarchy and eastern financiers is well-established; the aerospace industry, the bulwark of the "sunbelt" economy, is dominated by northern capital; the melange of forces allegedly implicated in the Kennedy assassination—from Ivy League CIA spooks to Cuban exiles—obviously defies facile geographical classification; and "old country lawyer" Sam Ervin and the southern Congressmen on the House impeachment inquiry delivered key blows against Nixon.

Oglesby regards the JFK assassination as a "cowboy coup" (with Watergate a "yankee countercoup"). While this is trivially consistent with Kennedy's and Johnson's geographical origins, it hardly accounts for the fact that the liberal "Great Society" program was enacted under Johnson, while Kennedy's major "contribution" to civil rights was the appointment of racist federal judges in the south.

Oglesby's *From Dallas to Watergate: The Yankee and Cowboy War* is an explicitly sub-reformist "civics class" call for virtue to triumph over the evil elites who have so recently subverted American democracy. While his concluding slogan is "neither yankee nor cowboy," for Oglesby the bourgeois factions are the only game in town (this is not only false, it is unfashionable; the "cowboy/yankee" conflict is a late 1960's concoction, the current version of which is the "trilateral commission" conspiracy). Moreover, this is simply a continuation of hackneyed liberal/populist/reformist attempts to single out a few bad capitalists (the "robber barons," "200 families," "military-industrial complex," etc.) in order to justify alliances with the "progressive," "peace-loving," "democratic" bourgeoisie.

This liberalism finds its reflection among the ostensibly Marxist organizations, despite its clear counterposition to a class analysis and the independence of the working class. Sam Marcy of Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism and the psychotic Lyndon LaRouche (aka Lynn Marcus) of the Labor Committees are the equals of the John Birch Society when it comes to hysteria over ruling-class cliques and conspiracies, with Gerry Healy's American satellite (the Workers League) and its warnings of imminent fascism not far behind.

AP Life UPI

From left: James Earl Ray, Lee Harvey Oswald and George de Mohrenschildt with wife.

Certainly there are tactical differences and divisions of varying depths and duration within the capitalist class, and revolutionists must understand and exploit them. But the central axis of social struggle is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The objective conditions are rotten ripe for socialism. Not conspiracy theory muckraking, not "tactical alliances" with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, but the building of the international revolutionary Trotskyist leadership of the workers is required in order to sweep the exploiters and intriguers of capitalism away.

There remain plenty of skeletons in the closets of the bourgeoisie and its hired guns: the FBI/CIA, municipal "red squads," gusano terrorists, the Mafia and various native pro-fascist organizations. Who knows what would slither out from under the overturned rocks in a serious and thorough investigation? Ultimately, it is the triumph of the proletariat which will make such an investigation possible and uncover the many unsolved mysteries in the bloody record of international capitalism. As the Bolsheviks were able to finally unravel the countless plots and murders of the Okhrana only after taking state power, so will the working class of the U.S. uncover the real history of American imperialist terror following their establishment of a workers state. ■

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Spartacist League contingent at February pro-busing march in Los Angeles.

Leftists Tail Liberals, Black Mayor Opposes School Integration

Busing Under Attack in L.A. Elections

LOS ANGELES—Against a backdrop of racial polarization and an ongoing controversy over school integration and busing, municipal elections were held here on April 5. As was widely expected, Democrat Tom Bradley—who became L.A.'s first black mayor in 1973 with a law-and-order pitch backed by a 20-year career with the L.A. Police Department—easily won re-election, garnering almost 60 percent of the vote.

There were few real disputes among the major contenders for mayor: they all solidarized with anti-busing forces. Bradley was against "massive, cross-town busing." His main opponent, Alan Robbins, received 28 percent of the vote

Julian Wasser

Thomas Bradley

with a demagogic right-wing populist campaign peppered with racial appeals to middle-class whites. Robbins opposed busing, distributed "rape whistles" and called for a referendum on the secession of the largely white San Fernando valley!

Only one of the 12 candidates for mayor, Sam Manuel of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), even nominally supported busing. But Manuel's angle was mainly a whining complaint to liberals and black community leaders who swallowed their pro-busing position to back Bradley. It is these forces which the SWP habitually cuddles up to, only to be left in the lurch when its "allies" play out their bourgeois role. Manuel got only 917 votes. Typically, the Communist Party (CP) had nothing to say in public on the mayoral race, giving backhanded support to the Democrat Bradley.

In the school board elections, the SWP, CP and the Stalinist/reformist Communist Labor Party (CLP) each ran a candidate on similarly wretched programs of watered-down "practical" reforms; none warranted the votes of the working class. For example, the ex-Trotskyist SWP called for simply taxing the corporations, not expropriating them. So liberal were the three groups' campaigns that the 15,000 to 20,000 votes each gained went to Bradley in the mayoral race, leaving the only ostensible "socialist," Manuel, with less than 1,000 votes.

So Mayor Bradley will continue to run L.A. for the capitalists. He threatens striking bus drivers with National Guard scabs and boasts that he has maintained the largest police force in L.A. history, replete with aerial helicopter surveillance, SWAT squads like those that wiped out the SLA in a fiery pyre and an extensive political "intelligence" red squad. And the black liberal mayor will try to keep L.A. one of the nation's most strictly segregated cities.

Though Bradley won the election with the backing of the local AFL-CIO hacks (as well as L.A.'s leading oil and financial interests and the conservative *Los Angeles Times*), neither he nor the Democratic Party are "friends of labor" or of oppressed minorities. Workers must mobilize the unions to break the Democrats' stranglehold and build their own party, based on a class-struggle program to fight for a workers government. ■

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Quebec Workers...

(continued from page 4)

the style of the Paris Commune. The peculiar position of Catalonia is driving in this direction. The national conflict may heat up the steam to such an extent that the Catalan explosion will occur long before the situation in Spain as a whole has matured for a second revolution.

"It would be the greatest historical misfortune if the Catalan proletariat, under the influence of the national ferment, permitted itself to be drawn into a decisive struggle before it has had the chance to consolidate itself with the proletariat of all of Spain."

The Spanish Revolution, pg. 107

Quebec's strategic weight in North America today is much *less* than the weight of Paris in France in 1871 or of Catalonia in Spain in the 1930's. Only a blissfully ignorant nationalist dreamer could conceive of a successful proletarian revolution somewhere on the continent which did not smash capitalist rule in the United States.

The GMR's call for a "workers republic of Quebec" is not simple theoretical musing on the possibility of an episodic seizure of power in Quebec, followed immediately by an insurrection on the rest of the continent. It is a call for a *nationally-delimited* proletarian struggle. That is how it is seen by Québécois workers, and that is how it is meant by the GMR. Don't "wait" for those backward English, the GMR is saying, we're the most advanced, we can seize power on our own. And just to ensure that Québécois workers are not "held back" by the chauvinists in the international unions, the GMR calls for nationalist trade union breakaways.

Toward North American Socialist Revolution!

In 1913 Stalin, then still a Bolshevik writing under Lenin's tutelage, wrote:

"We know whither the division of workers along national lines leads. The disintegration of a united workers' party, the division of trade unions along national lines, aggravation of national friction, national strike-breaking, complete demoralization within the ranks of Social-Democracy—such are the fruits of organizational federalism....

"The only cure for this is organization on international lines."

—"Marxism and the National Question"

The GMR's utopian-reactionary program for the Quebec working class stems from its profound adaptation to nationalist ideology (its very existence as a separate organization from the RMG is an example of this nationalism). Marx never *called for* a Paris Commune. Nor did the Bolsheviks raise the slogan "workers republic of Poland," or support national divisions in working class organizations. In fact they *fought actively* against both. Advocating the right to self-determination was seen by the Bolsheviks as serving the end of multinational working-class unity. The GMR's capitulation to nationalist illusions leads it to advance the defeatist strategy of a "workers republic of Quebec," and to call for Quebec workers to break away from the mainstream of the North American workers movement.

Like the Bolsheviks, we recognize that proletarian unity can only be forged through all-sided struggle against all forms of social oppression, and for full and equal democratic rights, including national rights. Thus Trotskyists raise the call for Quebec's unconditional right to self-determination, up to and including secession, and have nothing but contempt for chauvinist cretins like the Communist Party, who strive to reinforce "Canadian unity." Furthermore, while not advocating independence today, the Trotskyist League recognizes that national antagonisms among working people in Canada have risen dramatically in recent years, particularly since the election of the Parti Québécois government last fall. This poses the possibility that in the near future a call for the *independence* of Quebec may be the only way to forge the necessary fighting class unity.

But the "workers republic of Quebec" is an entirely different question. Unlike the GMR and RMG, we are not out to tail whatever is popular, or to assuage liberal guilt-pangs stemming from two centuries of national oppression of the Québécois. Rather we seek to build a party which can lead a proletarian revolution on this continent.

The calls for separate organizations for Quebec workers and a "workers republic of Quebec" are *nationalist* demands which, if logically implemented, could only lead to the defeat of the militant Québécois proletariat. If, like the Communards, the Québécois proletariat takes to the barricades against overwhelming odds, authentic revolutionary internationalists will be there with them. But without a revolution in the heart of the North American continent, the Quebec working class cannot consolidate an independent state power. The defeat of an isolated Quebec workers commune would be a setback for the entire North American socialist revolution, a defeat for which left-nationalists like the GMR would be politically culpable. ■

Workers Vanguard

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Steel Settlement...

(continued from page 12)

"opposition" to the contract was fundamentally meaningless. Both in the campaign and in the ratification meeting in Washington, the Sadlowski forces consistent with their legalistic cretinism refused to call for the dumping of ENA *now*. Within the framework of ENA, if the union and companies cannot come to agreement, the contract is submitted to binding arbitration. But turning the fate of steel workers over to arbitrators, who are inevitably biased towards the corporations, is a step backwards. Fear of arbitration undoubtedly influenced many officials to vote for Abel's contract.

But Sadlowski is not the only one to capitulate to the ENA. The Stalinists and other reformists, who supported Sadlowski in the election, do likewise. An article in the 7 April *Daily World*, organ of the Communist Party (CP), hailed a decision by USWA Local 1011 opposing extension of the ENA to bargaining in 1980. As for this year, the *Daily World* pointed to the possibility of "forcing concessions" on a local level, where strikes are permitted. The CP caves in to Abel and accepts his sellout deal as a *fait accompli*.

While local issues are not unimportant, key issues of hours, wages and benefits are determined at the industry-wide level. *The real power of the membership lies in uniting the USWA locals throughout the U.S. and Canada in solid, joint strike actions against the companies.* It was precisely out of fear of this possibility that Abel instituted ENA, at the same time yielding the local right to strike as a concession. In fact, the renewal of the no-strike agreement through 1980 demonstrates the futility of waiting until ENA "expires" before calling for industry-wide strike action.

Dick Swanson

USWA chief Abel (right) and U.S. Steel chief negotiator start steel negotiations in February.

Unless a fight against ENA is organized, the bureaucracy will continue to extend it. Abel, McBride and their no-strike deal are not popular among basic steel workers, as the recent union elections and the ratification meeting in Washington proved. The key task for militants in the next period must be to mobilize steel workers to dump ENA and Abel's contract *now* through USWA-wide strike action. Only in such a fashion can the genuine interests of steel workers be consistently fought for. ■

Court Frees Killer of ILWU Striker

STOCKTON, California—Ray Laeger, a scab truck driver and supervisor employed by the Handyman Corporation was found "not guilty" April 1 of the charge of vehicular manslaughter in the picket-line killing of striker Norman Ray Lewis last August 6.

Several witnesses on the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 picket line saw Laeger hit Lewis with the truck. As Lewis moved away, Laeger hit him again, knocked him down and ran him over. That the murderer was only charged with vehicular manslaughter is in itself a stunning indictment of the "justice" afforded the working class in the bourgeois courts. But that he was acquitted and now goes scot-free is an outrageous affront to all labor!

The careful screening of the jury for this trial greatly aided the cold-blooded killer-scab. Every prospective juror was asked if he would cross a picket line. Only *one* who said "no," he would not cross on principle, was seated on the jury.

The atmosphere surrounding the trial was heavily conditioned by the ongoing employer/government offensive against northern California labor. The none-too-aggressive prosecutor called only one eyewitness to the killing and the defense attorney got away with baiting a union witness as an "agitator" and "communist."

This courtroom defeat was faciliated by the weak-kneed passivity of the ILWU leadership. Lewis was murdered on the ILWU picket line in front of the Handyman warehouse in Tracy, where he and 22 fellow workers had begun a strike on August 4 for union recognition and their first contract. The cowardly reaction of the union tops to the killing was simply to advise their membership "not to purchase any Handyman products until further notice" (*Dispatcher*, 6 August 1976)!

Supporters of the class-struggle opposition group Militant Caucus in Local 6 and of the "Longshore Militant" in Local 10 raised motions for the union to immediately organize a militant response to smash Handyman's bloodthirsty strikebreaking and win the strike. They proposed a massive labor rally in Tracy and the hot-cargoing of all Handyman products to force the company to its knees, make the government charge Laeger with murder and win a life pension for Lewis' widow and five children at the company's expense. These militants pointed out that if the ILWU did not lead the labor movement in such a militant response the life of every picket in the Bay Area and northern California would become fair game.

Rather than mobilize the real strength of the labor movement to defend its own membership, the ILWU bureaucracy has continued to opt for an impotent consumer boycott and established the Norman Ray Lewis Memorial Fund for the slain brother's widow and children through a special dues assessment.

Despite coverage in the pages of the union newspaper, union members report that "informational" pickets scheduled for weekends in front of Bay Area Handyman retail stores are usually small and more often fail to materialize. The labor skates cannot even implement their own no-win tactics. It is also commonly known that several Local 6 warehouses continue to handle scab Handyman merchandise, on explicit orders from the Local bureaucrats!

After over nine months of a bitter struggle, the Handyman strikers continue to hold out. On April 11, they once again voted down the company's insulting terms, which include an open shop. But it has been rumored inside the union that the bureaucrats are close to abandoning the strike. They may well use Laeger's acquittal as a new trump card to further demoralize the weary strikers and force them back to work. Shut down Handyman—Hot cargo all Handyman goods! ■

NYC Demo Protests Balaguer Terror at Santo Domingo University

WV Photo

More than 150 demonstrators picketed the Dominican Republic consulate in Rockefeller Center March 25 to protest the occupation of the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD) by the police and army of the Balaguer dictatorship. The demonstration, called by the Committee in Solidarity with the UASD, drew participants from many organizations including the Comité para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana, the Movimiento Popular Dominicano, Linea Roja, Youth Against War and Fascism, the October League and a contingent from the Spartacist League (SL) and Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

Slogans shouted by the spirited demonstrators included demands, in both English and Spanish, for the immediate withdrawal of military and police forces from the UASD, freedom for students arrested during the Santo Domingo demonstrations and an end to government repression in the Dominican Republic. The SL contingent carried signs demanding an end to the Balaguerist terror and for a workers and peasants government; supporters of the PDC raised signs calling for freedom for all class-war prisoners in the Dominican Republic.

The army occupation of the UASD on March 11 followed weeks of student protests and clashes with the police in Santo Domingo. Thousands of university and secondary school students had taken to the streets in February to demand a "larger and just budget" for the UASD. Then, on March 7 the police took over the Duarte secondary school in Santo Domingo because it had become, in the words of the police chief, "a focus for disturbance of the public order" during protests against the firing of teachers and the suspension of examinations. The following day Duarte students who had joined with UASD students to demand the withdrawal of police from the high school were viciously attacked by riot cops assisted by an air force helicopter which lobbed tear gas grenades onto the campus for nearly an hour. Twenty-seven students were injured in the fighting and many more arrested (*Nacional de Ahora*, 7 March, and *El Sol*, 9 March).

The weeks of demonstrations culminated in the invasion of the UASD campus by troops armed with heavy caliber machine guns and backed up by armored cars at 3 a.m. on March 11. This is the fifth time that the military has occupied the campus since 1970 to suppress the student struggles against the Balaguer regime.

The SL joins with Dominican students and workers organizations in demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of police and soldiers from the UASD, the reinstatement of all fired professors and teachers and the release of all the victims of the right-wing repression in the Dominican Republic!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Put Sellout Steel Settlement to a Vote!

Break Abel's ENA Through Strike Action!

APRIL 11 Retiring United Steelworkers (USWA) president I.W. Abel last week browbeat local union presidents into approving a new contract for the basic steel industry. The settlement was voted April 9 in Washington by a margin of 193 to 99, but only after an earlier vote of 148-143 to reject was "reconsidered."

The sellout pact not only fails to make any substantive gains for steel workers; it fails to fulfill even the insulting campaign promises of the conservative Abel/McBride machine. Most outrageous, *it extends the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) to cover the next round of contract negotiations in 1980!* Extension of ENA demonstrates the utter contempt of the bureaucracy for the USWA membership, who do not have the right to ratify their contracts and are sold out years in advance! Reportedly, the "guaranteed" annual wage increases of 3 percent per year were "modified," so that in 1980 the parties have the option of diverting the miserly funds earmarked for wages to "other benefits."

The settlement is not substantially different from the 1974 package, also negotiated under the no-strike ENA. Wage increases amount to 80 cents over three years, to be implemented in six steps. This compares unfavorably with many wage settlements in last year's bargaining, in which the Teamsters got $1.65 over three years, rubber workers $1.35, electrical workers $1.10. With the exception of some alterations in supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB), most other economic benefits remained unchanged.

The biggest farce is the absence of anything in the contract resembling "lifetime job security," which Abel and McBride have been ballyhooing the past few months. With capital spending still down and jobs eliminated through speed-up, substantial sections of the basic steel workforce remain on layoff. Unemployment is clearly a key issue. But Abel's "solution" to the lack of jobs was to extend the duration of SUB pay from one year to two years...for those workers with at least *20 years* seniority! Only a minority of steel workers have this much seniority, and these are the last to be laid off, anyway. Furthermore, these higher seniority workers will not receive a second year of SUB benefits if they turn down other job assignments at their plant *or* at other locations of the company. Abel's "lifetime job security" is as phony as UAW president Woodcock's "voluntary overtime"... after 54 hours.

Attempting to cover his flank on the jobs issue, Abel reportedly launched into a harangue before the assembled union officials in which he denounced Carter and Congress for their failure to enact sufficiently stiff protectionist legislation against foreign imports. Ironically, when the ENA was first introduced, Abel claimed that the elimination of strikes would discourage stockpiling of foreign-made steel and therefore preserve jobs for American steel workers.

In fact, however, the ENA has little to do with increased foreign steel imports, which basically stem from the relatively declining efficiency of the American steel industry and the reintensification of capitalist competition on a worldwide scale. This year steelmakers are projecting an increase of steel imports to 17.5 million tons, near the record high of 1971.

Both the chauvinist USWA bureaucracy and the steel magnates are strongly protectionist. For the steelmakers this makes sense: increased quotas against imports would enable them to maintain artifically high prices and reap monopoly profits. However, for steel workers, this is a deadend. While raising prices, this program of economic nationalism would not eliminate unemployment, whose roots lie in the archaic and unplanned system of production under capitalism. It would only tie the working masses more firmly to their respective ruling classes, in the latter's drive to achieve imperialist domination at the expense of their rivals.

The real thrust of Abel's program for jobs is shown by an orientation program newly instituted under the 1977 contract:

> "The parties will establish a USWA/Steel Industry Employees Orientation Program to acquaint new employees with their roles in the USWA and the steel industry and their larger roles in the world economy. The union will contribute $500,000 annually and the companies will match this annual contribution. New employees will be instructed in the development and growth of the union, the industries, the history of collective bargaining between the parties, the adverse impact of foreign steel imports and the role of productivity in advancing the best interests of the parties and the employees."
>
> —leaflet distributed by USWA Local 1014 (Gary)

U.S. Steel Fairless works.

This section lays bare the class collaborationism which is the essence of Abel's strategy: make the American steel industry more competitive by keeping out foreign imports and increasing productivity (i.e., accepting speed-up!). Abel and U.S. Steel hold hands in asserting that what's profitable for the steel companies is good for the steel worker.

A real program for jobs would focus on the demand for a sliding scale of hours, in which the existing work would be divided up among the workforce, with no cut in pay. The demand for a 32-hour workweek was, in fact, included among those adopted by the union's Wage Policy Committee and the Basic Steel Industry Conference; it was included in the campaign propaganda of McBride as well as Sadlowski.

However, a real struggle around this demand would pose the need to expropriate the steel trusts and replace the capitalist system with a planned economy run by a workers government. The pro-capitalist USWA bureaucrats have no heart for such a battle. Hence, it is not surprising that the paper demands of the bargaining conference are nowhere to be found in the settlement. Gone too are other paper demands for stronger guarantees on health and safety, elimination of racially and sexually discriminatory practices, substantial improvement in cost-of-living, pension and insurance benefits, etc.

The strong opposition among even the top local bureaucrats indicates that the contract would be flatly rejected if submitted to the rank and file for a vote. The bureaucratically run USWA has *never* permitted membership ratification of contracts. Militants must demand that Abel/McBride's sellout deal be put to a vote!

Reportedly claiming credit for organizing opposition to the contract among local presidents is Ed Sadlowski. Sadlowski supporters were gloating that the initial vote to reject was a "symbolic victory" for the rank and file. Needless to say, however, this "symbolic victory" will do nothing for steel workers ground down by speed-up, inflation, unemployment and lung disease. Sadlowski's

continued on page 11

AFL-CIO News

From left, Lloyd McBride, U.S. Steel vice president J. Bruce Johnson and I.W. Abel at recent contract negotiations.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 154 22 April 1977

"Human Rights" Crusade Fuels U.S. War Machine

In the three months since he took office, Jimmy Carter has pursued an "activist" foreign policy on an unambiguously anti-Soviet axis. Aging cold-war liberal Hubert Humphrey called for the U.S. bourgeoisie to "take the ideological offensive," but the born-again Baptist president needed no urging to launch his crusade for "a moral climate."

No sooner had the Carter clan moved into the White House than the new commander-in-chief of U.S. imperialism went on the "human rights" warpath, whipping up an anti-Communist outcry over victimization of dissidents in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Blustering State Department warnings were followed by a well publicized "private" Carter letter to dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov and a cordial White House reception for exiled former political prisoner Vladimir Bukovsky.

In mid-March the U.S. president brought his "human rights" crusade to the United Nations. Trying out his back-slapping "ethnic politics" on the international scale by claiming to empathize with delegates from the "developing nations" ("I come from a part of the United States that is largely agrarian"), his speech centered on a call for the UN to "strengthen" its "human rights machinery." Yet only a couple of weeks earlier, Carter had summarily yanked an American representative to the UN Human Rights Commission who had apologized for the U.S. role in Chile.

The conspiracy of silence necessary to present the imperialist butchers of Indochina as crusaders for "morality among men" is truly breathtaking. After official admissions that the CIA repeatedly attempted to assassinate governmental leaders who ran afoul of U.S. interests (Castro, Lumumba, etc.) and that FBI informers triggered the murder of Black Panther Party leaders, for an American president to fulminate about violations of civil liberties in the Soviet Union requires that the "free but responsible" bourgeois press outdo itself in rigid self-censorship. Not since U.S. military "advisors" burned down Vietnamese villages "in order to save them" has there been such a wave of imperialist scorched earth hypocrisy.

But Carter's "human rights" campaign is more than just hypocrisy. It is two-faced moralism in the service of militarism. At the time of the Angolan war last year Ford was unable to whip up public support or even Congressional backing for large-scale aid to anti-Communist forces there, much less for direct U.S. intervention. This is what the Carter administration is out to change. Today the attempt to refurbish the moral authority of Yankee imperialism means a bigger war budget and "hanging tough" in arms control negotiations. Ultimately, however, as in the case of Woodrow Wilson and FDR, this "ideological offensive" presages imperialist war.

Imperialist chief Carter

U.S. imperialist bomber over Vietnam. Felix Greene

People in Glass Houses

Carter got himself elected by constantly talking out of both sides of his mouth, making vague "promises" to every constituency and leaving both allies and enemies in the dark as to what his policies would be. Nevertheless, we warned that, "Despite ritual obeisance to détente, Carter's foreign policy promises to be more openly anti-Communist than that of his predecessor" ("Businessman's Democrat is Next Imperialist Chief," *WV* No. 133, 12 November 1976). He wasted no time in confirming our prediction.

Carter's UN speech supposedly sent "signals" to Moscow about ending the deadlock on arms control, but the Kremlin could not miss the fact that nowhere did the U.S. president use the word "détente." In fact, he went out of his way to emphasize that, "American-Soviet relations will continue to be highly competitive...." In contrast he noted "parallel strategic interests" with Peking in Asia, and called up the "spirit of the Shanghai communiqué"—a standby from the days of the Nixon-Mao courtship.

The self-annointed champion of "freedom" called for the UN's Human Rights Division to be moved back to New York, "where its activities will be in the forefront of our attention, and where the attention of the press corps can stimulate us to deal honestly with this sensitive issue" (*New York Times*, 18 March). This appeal captures the essence of Carter's foreign policy gambit. Behind the "moral" rhetoric was a naked attempt to reverse a General Assembly decision of a few years ago when the Soviet bloc and "non-aligned" majority managed to get this commission moved to Geneva where it was out from under the American thumb.

Carter haughtily asserted a U.S. "birthright" to act as supreme judge on "human rights," while "humbly" announcing the removal of "all restrictions to American travel abroad" and stating his intention to "liberalize completely travel opportunities" to the U.S. However, only three weeks later Russian trade unionists were barred from entering the country. And although Americans can now travel to Cuba, the trade embargo remains in effect.

Moreover, the press almost completely buried the fact that the U.S. has refused to ratify 15 of the 19 UN covenants on human rights, having endorsed only the most innocuous ones. This is no oversight, as there is powerful resistance in the Senate to affirming the right to a fair wage, to opposition to racial discrimination (because there is a review committee) or to acceptance of

continued on page 8

PDC TELEGRAM

Cyrus Vance,
Secretary of State
Department of State

The utter hypocrisy of your cold war "human rights" crusade was laid bare this week in two vicious acts of anti-communism: Three officials of the Soviet trade unions who were invited by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union to attend their convention, and most recently Tariq Ali, prominent spokesman for the International Marxist Group of Britain, were excluded from entry into the U.S.

The witchhunting McCarran-Walter Act, which denies entry to Communists and controversial leftists, is a frontal attack on the democratic rights of working people everywhere! We protest against these McCarthyite exclusions. Down with the reactionary McCarran-Walter Act! Soviet trade-union officials and Tariq Ali must immediately be granted permission to enter the U.S.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

ACTWU Letter to Spartacist League Renounces Hot-Cargoing

Cowardly Legalism Disarms J.P. Stevens Workers

On March 1 nearly 1,500 demonstrators supporting the unionization of J.P. Stevens marched outside the company's annual stockholders' meeting in New York City. The demonstration was the kick-off for a national campaign calling on consumers to boycott goods of this notorious union-busting textile manufacturer.

Among the many signs protesting firings, "brown lung" disease (byssinosis) and low pay at J.P. Stevens, was a Spartacist League (SL) banner declaring: "Consumer Boycott Not Enough, Organize the South! For Militant Labor Action, Don't Handle J.P. Stevens Goods!" This militant slogan stood out prominently from those carried by the labor bureaucrats, church groups and reformists and was picked up by the bourgeois press. The *New York Post* carried a picture of the SL banner and a television documentary of unionization efforts at J.P. Stevens shown on the CBS program "60 Minutes" also showed it prominently.

A few weeks later the Spartacist League received a letter (printed elsewhere on this page) from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) bureaucracy. This letter combined cringing legalism ("We are not in the habit of encouraging anyone to break the law") with specious paternalism ("protecting the workers for whom the boycott was established"). Such "protection" from militant labor action, J.P. Stevens workers can do without—they already get plenty from the company.

Whose Laws?

Inside the NYC stockholders' meeting assembled protestors, including ACTWU bigwigs and liberals like Coretta King beseeched J.P. Stevens "to be fair" and "to obey the law," finally threatening company officials with the consumers' wrath. Needless to say, this attempt to embarrass the giant textile firm into reforming its vicious anti-labor practices came to nought.

J.P. Stevens is far too practised at bashing unions to be moved by such puny moralistic protests. Since 1963 it has successfully fended off repeated unionizing efforts, arrogantly defying bourgeois law along the way. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has found the company guilty in 15 cases of illegally discharging or intimidating workers or refusing to negotiate in good faith.

It has paid $1.3 million in back wages to these workers, and was forced to make a $50,000 out-of-court settlement over the bugging of a union organizer's room. The company was also ordered by a federal judge to end racial discrimination in its hiring policies. But this is a small price to pay for J.P. Stevens, the second largest textile company in the world, with annual sales exceeding $1.4 billion and assets of $750 million.

In those rare instances where the union has actually managed to win bargaining rights by pursuing procedures mandated by the delay-riddled and pro-company federal labor laws, it has yet to negotiate a contract. In 1968 the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) lost a representation election at the Statesboro, Georgia plant of J.P. Stevens. The National Labor Relations Board found such extensive unfair labor practices that it ordered the company to bargain with the TWUA anyway. But the company would not bargain.

Three years later the union got the federal court of appeals to issue a decree ordering J.P. Stevens to bargain. Two years after this, in 1973, the NLRB asked the court for a contempt citation. The court ordered an investigation. In 1975 the court's investigator discovered ...that J.P. Stevens was bargaining in bad faith. But meanwhile the company had shut down the Stateshoro plant and shifted its production elsewhere! The TWUA also won a collective bargaining election at the company's Roanoke Rapids plant in 1974, but J.P. Stevens has refused to negotiate a contract.

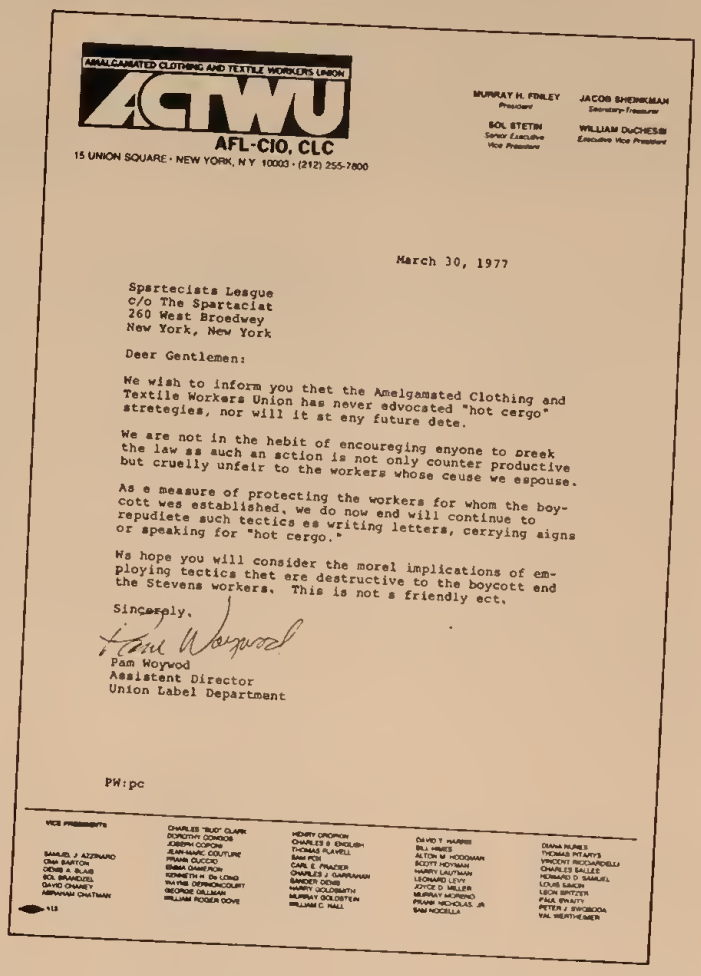
Meanwhile workers at J.P. Stevens continue to receive hourly wages averaging $3.20, compared to $4.62 for factory workers throughout the U.S. Their pensions are worth less than $4 a month for each year of service. And subjected to abysmal working conditions, they suffer from noxious diseases like "brown lung" which have wracked textile workers for decades.

Impotent Moralism and Bureaucratic Bluster

By its own admission, the TWUA's organizing drive had reached a dead end when it merged with the much larger Amalgamated Clothing Workers last June in an effort to acquire greater resources. The merger, however, involved no change in the bureaucrats' reformist strategy—only a change in tactics. As the ACTWU letter to the SL makes clear, any suggestions of militant tactics like hot-cargoing are decidedly unwelcome. Now, instead of relying on favorable decisions from the NLRB, the bureaucrats are rounding up a host of liberals, church leaders and do-gooders to sponsor a consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens.

Such a consumer boycott, which is not even to be accompanied by strike action in the mills, is hardly likely to be effective. Only one third of Stevens' products (home furnishings) are retailed under the company's own labels. The overwhelming bulk of the rest are industrial textiles as well as unfinished fabrics destined to be worked up by the apparel industry. The diversity of the company's products, the low percentage of retail goods and the large size of the company all militate against the success of the boycott. Under far more favorable circumstances similar boycotts, such as the ones launched by the United Farm Workers, dragged on for years and years.

For the union bureaucrats the consumer boycott has the virtue of involving no serious struggle that might alienate them from their liberal allies,



AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION
ACTWU
AFL-CIO, CLC
15 UNION SQUARE · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 · (212) 255-7800

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JACOB SHEINKMAN, Secretary-Treasurer
SOL STETIN, Senior Executive Vice President
WILLIAM DuCHESSI, Executive Vice President

March 30, 1977

Spartacists League
c/o The Spartacist
260 West Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Gentlemen:

We wish to inform you that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has never advocated "hot cargo" strategies, nor will it at any future date.

We are not in the habit of encouraging anyone to break the law as such an action is not only counter productive but cruelly unfair to the workers whose cause we espouse.

As a measure of protecting the workers for whom the boycott was established, we do now and will continue to repudiate such tactics as writing letters, carrying signs or speaking for "hot cargo."

We hope you will consider the moral implications of employing tactics that are destructive to the boycott and the Stevens workers. This is not a friendly act.

Sincerely,

Pam Woywod
Assistant Director
Union Label Department

PW:pc

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WV Photo

March 1 J.P. Stevens protest in NYC.

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eager to reap cheap publicity by supporting a safe cause. At a March 28 meeting in New York held in support of the ACTWU boycott, the invocation was delivered by none other than Atlanta's mayor Maynard Jackson. Naturally, Jackson "solidarized" piously with the denunciations of J.P. Stevens' anti-unionism. Then the good mayor returned home and promptly fired 1,000 striking Atlanta sanitation workers!

AFL-CIO labor fakers, who have failed miserably in their own efforts to organize the South, are also in on the operation. At the June 1976 convention that created ACTWU, George Meany promised the full support of the federation to the organizing effort. Meany blustered that, "J.P. Stevens didn't just take on its employees or the textile workers or the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers...J.P. Stevens took on the entire labor movement" (*New York Times*, 4 June).

But aside from kicking in some funds to the boycott campaign, the AFL-CIO is doing little. Its real concern is a massive lobbying effort to do some

New York Post

J.P. Stevens plant in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina.

cosmetic surgery on the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), supposedly to make it easier to win bargaining elections. As a matter of fact, the AFL-CIO has been engaged in futile efforts to persuade the capitalist parties to reform the labor laws ever since Taft-Hartley was passed in 1949. The present reform effort falls far short of the federation's stated goal of repealing the right-to-work statutes.

However, the AFL-CIO has already been twice rebuffed by Carter in attempts to get the federal minimum wage raised to a measly $3.00 per hour and to legalize so-called "common situs" picketing on construction sites. Even the minor reforms of the NLRA it advocates are likely to run into stiff opposition from the millionaire open-shop peanut mogul Carter and a coalition of Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans in Congress.

Militant Labor Action Built the Unions

The unionization of the South will be achieved neither by an impotent consumer boycott nor by lobbying Congress. The way forward lies in a mass mobilization of the labor movement. To be sure, organizing the textile mills (which employ 20 percent of all industrial workers in the South) is no easy task. There is still a considerable reservoir of anti-union sentiment in the South, as demonstrated by the resounding defeats which every attempt to repeal "right-to-work" laws in southern states has suffered.

Behind the companies stand a reserve army of brutal cops and organized fascistic mobs like the Ku Klux Klan. But this only underscores the need to utilize the might of the already unionized sectors of the American proletariat. If, in conjuction with a massive organizing drive and strikes in the mills, Teamsters and railroad workers were to refuse to transport scab goods and northern industrial workers refused to process non-union textiles, J.P. Stevens would be brought to its knees.

The ACTWU's opposition to hot-cargoing only reveals its own hypocrisy. Some 48 percent of Stevens' products are unfinished goods sold essentially to the apparel industry. The garment industry is the single greatest user of textile goods, the overwhelming bulk of which is non-union-made. Yet ACTWU is in its majority a union of garment workers. The ACTWU bureaucrats self-righteously call for consumers to boycott J.P. Stevens' products, while it cynically pledges that its own membership will continue to handle tons of non-union textiles every day!

The ACTWU letter is deliberately silent about the history of hot-cargoing in organizing drives. Labor bigwigs have periodically blustered about ambitious campaigns to unionize the South, but they have fallen flat. Of all the efforts, the only qualitatively successful one that has occurred since World War II was undertaken by the Teamsters. And this was achieved by hot-cargoing By refusing to deliver freight to non-union southern carriers, unionized truck drivers forced the signing of union contracts in that anti-labor bastion.

Moreover, the refusal of the ACTWU bureaucrats to use militant hot-cargoing tactics is made doubly ludicrous by the fact that the garment unions fought for—and won— a special clause in the National Labor Relations Act that exempts the garment industry from the legal ban on hot-cargoing!

The ACTWU letter's submission to capitalist "legality" is characteristic of labor bureaucrats. It would indeed be preferable if the interests of the working masses could be fulfilled without confronting the bourgeois state. However, it is precisely in order to shackle and repress the workers movement that the capitalist state is maintained. The history of the American labor movement graphically demonstrates that every major step forward, in particular the organization of industrial unions, has been challenged not only by the companies, but by the courts, cops, National Guard, etc. The sit-in at Flint that laid the basis for the UAW, the San Francisco and Minneapolis general strikes, were all "illegal."

Even the ossified bureaucrats from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers can corroborate this. One of the key strikes leading up to the founding of the Amalgamated was a general strike of New York garment workers in 1912. When the NY supreme court issued a restraining order against picketing, the workers responded with a march of 20,000 through the garment district. The national officers of the United Garment Workers (UGW), to which the strikers belonged, ordered the ranks back to work and when this didn't work, Mayor Gaynor ordered the suppression of all picketing. The strike lasted for several more weeks. Disgust at the strikebreaking and cretinist legalism of the UGW bureaucracy in New York and in similar strikes in Chicago led directly to a breakaway from the UGW and the founding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers under its new president, Sidney Hillman.

The letter's charge that those who raise the need for hot-cargoing J.P. Stevens textiles are "cruelly unfair" to southern workers is the sheerest of hypocrisy. It is not those who point out what is necessary to win who betray southern textile workers. The traitors are instead those who, like ACTWU's William DuChessi, flippantly assert that the union is prepared to boycott for "20 years, if necessary." These are cheap words from well-heeled bureaucrats, but the underpaid southern workers cannot afford to wait. ■

WV Photo

Garment workers demonstrating in New York last week.

Textile/Garment Unions Demonstrate for Chauvinist Import Curbs

The hidebound American labor bureaucracy, garment/textile bosses and capitalist politicians found a basis for unity April 13 when they joined together in an orgy of social patriotism to demand that President Carter lower quotas on apparel imports into the U.S. In a one-day nationwide work-stoppage called by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), over 500,000 workers demonstrated in more than 40 cities. A labor delegation, headed by George Meany, simultaneously met with Carter in the White House to press this chauvinist demand.

The present international agreement on textile and apparel imports, which allows foreign imports to the U.S. to increase by 6 percent annually, expires this year. Meany is urging Carter to take a hard line in current textile trade negotiations which began Monday in Geneva. Robert Strauss, Carter's chief trade negotiator, said the president was not going to be stampeded into any quick decisions. Carter had previously refused the AFL-CIO's request for quotas on shoes and televisions.

The labor bureaucracy has now launched a frantic protectionist campaign, saying that without strict limitations, imports will climb to 50 or 60 percent of the domestic apparel/textile market within the next decades. The "Committee to Preserve American Color Television," a coalition of five companies and twelve unions, has given up on "voluntary quotas" and petitioned the U.S. International Trade Commission to impose higher excise taxes on Japanese-made televisions. The Commission recommended to Carter a raise from 5 to 25 percent.

The ILGWU/ACTWU walkout varied from several hours in some cities to a full day in others. Although thousands of garment and textile factories were idled by the strike, for once the employers were delighted with the action. Burlington Industries, a *non-union* textile empire, for example, bought newspaper ads earlier in the week captioned "Jobs in Textiles, Another Endangered Species."

Nowhere were the suicidal implications for the working class of such protectionist policies more apparent than in New York. Here, thousands of the city's garment workers, many of them Latin American or Chinese, jammed midtown Herald Square to cheer on the jingoism of featured speaker, Democratic senator Patrick Moynihan. Moynihan was the author of the policy of "benign neglect" for the U.S. minority populations under Nixon.

Union leaflets distributed at the rally explained that the average wages of clothing and textile workers are 32 cents an hour in Korea, 21 cents in India and 18 cents in Haiti. But instead of calling for international organizing and solidarity, union placards in Chinese and Spanish grotesquely demanded a trade policy which will mean the further impoverishment of the workers in those countries—especially Chinese workers in Taiwan and Hong Kong!

American workers will not gain by promoting increased unemployment abroad and further limiting the capacity of the international working class to struggle against U.S. imperialism. The road forward for the garment and textile workers lies in the fight to unionize the vast numbers of unorganized workers in the industry, particularly in the numerous "runaway shops" which have migrated south from New England and New York. In the South, also, a sizable capital-intensive textile industry, much of it based on synthetics, remains mostly unorganized.

The half-hearted AFL-CIO consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens must be turned into a powerful campaign to organize the South through militant labor action! Don't handle J.P Stevens goods! ■

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British SWP, IMG Embrace Police as "Workers"

LONDON—The 110,000-member Police Federation in Britain announced in March that it wanted "more of the privileges of a trade union." Claiming they had been jobbed out of a £6-a-week pay increase given to public employees, the Federation began a boycott of new procedures set up to investigate complaints against the police. The Labour government's home secretary, Merlyn Rees, promptly invited them to join the TUC (Trades Union Congress) in a television interview.

The Communist Party of Great Britain rushed to give the cops "wholehearted support," claiming the question was of "crucial importance" (*Morning Star*, 5 March). Following hard on their heels in saluting the latest "recruits to the struggle" were the reformist-syndicalists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP—formerly International Socialists). Beginning with the issue of 12 March, a number of articles in the *Socialist Worker* have excitedly speculated on the revolutionary potential of the hired thugs of the capitalist class.

The simple-minded economism and idiotic workerism of the British SWP led it to print in all seriousness the photographs and captions we reproduce here, along with assurances that the cops are simply "working class lads" who must see "as a result of their own struggles" that the police are used "in the main [!] to protect those with property." *Socialist Worker* argues that through joining the TUC and fighting for the right to strike police would have their "eyes opened." And if they could fight for higher wages they wouldn't need "the frustration to be released in other ways" (presumably meaning if they got more money they wouldn't go on bashing in heads and committing racist atrocities such as the police rampage in Notting Hill last August).

One wonders what the readership of *Socialist Worker* makes of this "turn" after reading issue after issue where police atrocities are stressed by the SWP in order to build up a flashy "anti-racist" image. Better working conditions and more wages for the police mean only that they will be more effective in carrying out their suppression of resistance to capitalism. Despite the image of the friendly London "bobby" touted by the tourist industry, British police are no different from their counterparts throughout the capitalist world.

The bourgeois *Economist* is rather more perceptive, noting that the police grievances go far beyond the wage claims the SWP has played up. The cops want "protection from wrongful dismissal" and more "independence" for Federation activities—a bonapartist demand for independence from outside control. And it is certainly not a coincidence that the chosen method of battle is, as the *Economist* (12 March) puts it in an article entitled "Police—Not Just Money": "Showing a bit of muscle by refusing to co-operate in working the new complaints system that includes an independent review by non-police."

The pseudo-Trotskyists of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the United Secretariat, certainly don't want to be kept out of this new arena of "class struggle." In a remarkable display of mental agility, they discovered an angle which amounts to putting out a welcome mat for the cops. It is, you see, a question of *tactics* (for the IMG there are almost never any principles). Recruiting cops into the existing unions is a tactic which will help attack not the unions, but the police, says *Red Weekly* (10 March)!

While not quite up to advocating that the Police Federation join the TUC *en bloc*, the IMG is pleased to have discovered the tactic of having individual cops join! Meanwhile they haven't murmured a word of criticism of the shameless enthusiasm for the police found in the pages of *Socialist Worker*. But of course the IMG currently claims that the SWP is a revolutionary organisation and in no way an obstacle to the British revolution.

The IMG has so far refused to publicly justify its position in favour of recruitment of the racialist capitalist thugs into workers organisations, despite challenges to do so during its reformist campaigns for the Greater London Council. However, IMG demagogue Tariq Ali assured London Spartacist Group members that the IMG did indeed want the cops in the unions. While exiting from a meeting in the heavily Asian Southall district of London on 14 April, Ali loftily announced, "The Spartacists and the bourgeoisie want to keep the police out of the unions." Indeed we do.

We expect that Tariq Ali will try to duck this issue during his upcoming tour in the United States, since the reformist American Socialist Workers Party ("fraternal supporter" of the unprincipled bloc making up the "United Secretariat") not so long ago attacked the Healyites on precisely this issue. When New York City cops went on strike in 1971, the Workers League insisted that cops were part of a general upsurge of all city labour, printing photos of "militant policemen" under the headline "New York Labor Begins Showdown." The American SWP, dusting off its Marxist books, discovered that those championing the cops were in fact "ending up on the same side of the fence as the most reactionary defenders of the status quo" and correctly pointed out that the cops "can be counted on to act as the most inveterate and ruthless opponents of any militant mass struggle" (*Intercontinental Press*, 8 February 1971). We shall see what they say about Tariq Ali!

Actually, the American SWP's real position on the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state has been to call upon these "ruthless opponents" to intervene to *protect* "militant struggles," calling on federal troops to defend busing in Boston. The Spartacist League (SL/U.S.), in contrast, has maintained a consistent Marxist line. It pointed out in 1971, "In no sense are these bodies of armed men 'neutral' in the class struggle." And three years later the SL/U.S. demanded, "not the bosses' army, but labor/black defense" as the way to enforce school integration and protect black people from the racist mobilization in Boston.

The British Socialist Worker (26 March) commented on above photo, "Call it incitement to disaffection if you like. But we want these people on our side."

Of course, many workers mistakenly believe that the bourgeoisie's professional thugs and blacklegs [scabs] are on their side, or at least neutral. To the British SWP, notorious for tailing after backward consciousness among the workers, this is sufficient. The American SWP caters to liberal illusions widespread in the black community that Federal (as opposed to state or local) government officials are their allies; and the IMG is such a political hodgepodge that it will capitulate to just about anything.

Neither the American and British SWPs nor the IMG, whose politics are determined by opportunist appetites, rather than Marxism, are able to distinguish the fundamental class line separating the police from the working class. We stand with Trotsky, who exposed the illusions of German Social Democrats that the Prussian police, originally recruited from among social-democratic workers, would stop Hitler: "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" ("What Next?" January 1932).

As the IMG tails the British SWP which tails the "lads in blue," we are proud to uphold the long working-class tradition of total opposition to police in the workers movement. ■

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Chicago Red Squad: Fingermen for Iranian SAVAK

CHICAGO—The notorious Chicago "Red Squad" and the Iranian SAVAK, the Shah's deadly secret police, have linked bloody hands to spy on, harass and infiltrate the Iranian Student Association (ISA) for the past seven years, the *Chicago Sun-Times* recently revealed. This ominous police link-up directly endangers the lives of Iranian students protesting against the butcher Shah, who right now holds over 40,000 left-wing militants in prison, subjected to the most hideous tortures at the hands of his private gestapo.

Immediately threatened are four Iranian students, arrested here last November, who face deportation by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service—a move which could mean their joining other critics languishing in Iranian jails.

Last month the CBS television program "60 Minutes" documented that the SAVAK has dispatched assassination squads to the United States and Europe to liquidate certain opponents of the Shah's terror. The program interviewed Jules Khan Pira, a self-proclaimed "soldier of fortune," who said that the SAVAK hired and armed him to murder two people: an Iranian opposition leader in France and the publisher of the *Iranian Free Press* in Alexandria, Virgina.

The Iranian ambassador to the U.S. reportedly didn't deny the charges but cynically requested the program producer to recheck Pira's story to make sure it wasn't "another of those jokes" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 7 March). The producers did check—it was no joke. Recently, a leading foreign correspondent for the Paris daily *Le Monde* vouched for Pira's credibility. And the Shah himself has boasted that SAVAK operates freely in the U.S., "Checking up on anyone who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country..." (*New York Times*, 22 October 1976).

Defend the Threatened Iranian Students!

Last November police wantonly and brutally attacked a peaceful ISA demonstration at the French Consulate here protesting the frame-up of two ISA members in Paris charged with shooting a notorious SAVAK agent. The cops beat and arrested eight students on charges of criminal trespass. A woman who protested the arrests was kicked and clubbed and then charged with assault and battery. The trial of the nine is due to begin April 20.

Taken first to city jails, the victims were immediately set upon by the rapacious Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) who dragged them off in handcuffs to federal prison where they were questioned extensively and photographed as a group. While the interrogations were going on, INS officials broke into the students' apart-

ments without warrants and ransacked them.

Deportation hearings were set for five of the nine, with the first hearings in front of the Immigration judge taking place March 9. They have no legal rights, are denied a public trial and cannot bring witnesses to testify in their behalf. Proceedings against one of the five have been dropped. However, cases against the others are still under way and one of the students is in imminent danger of deportation. The left and the labor movement must immediately rally to the defense of these victimized foreign students, demanding that all charges against the nine be dropped and that the deportation hearings be called off!

The lives of foreign students and workers are still in danger as long as Immigration agents can terrorize at will, breaking into homes and rounding up "undocumented" workers in sweatshops and factories where they labor for less than subsistence wages, afraid to protest their exploitation for fear of deportation. The fate of these students and workers must not rest in the hands of the bourgeois state which plots with SAVAK agents in secret. The Spartacist League demands full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and students! No deportations!

Down with the Red Squad/FBI/SAVAK!

Piles of official documents revealing the Red Squad's massive surveillance, including detailed reports on political discussions held by the ISA "in the Persian language" have been produced. Yet the police deny that the group was spied on. This outrageous assertion prompted U.S. district court judge Alfred Kirkland to lift a court-imposed secrecy order on information obtained from the files of the Chicago police spy unit (brought by the local Alliance to End Repression three years ago) to allow the ISA to present evidence refuting the cop denial. Of course, at the same time, Kirkland said he found "no malevolent intent or willful contempt" on the part of the first deputy police superintendent when he denied the ISA charges.

Over the last several months the Chicago papers have been full of liberal muckraking against "excesses" of cop-

continued on page 11

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Chicago Judge Dismisses Charges Against Hanrahan

Conspirators Behind Murder of Hampton and Clark Let Off

CHICAGO, April 16—Former Illinois state's attorney and current Chicago mayoral candidate Edward Hanrahan was dismissed today from the $47.7 million December 4th Committee/Black Panther Party civil rights damage suit. The suit grew out of the 4 December 1969 Chicago police raid on a Panther apartment that resulted in the murder of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Along with Hanrahan, 21 other defendants in the suit were also dis-

Wide World

Edward Hanrahan

missed. These included three of Hanrahan's assistants at the time of the raid and three key FBI agents involved in the planning of the raid. As the judge peremptorily threw out all conspiracy charges, only seven police officers who allegedly fired their weapons in the course of the raid were left to carry the brunt of the suit.

This ruling of U.S. district court judge Joseph Sam Perry is a slap in the face to all black people. Perry, in addition to ignoring mountains of evidence indicating a conspiracy to destroy the Panther Party involving the FBI and the Chicago police, made an unusual move in the middle of the trial to strap the plaintiffs in the suit with court costs up to this point. This could amount to $300,000 to $500,000.

Such a move should not be unexpected from the likes of Perry, who continuously throughout the trial referred to the plaintiffs—the Hampton/Clark families and the seven survivors of the raid—as the "defendants." He conducted the trial with blatant contempt for the plaintiffs and their lawyers, which included citing and jailing one of the lawyers, Jeffrey Haas, for accidentally knocking over a water pitcher in the courtroom.

Judge Perry delivered his verdict in a clearly vindictive spirit stating that, "The Court concludes as a matter of law that no case of a conspiracy or joint venture has been established as alleged in the amended complaint" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 April 1977). This runs counter to the well-publicized statements of Roy Mitchell, FBI/COINTELPRO agent and mastermind of the raid, as well as Hanrahan himself.

The pre-dawn raid was staged on the pretext of searching for "illegal arms" contained within a Panther apartment. Mitchell in his report to his superiors dated 21 November 1969 (two weeks before the raid), listed 24 guns plus ammunition, gas masks and smoke bombs in the apartment but noted, "all these weapons were allegedly purchased on legal Illinois state gun registration cards" (*Chicago Defender*, 2 March 1976).

Mitchell then proceeded to urge local police to take action on the basis of "illegal guns" and personally supplied them with a floor plan of the apartment indicating the precise location of Hampton's bed. The day before the raid the Chicago FBI office sent a report to their Washington superiors lamenting that "no tangible results" had been obtained from their COINTELPRO surveillance activities. The report went on to say that information about illegal weapons had been forwarded to the local police and notes that the local police are "planning a positive course of action relative to this information."

Testimony from William O'Neil, an FBI agent-provocateur within the Black Panther Party at the time of the raid, further indicated that Chicago police connected with Hanrahan's office consciously rejected staging the raid the night before when the Panther occupants of the apartment would have been absent. They preferred the pre-dawn of December 4 to carry out the raid, not for the purpose of taking "illegal guns" but to assassinate Panther leader Fred Hampton.

Based on the floor plan provided them by the FBI the killer cops poured over 90 rounds of ammunition in the direction of Hampton's bedroom. The Panthers returned one shot while

Keep Strong

Fred Hampton

Hampton was hit and killed in his sleep.

Hanrahan himself after repeated denials was forced to admit on the witness stand that his office had received information from the FBI that led to the raid. Squirming under the heat of exposure, Hanrahan at one point asserted that the initial police cover-up was "designed to inform the public and try to prevent what I thought might become a riot and to get the public to believe the police, as I did, and do" (*Chicago Tribune*, 18 February 1977)!

But in the same breath he could not substantiate one iota of the police story. When questioned about his press conference statements following the raid that Hampton had fired a .45 at police officers, Hanrahan pleaded loss of memory as to who had informed him of this. But the racist Hanrahan, who was recently run off the Malcolm X College campus by angry black students chanting "Kill Hanrahan," was well protected in Judge Perry's courtroom. At one point Perry barred anti-Hanrahan demonstrators not only from the courtroom but also from the sidewalk in front of the Federal Court Building.

One of the highlights of the trial was the appearance of Elaine Brown, chairman of the Black Panther Party. In tune with the legalistic approach of the December 4th Committee she exclaimed, "The slogan of 'all power to the people' really represents the cornerstone of America. Following the tradition of America from Patrick Henry to Abraham Lincoln to Dr. Martin Luther King to Malcolm X, it represents what was written in the Declaration of Independence (*Black Panther*, 12 March 1977). But despite this grovelling before the bourgeois courts—which included at one point the sickening spectacle of the plaintiffs' attorneys standing to sing "Happy Birthday" to Judge Perry—the bourgeois legal system has once again reinforced the racist status quo.

The death of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark will not be avenged by the "Amerikkkanization" of "power to the people," but by victorious workers revolution that will smash the murderous police apparatus, doing away with the racist cops and courts of the bourgeoisie.

Jail the Killer Cops! Down with the FBI's Murder Inc.! ■

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PDC Poses Class-Struggle Anti-Sectarian Defense!

What's Wrong with the National Lawyers

BOSTON, April 18—The Northeastern regional conference of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) here last weekend, attended by about 200 lawyers, law students and "legal workers," reconfirmed this petty-bourgeois radical milieu's hostility to class-struggle politics.

The conference was pervaded by factional in-fighting between the NLG's two "superpowers"—the heterogeneous "independents" who follow the lead of the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) and the pro-Peking October League's (OL) "Anti-Imperialist Caucus." Their listless sparring did not prevent the competing Stalinists from cooperating to bureaucratically throttle the class-struggle defense policies represented by the Spartacist League (SL) and Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

From the fulsome speeches hailing the reformist African National Congress (ANC) to the ritual "criticism/self-criticism" sermonette, the conference was an exercise in class-collaborationism and sectarianism. Despite the generally apolitical, lawyerly decorum, harassment and suppression were the order of the day for SL and PDC spokesmen, who were repeatedly not recognized or were subjected to discriminatory time limits and abusive interruptions during their floor interventions.

In three well-attended labor workshops, panelists related their experiences in suing the unions. Some of these "people's lawyers" expressed discomfort with the activities of their out-bureaucrat clients (such as the strike-breaking policies of the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller), but maintained the "tactical" need to continue legal attacks against the unions in the name of democracy and oppressed minorities.

The labor workshops were politically confronted and polarized around the SL's and PDC's principled position against government interference in the unions. At the "Insurgent Labor Groups" workshop, the PDC presented its motion opposing the NLG's "tactical" stampede across the class line (see box), which will be taken to the Seattle convention this summer.

In the same workshop, a panelist who presented the case of National Maritime Union (NMU) out-bureacratic oppositionist James Morrissey was stopped cold by the intervention of a supporter of a class-struggle opposition group in the union, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC). The NMUer explained how—despite the legal maneuvers of Morrissey and his "people's lawyers" to sue union bureaucrats directly so as to avoid naming the union—the suit had threatened his union's independence from the capitalist state. This nearly resulted moreover, in a third of the damages being paid right out of the union treasury (that is, out of the members' pockets). The M-SC supporter exposed the Stalinists' sleight of hand in writing the bureaucrats out of the workers movement so as to pose as protectors of the unions' independence while actively pushing court suits against them.

The "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" meeting was a total debacle for the Maoists. Unable to answer the SL's Trotskyist attack on Maoist flip-flops from the "Gang of Four" to Teng Hsiao-ping, or the PDC's exposure of their sectarian defense policies, OL speakers were reduced to rambling incoherence. An inquiry from an "independent" about why the "anti-imperialists" were supporting the anti-Soviet Pan African Congress rather than the competing African National Congress induced first an embarrassed silence, then a desperate unanswered plea for help from the audience, and finally an extended anecdote about kids spitting on an old Chinese man. "But what about the PAC?" demanded opponents in the audience. Finally a walkout was staged by about 30 "critical Maoists," including Jeff Segal of the *Guardian*.

But all the Stalinists and "independents" could agree to violate the norms of workers democracy to suppress the views of the SL and PDC. When a PDC supporter protested a particularly egregious attempt to cut off an SL spokesman, NLG bigwig Craig Kaplan replied: "If you don't stop this I'm going to call off this meeting and blame it on the Spartacist League."

During the inevitable "self-criticism" talkathon Kaplan explicitly justified political suppression of "disrupters"—i.e. those whose politics differ from his. Voices of "moderation" were also heard, such as outgoing regional vice president Mardie Walker, who said the NLG was "overreacting to the sectarians" whom the leadership fears will "undermine the Guild." As the PDC's "Open Letter to the Membership of the Lawyers Guild" (reprinted below) makes clear, the NLG has much to fear: not "disruption" but the counterposition of the PDC's class-struggle anti-sectarian defense policy to the soft-core Stalinism of the NLG.

An Open Letter to NLG Membership from the Partisan Defense Committee

Assata Shakur and Gary Tyler have been locked up for life. *Washington Post* pressmen, Carter and Artis, Wendy Yoshimura, UE militants Markley and Suares: all convicted in the frame-up courts of capitalist "justice." UAW member Bennie Lenard is beaten by Chicago-area cops, then faces charges of assault. Every time a prison door slams shut on a labor militant whose "crime" is his loyalty to his class, or on a black person subjected to a racist frame-up; wherever right-wing dictatorships unleash their torturers and hangmen, it is a blow against the entire working class.

But each time a victim of rightist repression is rescued from the class enemy, it increases the solidarity and combativity of working people around the world. From the earliest days of the Communist International, Marxists have insisted that there is only one way to defend the exploited and oppressed: through vigorous use of class-struggle methods. James P. Cannon, founder of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and later of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., wrote of this policy:

> "It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions."
>
> —*Labor Defender*, January 1927

Although innumerable cases of capitalist "justice" cry out for such a class-struggle defense, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is not about to provide it. Instead of defending the independence of the workers movement, the NLG hauls the unions (the *only* mass defense organs of the working class in this country today) into the bosses' courts. Instead of treating an injury to one as an injury to all, various factions in the Lawyers Guild push cases on the basis of agreement with the politics of whichever defense committee or defendant suits their narrow organizational purposes. Instead of each group flying its own colors and uniting in common struggle for an anti-sectarian, working-class defense, the Stalinists and unaffiliated reformists hide behind lowest-common-denominator front groups and seek control of the NLF through back-stabbing, anti-communist exclusions and unprincipled organizational maneuvering.

Examples: At the February 1976 NLG convention in Houston, supporters of the Peking-loyal October League (OL) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) were so entangled in their running dog fight that the defense workshop—which one would expect to be a key locus for deciding defense policy—was almost totally ignored. At the national executive board meeting in New Brunswick, New Jersey, last August, OL supporters opposed defense efforts for the Wilmington Ten and Charlotte Three because this demonstration was led by the CP-dominated National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). At the last NEB in Norman, Oklahoma in February, it was the "independents," in league with the CP supporters, who led the charge against the OL-supported motion regarding defense of Gary Tyler. And so it goes.

Battle lines are being drawn in the Lawyers Guild on the sectarian basis of organizational squabbling, but the NLG doesn't draw the class line in defense work. OL supporters hold meetings to advance the struggle against "Soviet social imperialism in the guise of the CP's NAARPR" while attempting to exclude the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) as well as the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The "anti-sectarian" aging New Leftists, on the other hand, are mobilizing to remove OL supporters from positions of leadership in the Guild. With this "third force" doing their work, CP supporters sit back, confident that their own brand of Stalinist class-collaboration will ultimately triumph in this amorphous defense milieu.

There is talk of throwing OL supporters out of the Lawyers Guild on charges of "disruption": we will fight to prevent expulsion of any working-class tendency from the NLG, though the PDC has been the target of blatant anti-democratic action by these cravenly unprincipled Maoists. There is nothing unprincipled with caucusing in the Guild. Every defined current within the left should have that right, and will do so anyway. In fact, some honest political struggle in an organization which tries to falsely present itself as the great conciliator of all good "progressives" will be a welcome change, but aside from the PDC's fight for anti-sectarian class-struggle defense, there is very little debate over principles in the Lawyers Guild.

Why the NLG Doesn't Draw the Class Line

Despite the heat of the current feuding in the National Lawyers Guild, there is fundamental agreement among the Stalinists and their "independent" cohorts on defense policy: they all preach class-collaboration and sectarianism. OL supporters tried to rope the NLG into supporting defense campaigns around its politics, while boycotting CP-led cases. The Communist Party does the same thing through the NAARPR, though with more finesse since it is in the driver's seat. As for the "independents," they are at best naive and politically unformed, but at this late date mainly burned out and gripped by anti-communist hostility to organization. The "independents" denounce the OL's sectarianism, but their self-proclaimed spokesmen, McGee and Bennis, have the same defense policy as the OL's Klonsky or the CP's Angela Davis: political support for the "particular aims and demands of the coalition."

While there are plenty of fireworks in the NLG on broader issues as well, such as when the OL supporters tried to slip through a veiled attack on Soviet aid to Angola at the Norman NEB meeting, at bottom each of the main currents tail after the class-collaborationist policies of one or another Stalinist bureaucracy. The CP pushes Brezhnev's project for détente with U.S. imperialism; the OL supports Hua's attempts to woo the Pentagon into a "united front against Soviet social imperialism"; and the "independents" love Cuba.

They all managed to unite on a resolution endorsing the present policies of the Vietnamese government. With the rivalry of the competing Moscow-Peking bureaucracies threatening the precarious "unity" of the NLG, all parties found a PDC motion, presented at the NEB in Norman, Oklahoma, denouncing Carter's anti-communist campaign for "human rights" too hot to handle. The PDC called on the Lawyers Guild to "not participate in or sponsor projects or activities for the defense of Soviet dissidents which are subordinated to a Cold War propaganda mobilization." The PDC has clear opposition to the anti-communism of the American bourgeoisie, but the NLG refused to take a position.

All of these Stalinist tendencies take defense work as a means to achieve a political bloc with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. That is precisely why they exclude freedom of criticism by communists and supporters of class-struggle defense. It is the Partisan Defense Committee that uniquely upholds the ILD's tradition of principled united-front actions, seeking the broadest possible defense of causes in the interests of the working class, calling for solidarity "regardless of conflicting views on other questions." The PDC and the Spartacist League have defended both Angela Davis of the CP and OL supporters arrested in Houston following fascist attack. But this anti-sectarian defense of victims of capitalist "justice," seeking to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of its own, is lost upon the Stalinists and New Leftists.

Courts Out of the Unions!

The NLG crosses the class line with a vengeance in the trade unions. In the mass organizations of the working class

ers Guild

it is most clear that a class-struggle policy in defense is also anti-sectarian. Perilously, the NLG has no such policy. The same sectarian and class-collaborationist policies which characterize the Guild's defense work in other areas is given particularly reactionary content as the NLG's Labor Project legal commandos go on the offensive in the capitalist courts against the independence of the trade-union movement. Organizational squabbling to gain factional advantage for some form of class collaboration, as usual, replaces class-independent criteria for deciding what trade union cases the NLG will legally assist.

Just as "an injury to one is an injury to all" should be ABC for anyone claiming to defend the exploited and oppressed, so it should be the most elementary impulse to defend the organized labor movement from the capitalist state. However, all the major currents in the NLG not only fail to consistently defend the workers movement against attacks by the class enemy, but they also are united in advocating the "tactic" of suing the unions in the bourgeois courts.

Members of the NLG Labor Project will get up and pontificate about how bad the capitalist state is, about how they don't want to build illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist courts. This is phrase-mongering by cynical windbags. They all jump at a chance to sue the unions, and in fact that is about all the Labor Project does these days. Some groups want to take the unions to court over "rank-and-file democracy"; others favor court suits to gain "super-seniority" for oppressed groups. All fail to see that dragging the bosses' government into union affairs is a deeply unprincipled and dangerous act which attempts to wed the trade-union movement to the bourgeois state.

The Partisan Defense Committee has introduced a motion to this NLG conference, to be submitted for vote at the Seattle convention, which denounces the anti-labor practice of taking the unions to court and puts forward a policy of consistent class defense (see attached). Standing for class defense means that the PDC's motion rejects the usual NLG policy of supporting cases on a narrow sectarian basis, demanding political agreement with the victims or the defense organizations. Similar motions introduced by the PDC in the past have been rejected as the union-suers "unite" as the common enemy of class-struggle defense. Furthermore, a look at the Guild's history will show that it has always been a legal arm for class collaboration. As the Spartacist League has written ("Identity Crisis in the Lawyers Guild," *Workers Vanguard* No. 96, 13 February 1976) "the history of the NLG is the history of whatever is popular on the radical left."

Yesterday the "anti-facist people's front" and "no-strike pledges" were popular; today the suing of unions in the name of union democracy and minority rights, crossing picket lines and sectarian front-group defense committees are popular. All this is the antithesis of the class-struggle defense work of the ILD and the International Red Aid, which stood as a beacon to all victims of bourgeois class oppression until Stalinist degeneration politically gutted and ultimately destroyed these pioneer working-class defense organizations. The PDC seeks to recover those traditions from decades of Stalinist and social-democratic betrayal.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Our purpose, at this meeting and everywhere, is to draw the class line in defense work. Our motion for defense of victimized trade unionists on an anti-sectarian basis and for the independence of the union movement as a whole from the bosses and their state is a step toward building support for class-struggle defense policies. For those who disagree with us, we welcome open political debate conducted according to the norms of workers democracy. We hope that NLG members who have questions about our trade-union defense motion or other matters will seek out PDC supporters at this conference.

Like the ILD, our policy is the policy of the class struggle. It is the PDC's policy today, when it is unpopular in the National Lawyers Guild, and it will be our policy in the future when we hope many who are here in Boston will come to see the need for an organization which carries out class-struggle defense.

Keep the state out of the labor movement—Vote for the PDC motion!

Build the Partisan Defense Committee!

—Partisan Defense Committee
16 April 1977

PDC Labor Motion

WHEREAS: The NLG is currently considering to whom within the workers movement it shall offer legal assistance, and

WHEREAS: Within the workers movement an injury to one is an injury to all, and therefore only a policy of defense for *all* under attack by the bosses and their government is in the interest of and can best protect the working class, and

WHEREAS: The trade unions are the sole mass organizations of working people in the U.S. today, which provide the only existing protection to workers despite the misleadership of the reactionary labor bureaucracy which consistently sells out the interest of the working class and the oppressed, and

WHEREAS: The courts and the Labor Department are instruments of the bourgeois state whose intervention in the trade unions will only weaken them, not the least when such interventions falsely claim to be in the interests of the specially oppressed or of union democracy, and

WHEREAS: While all legal tools against the government and the employers should be utilized to protect and advance the interest of the working class, suits against the trade unions betray the class struggle by 1) continuing and reinforcing state intervention and control of the trade unions and 2) creating the illusion that the working class can fight the trade-union bureaucracy and divisions in the working class by reliance on the bourgeois state, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That NLG legal assistance should be given to members of the labor movement under attack from the bosses and/or their state—not to suits which bring the government into union affairs and which, therefore, attack the unions, and be it further

RESOLVED: Such legal assistance should be given to those within the workers movement on an anti-sectarian basis—not on the basis of political agreement with the workers under attack.

15 April 1977
Jacob Braun
Valerie West
Rachel Wolkenstein

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

PDC Fund Drive in High Gear

Over $6,000 Collected for Fernando Marcos' Eye Operation

by the Partisan Defense Committee

As the campaign being conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) to raise $10,000 for a crucial eye operation for a Chilean trade-union leader in exile goes into its second month, over $6,000 has been raised. This welcome response to the fund appeal has made available to Fernando Marcos the last chance to save his eyesight which was lost as a result of an explosion of industrial supplies in a Chilean foundry.

Support for the campaign has been wide-ranging, with New York City leading the way. A letter from a trade unionist in Australia echoes the determination of the PDC and its supporters to make this fund drive a success:

> "I hope to be able to raise some more money from friends and fellow unionists over the next few weeks.... I wish brother Marcos success in his treatment. I commend the PDC for its work which demonstrates against the sneers and abuse of skeptics that the workers movement can defend itself against the power of capital.
>
> In solidarity,
> R.L.H."

In the U.S., unionists have also come to the aid of their class brother, with individual workers making donations, in particular at the Mahwah, N.J. auto plant where over $75 was collected on the line by PDC supporters. A note enclosed by a phone worker, along with a second donation to the campaign, reads: "I am sending this contribution because I want brother Fernando to get his vision restored. We all need his eyes as much as he does." A meeting of the Hispanic Labor Council in Chicago heard a PDC presentation on the case and nearly $50 was collected. In Canada, this same solidarity has been expressed, with a national union sending in a $50 contribution.

Other supporters of Marcos' cause have been political organizations which, in the spirit of anti-sectarian defense, have sent contributions or publicized the fund drive in their press. This is in sharp contrast to a feminist, writing on the letterhead of the Vancouver Status of Women to the PDC: "You keep sending me materials on Chilean prisoners being freed. I do not wish to contribute more $ until you free some ♀ prisoners."

Not only factually inaccurate with regard to the defense work of the PDC, this letter exemplifies defense work poisoned by sectarian class-collaboration—the degenerated traditions which the PDC struggles to root out. Perhaps the Vancouver Status of Women should take a lesson from the

continued on page 9

Urgent PDC Fund Appeal

Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: $10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of $_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (*Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund."*)

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of $_____ to aid the work of the Partisan Defense Committee.

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Box 6729, Main Post Office, Chicago, IL 60680
Box 26078, Edendale Station, Los Angeles, CA 90026
Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League

WV Photo

Washington demonstration last Saturday called for dropping indictments against Local 6 pressmen.

State Backs Off Felony Charges

Drop All Charges Against Washington Post Pressmen!

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 16—Approximately 200 people, most of them trade unionists, marched here today in defense of the 15 *Washington Post* pressmen charged with sabotaging the presses at the start of a bitter strike by Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (IPGCU) against the paper.

Demonstrators gathered for a rally on McPherson Square and then marched through downtown Washington past the *Post* building. Among the marchers were contingents from IPGCU, District 1199, locals of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE), and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Among left groups present were the Center for United Labor Action, the Workers League, and the African Liberation Support Committee. A Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent carried a banner reading "Bosses' Government Out of the Labor Movement! Drop All Charges Against the *Post* Pressmen!"

The demonstration had been called to coincide with the scheduled Monday opening of the pressmen's trial on a slew of phony charges ranging from rioting to grand larceny to assault with a deadly weapon. It was partly to head off the growing support for the pressmen that the District of Columbia Superior Court decided on April 14 to drop all felony charges against the defendants in exchange for agreement to plead guilty on minor misdemeanor charges such as disorderly conduct.

The indictment of the 15 was the culmination of a vicious union-busting drive by *Post* owner Katherine Graham against Local 6 in which 204 union pressmen were replaced by scabs and subjected to a nationwide blacklist. Local 6 struck the *Post* on 1 October 1975 when management, after months of secret preparations (including training management scabs at an industry school for strikebreakers), switched over from linotype to computerized photocomposition production in the dead of the night. Graham's aim was to oust the union and force layoffs, drastic wage cuts and vicious "management prerogatives" in production down the pressmen's throats. After five months of halfheartedly respecting the Local 6 picket lines, the other pressroom unions decided to scab and the strike went down to crushing defeat.

Defense of the 15 pressmen, framed up for their courageous struggle for the survival of the printing trades unions, is of crucial importance to the entire labor movement. Although the state has now decided, under pressure, to drop the felony charges, the men nevertheless face jail sentences of up to two years and are still without their jobs. Thus today's demonstration was an important statement that the fight to stop the jailings and drop *all* the charges must be continued. ■

Workers Vanguard

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"Human Rights" Crusade...

(continued from page 1)

health, education and housing standards which American "democracy" finds too expensive. There is even opposition to ratifying the genocide convention, since it would require the government to prosecute Nazi war criminals now living in the U.S. (see "How U.S. Opened Doors to Nazi War Criminals," *WV* No. 152, 8 April).

Carter's real aim is the more effective utilization of UN agencies and forums by the imperialist propaganda mills, or (as in Korea, the Congo and the Near East) as a cover of "international peacekeeping" to mask Western military intervention. Having inherited near universal opprobrium for U.S adventures as world gendarme following the Vietnam debacle, Carter is seeking to enlist the imperialist "den of thieves" for his campaign to "make the world safe for democracy," 1970's-style.

"Linkages" I

The Soviet bureaucracy welcomed Jimmy Carter to the White House with guarded praise, declaring that his inaugural address gave "deep satisfaction" to "all sober people" and hailing his vague talk of doing away with nuclear weapons. Russian Communist Party general secretary Leonid Brezhnev spoke of a "new major advance in relations between our countries" (see "Dissidents and Cold Warriors," *WV* No. 144, 11 February). But even though the Kremlin had muted its customary wishful thinking on détente, it was in for a rude shock.

The new U.S. president had criticized his Republican predecessors, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger in particular, for presuming a "linkage" between the issue of the Soviet regime's treatment of dissidents and progress in strategic arms limitation talks (SALT). However, in the wake of Carter's UN speech, where he made his anti-Communist "human rights" crusade the cornerstone of an aggressive U.S. foreign policy, Brezhnev reaffirmed this "linkage" by denouncing "Washington's claims to teach others how to live."

"I will repeat again," he said. "We will not tolerate interference in our internal affairs by anyone and under any pretext. A normal development of relations on such a basis is, of course, unthinkable" (*New York Times*, 22 March). Carter's flippant response was: "Some people are concerned every time Brezhnev sneezes"—but not this cold-warrior. The next day Carter called for a huge increase in the budgets of American government propaganda radio stations aimed at the Soviet bloc.

Voice of America broadcasts to the Soviet Union and East Europe would be increased by 25 percent, while the transmitting capacities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty would be nearly doubled. The latter two stations were operated by the CIA during the 1950's and 1960's, specializing in virulent counterrevolutionary propaganda. Since U.S. government sponsorship has been openly admitted, they now put on an appearance of "professional" news analysis. However, both stations continue to be notorious CIA fronts, staffed in many cases with ex-Nazis.

To slightly alter von Clausewitz' famous statement, diplomacy is the continuation of war by other means. This was certainly brought home at the SALT negotiations in Moscow at the end of March. If there was any ambiguity in the "signals" Carter had been sending to Brezhnev, these were cleared up with the arrogant and deliberately one-sided "disarmament" proposals presented by U.S secretary of state Cyrus Vance. The American position was certainly not welcomed by "all sober people" in the Soviet leadership. It could not be, and was not intended to be, accepted by Moscow.

James Reston of the *New York Times* (1 April) hailed the Carter/Vance "two-tiered" SALT proposal as "the most revolutionary arms proposal since the beginning of the Cold War." If there was anything "revolutionary" about it, it could only be that no one had previously put forward a proposal so obviously intended to strengthen the U.S. position in strategic weaponry vis à vis the Soviet Union. It was not a negotiating position so much as a slap in the face, which is how Brezhnev took it.

"Linkages" II

The original SALT agreement in May 1972 called for a U.S. arsenal of 2,358 land-based and submarine-launched missiles for the USSR and 1,710 for the U.S. In November 1974 in Vladivostok, Gerald Ford and Brezhnev agreed upon equal limitations of 2,400 missile launchers, of which 1,320 could be armed with MIRV (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle) warheads. In Moscow, Vance proposed that a total ceiling of 1,800 to 2,000 strategic missiles be permitted, of which 1,100-1,200 would be "mirved." In addition, "heavy" rocket launchers would be cut back from a maximum of 308 to 150.

This was the so-called "comprehensive package." The "deferral option" would confirm the levels agreed to at Vladivostok and write them into a SALT II treaty to take effect when SALT I runs out this fall. Under the "comprehensive package," American "Cruise" missiles of "intercontinental" range (unspecified) would be banned and limits placed on the Soviet "Backfire" (Tupolev A-G) bomber. On the "deferral" plan, no limits would be placed on either weapon.

On the third day of negotiations, a Soviet team headed by Brezhnev walked into the conference room, rejected both American "options" and ended the session in less than an hour. The U.S. delegation professed shock and dismay. In the following days, the liberal press was filled with a debate over whether Washington had "miscalculated" the Soviet response, whether the Russian rejection was the result of Carter's "human-rights" blithering and what had happened to détente.

The "nyet" in Moscow had nothing do to with "miscalculations," as Carter himself admitted. In the first place, the Vladivostok agreement included the cruise missile in the quotas for rocket launchers. (The U.S., basing itself on the fact that the accord was never published, claims that it put limits only on "ballistic" missiles, therefore excluding the cruise missile which is essentially a pilotless airplane.) Secondly, the Tupolev A-G bomber is not a strategic weapon, since it cannot reach the U.S. without refueling. Moreover, the "Backfire" is already deployed (in central Europe), while the American cruise missile program is still in the development stage. In short, the Russians were being asked to give up a sizeable something for nothing at all.

Equally important are the numerical cuts implied in the "comprehensive" U.S. proposal. Since the American arsenal includes a smaller number of strategic missiles than the proposed 1,800-2,000 limit, it would not have to destroy any rockets; the USSR, on the other hand, would have to destroy at least 400 missiles and possibly double that number. The "heavy" missiles are the only area where the Soviet Union has superiority over the U.S. (which has no such missiles); here the Russians would have to cut their existing force in half, and again the U.S. would cut nothing.

While much of the U.S. bourgeois press thundered vituperation against "Soviet intransigence," and liberal reporters wrote of miscalculations, *Newsweek* (11 April) let the cat out of the bag. The American negotiating proposal was "weighted in favor of the

U.S. in several instances," it admitted:

> "It sought severe limits on large missiles with heavy throw-weights, in which the Soviets have a sizable lead. It proposed sharp restrictions on the number of land-based missiles with multiple warheads on which the Soviets are relying for future defense. And on cruise missiles—in which U.S. technology has a big lead—it proposed that only those with the longest range be excluded from SALT limitations...."

It then quoted Carter's cold war hawk national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski claiming the U.S. had done its best to come up with an "equitable" package.

> "The Soviets did not see things that way. To them, the deferral plan was nothing more than a recycled version of a proposal they have rejected twice already on the ground that it handed the U.S. a nuclear advantage. The comprehensive plan was equally untenable, Gromyko said. It 'proposed to liquidate half the rockets in our possession....' he contended. Certainly the arithmetic seemed to support his view. Under the most severe limits, the Soviets would have to scrap as many as 3,980 warheads while the U.S. would not lose one; Moscow would have to eliminate 740 strategic bombers and missiles to America's 329. 'What kind of stability is that?' Gromyko asked."

SALTing Away Détente

Immediately after the Russian rejection of these proposals—which no Soviet leader in his right mind could accept—Western leaders began beating the propaganda drums. "The sense in Washington today is that President Carter is being put to the test by the Soviet leadership—a test that, perhaps unintentionally, he brought upon himself with his vigorous public diplomacy on human rights and arms control," wrote the *New York Times* (1 April). An "experienced Congressional observer" was quoted as saying, "This is Khrushchev and Kennedy all over again," recalling the 1961 Berlin crisis and 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

At the same time as they hypocritically claimed to be "tested," the imperialists gloated over the propaganda benefits. "The Administration evidently feels it has gained a propaganda advantage by offering what the President called 'drastic' reductions aimed at putting a real cap on the arms race and putting the Kremlin on the defensive by coming out against such reductions," said the *Times*. The conservative British business weekly, the *Economist* (9 April), echoed this sentiment: "By a master stroke of Soviet diplomacy, Mr. Brezhnev has now presented himself to the world as the great opponent of disarmament as well as of human rights."

Secretary of State Vance at first expressed "disappointment," then said perhaps there had been "miscalculation." But after being corrected by the White House press secretary on this point, he swung into line, saying: "To them [Soviet leaders] everything is going their way. I don't think they're in any mood to negotiate." U.S. secretary of defense Harold Brown doubted that a new arms control agreement could be negotiated before SALT I ran out in October, commenting: "It's too early to tell if the Soviets are interested in rough equivalence or in strategic superiority."

In point of fact, it is the *Pentagon* that has been waging a campaign to preserve *its* "strategic superiority." First there was the "Team B" report on Soviet military capabilities, asserting the Russians sought "superiority," not parity of striking power—thereby giving grist to the mills of military hawks who seek to raise the war budget. Then came the CIA's doubling of its estimate of the percentage of the USSR's gross national product expended on the military (achieved by statistical sleight of hand, through doubling the GNP estimate!). On the SALT negotiations, "Administration officials acknowledged that the Government was trying to use Soviet fears about the development of the American cruise missile as an inducement to get the Kremlin to relinquish some of its heavy SS-18 missiles" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

According to the *Times*, this was a "significant shift" of the White House position toward views long held by the Joint Chiefs of Staff (who claimed that the original SALT negotiations were a giveaway to the Russians). This was underscored in Carter's press conference following the breakdown of arms control negotiations. If he determined the USSR were refusing to bargain in "good faith," said Carter, than "I would be forced to consider a much more deep commitment to the development and deployment of additional weapons." In short, all the talk of eliminating nuclear weapons becomes nothing but an excuse for stepping up war preparations.

Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy! Defend the Gains of October!

Trotskyists are unconditional defenders of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. The only "human right" that Carter and his ilk would bring to the Soviet Union is the "right" of the capitalists to ruthlessly exploit and oppress the working people.

Revolutionary Russia under Lenin and Trotsky depended above all on the mobilization of the international working class to defend the USSR from the threat of international counterrevolution. In contrast, the parasitic bureaucracy that has ruled the country since the degeneration of the October Revolution under Stalin puts its faith in a deal with imperialism. In the 1930's Stalin sought in vain to protect his rule through the League of Nations, the Laval pact with France and then the pact with Hitler. Today his heirs seek refuge in pipedreams of nuclear disarmament and everlasting peaceful coexistence.

Despite the Stalinist usurpation of political power in the USSR, fundamental social gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution remain. To defend the collectivized property forms of the Soviet Union, no confidence can be placed in ephemeral and empty "disarmament" negotiations. While state control of production has permitted tremendous technological jumps, symbolized by the sputnik, the U.S. remains well ahead in war technology. The Pentagon has developed every major military advance—atomic bomb, hydrogen bomb, nuclear submarines, MIRV warheads and now the cruise missile. In the face of this threat, any rotten liberalism by the Kremlin rulers in arms control bargaining poses grave threats to the existence of the Soviet state.

Brezhnev and Gromyko rejected Carter's arrogant, sabre-rattling SALT proposal. But their "answer" is to appeal to the lagging spirit of détente. Far from seeking the spread of world revolution, the Kremlin bureaucrats hope that by appearing reasonable they can appease the imperialists. Thus during the agonizing Vietnam War, Moscow (and Peking) consistently refused to supply North Vietnam with adequate weaponry to defend itself against the terror raids of American B-52's. Eventually a U.S. withdrawal was "negotiated," but only because the American army had been defeated in the field of battle.

The bureaucracies of the Russian degenerated workers state—and of the deformed workers states from East Germany to Vietnam and Cuba—fear above all the explosion of proletarian revolution, which would directly and immediately threaten their precarious privileged position. A real defense of the social gains of the countries which have smashed capitalist rule cannot be based on Soviet diplomatic maneuvers, but on the mobilization of the working people in defense of their vital interests. This the Brezhnevs and Huas can never accomplish.

On the one hand, a hapless search for détente with imperialism; on the other, rigid suppression of workers democracy at home—this is the necessary program of the Stalinist bureaucracies. Trotskyists warn that the pro-imperialist views of many in the current generation of "Soviet dissidents" hold no answers for the working people who wish to move forward to socialism; nevertheless, we defend the right to free expression of those who do not advocate or engage in direct counterrevolutionary activity.

The Sakharovs of the USSR get plenty of publicity for their reactionary views; it is the job of revolutionary communists to denounce the repression against the unknown oppositionists in the Soviet Union, the workers jailed for striking, the intellectuals sent to "psychiatric hospitals" for seeking to follow the path of Lenin. The fullest soviet democracy is required to truly defend the gains of October, and this can be obtained only through workers political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, in the degenerated/deformed workers states; and social revolution in the capitalist countries that sweeps the scourge of capitalist militarism from the earth forever. ■

Demonstrate April 22!

100 at Teach-In to Keep Kissinger Off Columbia Campus

APRIL 19—About 100 people, including representatives of the bourgeois press, attended an anti-Kissinger teach-in tonight at New York's Columbia University. The teach-in, organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus, was part of a continuing militant campaign to prevent Dr. Henry Kissinger, architect of American imperialism's terror bombings of Vietnam, from assuming a teaching position in the Political Science department of this "Ivy League" university. The Ad Hoc Committee, which led a demonstration on March 25 against this outrageous travesty of "academic freedom," organized the teach-in to publicize its call for a demonstration to be held at 1:00 p.m. this Friday, April 22, at the Columbia sundial.

The anti-Kissinger campaign has drawn the fire of the liberal-bourgeois opinion-makers, who charge the demonstrators with advocating political censorship (*New York Times* editorial, 14 April). This is nonsense. An open letter to the *Times* distributed today by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which initiated the Ad Hoc Committee, explained:

> "At issue here is not academic freedom at Columbia University. The prestigious faculties of Columbia shelter a plethora of well-salaried conservative professors fully capable of arguing in defense of American imperialism and—unlike the Spartacus Youth League—fully free to voice their opinions on campus without the slightest administration harassment. The ventilation of such opinion must be regarded as a legitimate exercise of academic freedom.
>
> "But Henry Kissinger is not just an apologist for imperialism, although he cut his academic spurs by elevating pure imperialist power politics to the level of 'theory.' This man was the main orchestrator of the Christmas bombing of Vietnam; the coordinator of the 'Forty Committee' which aided the Chilean right in preparation for the bloody Pinochet coup, and the oily diplomat for U.S. imperialism who has backed the vicious white-supremacist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. Henry Kissinger must be driven away from Columbia—not for his views, but for his deeds."

Tonight's teach-in featured a film, "U.S. Techniques of Torture and Genocide in Vietnam," which graphically reminded the audience of the atrocities perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against the working people of Vietnam. The speakers included Columbia professor Alexander Erlich, who forcefully insisted that war criminals like Kissinger must not be permitted to don the robes of academic respectability. "We don't want to be a dumping ground for uncommon criminals with PhD's," he said.

Other featured speakers were representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee, SYL, Political Science Graduate Students Opposed to the Appointment of Kissinger, Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, Federación Universitarios Socialista Puertorriqueño and United Farm Workers.

Keep Kissinger Off Campus! Demonstrate on April 22!

Fernando Marcos...

(continued from page 7)

fact that one of the first contributors to the Marcos fund drive was a veteran of the suffragist movement in the U.S.

College professors and students have been an important source of funds for the campaign. Church groups, legal workers, Latin American support groups, supporters of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz as well as subscribers to *Workers Vanguard* have also made valuable contributions on behalf of Marcos.

Notable was a social gathering recently held in New Jersey, where friends interested in hearing about the defense work of the PDC and particularly the Marcos cause raised over $300 toward the $10,000 goal.

Basing its work on the traditions of the International Labor Defense (ILD) under its founder James P. Cannon and the sterling defense record of the Spartacist League, the PDC welcomes the letter of a supporter in Cleveland: "... Not since the days of the ILD have we seen in this country the kind of vigorous international class struggle defense campaigns that the PDC now wages."

Support the fund drive for Fernando Marcos today—assist the PDC in reaching its goal of $10,000! Only $4,000 more to go. Support today can indeed make the difference. In summing up the campaign, we quote from a letter from the PDC to the editor of the *New Haven Advocate* (6 April 1977):

> "Despite recent cosmetic actions, the Chilean generals continue to imprison, torture and murder thousands of political opponents both within the country's borders and around the world (e.g., Orlando Letelier). Restoring the sight of Fernando Marcos would be both a symbolic victory for all the far-flung South American leftist refugees and a material contribution to the struggle against the junta." ■

UAW Local Elections...

(continued from page 12)

began to rise, too. In the 1976 contract talks the largest no vote in the UAW history was recorded among production workers at the "target" company, Ford. In the skilled trades, ratification was secured only by altering the method of vote counting.

Since the national agreements were signed in the fall, a substantial number of local contracts has been rejected. "Official" strikes over local conditions, plus a recent spate of "unauthorized" strikes, could signal a new round of class struggle between the auto workers and the capitalists.

Detroit: Loyal "Opposition" in Disarray

The UAW sports a variety of "dissident" currents. However, they usually play on the dissatisfaction of the membership only to knuckle under to their superiors in the hierarchy on every crucial occasion. Their pessimistic cynicism reinforced by the layoff-induced passivity of the auto workers over the past period, these loyal "oppositionists" are now especially demoralized and prostrate.

Frank Runnels, president of Cadillac Local 22 in Detroit, has for the last few years been grooming himself for higher union office by playing a mildly dissident role. He is chairman of the "National Short Work Week Committee" which calls for a vaguely defined cut in work time and is allied with the pressure group "30 and Out Committee" (also made up of local bureaucrats) led by Hugh Oginsky of Flint GM Local 599. Runnels recently told *WV* of his all-out support to Fraser: "I think Fraser will make a very good president. I'm very enthused over his position on the four day work week." Having been indicted several months ago for allegedly running a workmen's compensation kickback racket and with charges in his local of vote fraud in the recent elections (which his slate swept) Runnels may have decided that now is not the time to rock the boat.

The United National Caucus (UNC) grew out of the skilled trades' Dollar-an-Hour movement in 1967. Comprised of bureaucratic aspirers, a few ex-radicals and disgruntled skilled tradesmen, the UNC later caught the attention of the International Socialists (I.S.) which sought to give the UNC a "rank-and-file production worker" tilt. Though always concentrated in Detroit, for some years it was the only organized opposition caucus with even a semblance of national influence.

Ten years after its "birth," the UNC is nearly dead. It has largely dissolved into its constituent elements. The skilled trades mainstay of the UNC is now largely grouped in the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) led by Al Gardener (past president of the Ford River Rouge Tool and Die unit) and Pete Kelly.

Though the discontent of UAW skilled tradesmen is great, the ISTC does not attempt to lead them in a class-struggle direction, nor link up their grievances with the numerically predominant production workers. Instead the ISTC panders to the backwardness of the militant but politically conservative tradesmen by peddling parochialism and protectionism (Gardener ran for re-election in 1975 on the slogan "American work for American workers"). Its main issue during the last contract negotiations was the blatantly undemocratic demand that tradesmen be given a veto over UAW contracts. The ISTC has scarcely opposed the discrimination which keeps the trades nearly all white. And so far, the ISTC has not moved to publicly defend Jordan Sims, the UNC's only prominent black spokesman, who was recently deposed by the International from the Local 961 presidency.

Although Pete Kelly ran against Woodcock for the UAW presidency at the last convention, Kelly is not even running for delegate this year. Both Gardener and Kelly told a *WV* reporter that they did not know if they would even oppose Fraser at the upcoming convention, though a number of ISTC delegates have been elected. Gardener added that, if Fraser came out for the referendum vote for International officers (the same system used in the highly bureaucratized Steelworkers and National Maritime Union), "we'd have a hell of a time not supporting him." Though Fraser is unlikely to do this, it indicates the rather low asking price of the ISTC.

I.S. in Chaos

The other main component of the has-been UNC, supporters of the social-democratic I.S., has always pushed a narrowly economist and purely reformist program, moving steadily to the right in a fruitless search for easy popularity. The failures of the I.S. "get rich quick" schemes periodically generate internal opposition, for which the I.S. has a ready solution: expulsion. In 1973, the I.S. expelled about 100 of its dissident members and, just a few weeks ago, purged nearly another 100 grouped in the so-called "Left Faction."

While the split heavily intersected clique loyalties in the I.S., one of the evident "sins" of the "Left Faction" was its criticism of the I.S.' increasingly crass opportunism, and, in particular, its embarrassing accusations concerning the I.S.' latest "mass work" ploy in auto, the "Coalition for a Good Contract" (CGC):

> "Instead of fighting for a rank and file movement independent of the trade union bureaucracy, in the CGC, (with the rank and file disinterested) the IS increasingly supported and promoted opportunists in the bureaucracy—Runnels, Oginsky, Weissman, etc.
>
> "There is always a price for this policy. When there was a wildcat strike at Weissman's Twinsburg, Ohio plant on Nov. 5, 1976—a strike Weissman helped break, denouncing the picketers as 'screwballs,' 'young single guys who just wanted a night out' (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Nov. 7), *Workers' Power* was silent. Worse, in December, *Workers' Power* again singled Weissman out for praise, while claiming that the membership of his local 'did not become active in the struggle against the sellout.' (Dec. 13, 1976)"
>
> —Left Faction "Draft"

If the I.S. can back strikebreaker Weissman, why not Doug Fraser? This is evidently not to be ruled out. The "Left Faction" noted: "...the National Secretary announced at the auto fraction during the National Convention that the I.S. might find itself supporting Doug Fraser...."

If the I.S. is not yet allied with Fraser, it is only because these opportunists can see no percentage in it *at the present time*. But I.S.-supported candidates have been running (getting themselves elected in a few cases) on programs that a large section of the UAW bureaucracy could endorse. The United Coalition of Local 51, an amalgam of a few I.S. supporters and black Local officials, got several delegates elected and recently recommended acceptance of the Local contract (which had been turned down by the membership twice). It contained, said the coalition, "many important improvements"—like more cops in the parking lots, fixing the plant roof and hot food!

In Local 869, Chrysler's Warren Stamping Plant, Dave McCullough (described in *Workers' Power* as a long-time member of the I.S.) was just elected vice-president. The 28 March *Workers' Power* asked what his campaign platform was: "I haven't really promised to do anything," McCullough replied, "except what you expect of a union official: fight the company, use the power that the people have." Such empty rhetoric is a dime a dozen in the UAW. The I.S. is preparing its members for "leadership," i.e., absorption into the bureaucracy, by becoming indistinguishable from it.

East Coast

Outside of Michigan, where the union is concentrated, the Woodcock/Fraser steamroller carried most locals handily. For example, at the Ford assembly plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, Local 906 president Joe Reilly's "Brotherhood" slate won virtually every office and delegate slot. Since breaking a wildcat four years ago and purging a number of militants, Reilly has run the Local with a dictatorial hand, gaining Ford's eager cooperation.

Throughout this period, the only organized opposition to the Reilly machine has been the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC). While other "oppositionists," like supporters of the October League (OL) and Revolutionary Communist Party-backed "Autoworkers United to Fight" (AWUF) cowered quietly in the wings only to emerge at election time, the MSC has stood toe-to-toe with Reilly and borne the full brunt of Ford's harassment.

The MSC candidates, Richie Bradley for convention delegate and Ron Painter for sub-council delegate, ran on their militant record and a full program of transitional demands, including: yearly elections, conventions and contract; union control of hiring to fight discrimination; full rights for women, including maternity leave and free child care; no deportations of, and full citizenship rights for, all foreign-born workers; union defense guards against racist attacks; the full right to strike over all grievances without International authorization; a shorter workweek to make jobs for all; and a break with the Democrats—for a workers party and a workers government to expropriate capitalist industry and run a planned economy in the interests of the working people.

Bradley polled 409 votes for convention delegate, outdistancing his late-coming competitors; Doug Niehouse of AWUF got 190 votes and the OL supporter Tom Cocke got 299. Painter received 223 votes for sub-council delegate.

The shallowness of the OL's current "left turn" in trade-union work was shown most clearly by OL supporter Sandy Richardson's race for committeeman. Though the OL is now shouting, "Throw the bureaucrats out!" and "Build a class struggle UAW," for years they have posed barely to the left of the union bureaucracy, seeking to ingratiate themselves whenever possible. Richardson, for example, has been an alternate committeeman in Local 906 for three years, but has *never* taken the union floor to denounce or oppose the Woodcock/Reilly regime. His new found "militancy" was neither believable nor well-received: Richardson got only nine votes.

Like the Stalinists' "Third Period" dual unionism, the OL's mock "leftism" may well prove simply to be the precursor to a more egregiously opportunist line than in the past. The OL's basic commitment is to being the most slavish mimics for every twist and turn of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Given Peking's rapprochement with U.S. imperialism and every "Third World" despot who will visit the Heavenly Palace, the anti-Soviet OL must end up in a bloc with the sabre-rattling bourgeoisie and their lieutenants in the labor movement. The OL's evaluation of Leonard Woodcock may in fact change very quickly if Woodcock ends up in Peking sipping champagne with Hua Kuo-feng.

At another important East Coast plant, Tarrytown, NY, GM, pro-International officials of Local 664 got rid of their opposition by simply ruling them off the ballot. Led by Bill Scott, who is described as a Communist Party (CP) supporter in the CP's *Daily World*, 14 candidates who were among 1,800 laid off in 1975 and recalled only six months ago were declared ineligible because they had not been in "good standing for 12 continuous months" prior to the elections. This was because they had not paid union dues while on layoff.

It is hard to believe that Scott, a former Local shop chairman, was so ignorant of the UAW's constitutional requirement to maintain dues while laid off. Nevertheless, this provision is unjust and imposes a hardship on laid-off workers. UAW members should fight to remove this restrictive, disenfranchising clause from their constitution and defend the right of Scott and his supporters (and *all* laid-off UAW members) to run for office.

Chicago

In the Chicago area, a co-thinker of Scott's, Norm Roth, was elected delegate from Local 6 (International Harvester). Roth is co-chairman of the CP-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC). This seldom-heard-from creation was formed several years ago when some members of the UNC decided that it was too "anti-leadership"! Roth and AWAC's other co-chairman, Lasker Smith from Local 2, demonstrated what that meant in practice by voting *for* Woodcock's re-election at the last convention.

Now retired, Roth spiced up his campaign with a blatant appeal to reactionary protectionist sentiment, stating, "We must win legislation to restrict the multi-national corporations so we can keep our jobs at home." Roth, who praises "détente" for providing jobs at Harvester through extensive tractor orders from Eastern Europe, might sing another tune on the values of economic protectionism if Soviet bloc workers took up the call: "keep our jobs at home."

Auto workers have no interest in fighting each other along national lines for a shrinking number of jobs. Protectionism, high tariffs and import quotas direct workers away from their real enemy: the capitalist auto giants. Two candidates in the Local 6 elections, Mark Freedman and Judson Jones of the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC) pointed out in a leaflet distributed to the plant:

> "Nixon/Ford/Carter try to mobilize us against our Japanese and German class brothers and sisters and our 'leaders' pant and bark with approval and active support like good lap dogs, with their rabidly national chauvinist protectionist 'buy America' schemes. Their *fundamental* policy is the preservation of profit-hungry, racist, sexist, war-mongering, anti-labor capitalism."

Though the LSC candidates were not elected, they were the only ones to

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provide a class-struggle alternative to the likes of Roth and the pro-International flunkeys who were elected in other Chicago-area locals.

West Coast

The pattern of bureaucratic victory held true on the West Coast as well. At the Van Nuys and Southgate GM plants near L.A., no one was elected who can be expected to give Fraser any difficulty. Former western states Regional Director Paul Shrade, who supported Fraser for International president in 1970 and was subsequently dumped in a vindictive Woodcock-engineered coup, told *WV* that he was unemployed and would not be running for delegate. The left-liberal Shrade, however, may well regain some position in the union when Fraser takes the reins.

The elections in Fremont's Local 1364, held in the wake of the four-day strike there, provided a clear opportunity for contending slates to draw the lessons of the strike and the treacherous role of the International. The Local leadership, which called the strike, found itself caught in a squeeze between the International and a hardline management and shamelessly ended the struggle with no gains, drew only the most defeatist conclusions: "The events of late (wildcat strike) proved, if nothing else, that we must have some workable means other than strike, of policing and correcting irresponsible supervisory personnel" ("Brotherhood Caucus" campaign leaflet).

In a light, largely day-shift, turnout possibly caused by demoralization in the wake of the strike's defeat, the Mays/Nano/Malone Local leadership won the convention slots. Clearly, however, they are prepared only to lead the membership backwards.

The several groups of a Maoist bent in the local only demonstrated their disorientation and impotence. During the strike, OL supporters, the August 29th Movement and Workers Viewpoint Organization all skirted the clear-cut issue of defending the shop committee members who had been fired. On the other hand, the AWUF group spent most of the strike trying to get into good graces with the Mays leadership they helped to elect in 1973. Although none of the strike demands were won and union officials were subjected to company discipline, AWUF idiotically declared the strike "a victory...despite some setbacks."

Like AWUF in other locals, and the Revolutionary Communist Party which backs it, the Fremont "On the Line" group combines mindless "militancy" with a thoroughly reformist program that miraculously transforms defeated struggles into victories. AWUF calls for more jobs—but opposes the shorter workweek with no loss in pay necessary to get them. AWUF occasionally gripes about UAW support to the Democrats—but opposes the demand for a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. In short, AWUF lacks a program upon which to build a new class struggle leadership in the UAW.

The Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), which ran Ruth Ryan and Joan Putnam for Local 1364 delegates, both accurately analyzed the lessons of the Fremont strike and advanced a program to combat the International and its Local tag-alongs. CMUAW defended the unions' leaders from company attack, but insisted that the key to winning the strike was mass picketing and extension of the strike, both expanding the demands and including other UAW locals. Pointing to the continual harassment and speed-up in the plants, CMUAW demanded the junking of Paragraph 117 of the contract, which binds local unions to the endless grievance procedure and forbids strikes without the (seldom-given) authorization of the International.

The various Maoist tendencies foolishly think that a few dozen supporters scattered in a few locals makes a national opposition. But the fight for influence in the labor movement is not a circus sideshow shell game. Influence in the labor movement must proceed through the construction of authoritative class-struggle caucuses firmly rooted in the membership of the unions, which can, on the basis of *real* support, succeed in ousting the labor fakers.

Because groups like CMUAW will not be on the convention floor in Los Angeles, Leonard Woodcock will pass the baton to Doug Fraser without great difficulty. The scattered complaints of house-trained fake oppositionists who may be there will only provide a foil for Solidarity House.

But the harassed and sped-up auto workers cannot remain in the bureaucracy's grip forever. The conditions for new class battles in auto are ripening. When the masses of auto workers begin to take up the program of groups like the CMUAW, the days of Doug Fraser's scab-herding will be numbered. ■

ILA...

(continued from page 12)

small consolidators, ruling that the contract clause was an "unlawful" attempt by the ILA to obtain work for its members. This was upheld six months later in a U.S. court of appeals.

On the West Coast, the 50-mile limit clause, along with the per-container royalty paid to the union, were dumped from the contract of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in 1971 following a similar suit by an independent shipper. This led to a wholesale loss of jobs. But even before that ILWU chief Harry Bridges' notorious "Modernization and Mechanization" agreements, which accepted cuts in jobs in exchange for a so-called Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) assured the decimation of the longshore force. And with unemployment rapidly increasing the PGP funding has been undercut and massive reductions in benefits have been instituted. Meanwhile the West Coast longshore workforce shrank from 26,000 in 1948 to hardly more than 10,000 today. The government ruling clearly poses a similarly intensified attack on the ILA's jobs, as well as its pay guarantee.

Despite the seriousness of this threat, Gleason conducted a half-hearted strike. The strike on the East Coast affected only seven "target" companies: Sea-Land Service, Seatrain Lines, U.S. Lines, Hapag-Lloyd, Atlantic Container Lines, Dart and the Russian-flag carriers Balt-atlantic and Blasco. The inclusion of Russian flagships was clearly an anti-Soviet jab by the conservative ILA leaders since these lines carry only a minute portion of containerized cargo; this reactionary move must be protested by class-conscious dockers.

In contrast, Gleason bent over backwards to make this a comfortable strike for the shippers. Effects of the strike up and down the coast were minimal. Container shippers not part of the seven target companies, as well as all bulk cargo, were unaffected. Perishable goods were also exempted from the "strike." In addition, most of the fleet of the seven companies affected was at sea. In all, only about 34 ships were affected.

In New York, a Waterfront Commission spokesman said he didn't foresee any major pile-up. Here the strike idled only 1,300 men on seven ships, while over 6,500 longshoremen were working cargo on another 28 ships.

Meanwhile, the initial response of Ralph Massey, president of the ILA's South Atlantic and Gulf Coast District, was *no strike*. "We've got a contract down here up until September 30 and we're going to live with it until September 30" (*Houston Chronicle*, 13 April). This backstabbing "solidarity" could have completely sabotaged even the minimal strike effort in the Northeast if shippers had simply diverted cargo to ports from North Carolina to Texas. However, eventually the Southern ports did go out with the strike, with longshoremen refusing to handle cargo of the seven struck companies.

The official strike demands included a pay hike from $8 to $10 an hour, double time for weekends and holidays, larger employer contributions to health and pension funds, and a reduction in the workweek from 40 to 32 hours. Clearly, however, these demands were not meant seriously.

When Gleason ordered a return to work, he won none of them, nor any concession whatsoever! Instead he settled for a petition to be filed with the Federal Maritime Commission (FMC) by the seven struck steamship companies, which was to demand that a tariff concession which inland consolidators receive be repealed. Supposedly this will divert work from the warehouses back to the docks. However, as the *Wall Street Journal* (19 April) observed, hearings before the FMC "could last for months." In any case, the federal government, which has jurisdiction over the NLRB as well as the FMC, has amply demonstrated its intention to replace higher-paid longshore labor with lower-wage workers.

The repeal of the 50-mile clause was a real blow which struck primarily at the ILA membership and not the steamship employers. The strike against this action was entirely just. However Gleason's strategy, based upon asserting that the interests of longshoremen can be defended by forming an alliance with the companies, is a fatal illusion.

UPI

ILA president Gleason

It should have come as no surprise that he "settled" the strike without getting anything from the steamship associations and stevedoring firms, for Gleason does not regard them as the real enemy. From the beginning of the dispute, the ILA bureaucrats have moved in step with the bosses. The hearings before the NLRB pitted the union together with the steamship owners associations against the independent warehouse operators. Likewise in the petition before the FMC.

The ILA cannot maintain its jobs and standards through a combination with the companies. The spread of containerization and the availability of an abundant supply of cheap labor inland has forever doomed the ILA's cozy relationship with the steamship operators. The only way forward is a joint struggle against the bosses by the maritime and transport unions, for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. This must be combined with a vigorous drive to bring the standards of inland warehousemen to the levels of the longshoremen, while insuring that unorganized workers are brought into unions. Only in such a fashion can the longshore unions on all coasts—Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific—survive extinction. ■

Chicago Red Squad...

(continued from page 5)

spying, including a 10 March *Sun-Times* editorial railing that "outrageous" police spying against the ISA, "who simply march about chanting in Persian," is a waste of the taxpayers' money. The radical-chic "alternative" paper, the *Reader* has been running its own version of the Red Squad exposé, written by David Moberg, mouthpiece for the social-democratic New America Movement. An article in the 14 February edition makes the shameless assertion that massive spying was only "petty-bourgeois bureaucratic idiocy," a mere thing of the past. Echoing the liberal claptrap of the *Sun-Times*, Moberg demands that the cops do some "bona fide crime-stopping." The real criminals, however, are the cops and the capitalist state they protect. Iranian students, blacks, the left and labor movements will be spied on, harassed and shot down until the bourgeoisie's monopoly of violence is smashed through victorious proletarian revolution.

Hands Off the ISA!

The Iranian students are extremely vulnerable to bourgeois repression—it is imperative that these militants not fall into the hands of the racist cops and courts! However, the policies of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which believes the blood-soaked FBI/CIA can somehow be reformed, have endangered the lives of the ISA through acts of criminal stupidity, provocation and fingering.

The RCP has used ISAers, who can be deported at any moment, as goons against "Trotskyites" in innumerable public demonstrations ringed with trigger-happy cops. The SWP's response to one such incident (in Houston) was even more criminal. Last fall the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) and its SWP/YSA sponsors demanded that the state of Texas prosecute a rival wing of the ISA for an alleged physical attack. The SWP's *Militant* (19 November 1976) reported that a CAIFI spokesman "says his group will press charges against the attackers." Moreover CAIFI smeared the rival ISA students, implying they were SAVAK agents. While vigorously condemning gangster tactics in the left, the SL condemns any court action taken by CAIFI, which could easily result in the deportation of those ISA students to Iran where torture and death await them.

Both wings of the ISA unfortunately have a long record of rejecting principled defense efforts and have excluded the SL from their picket lines. This sectarian policy can only narrow and weaken their defense. The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with the Chicago ISA students now facing deportation. Defend the ISA in Chicago and Houston! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers and students! Down with the butcher Shah! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Fake Opposition UNC Breaks Up

Woodcock / Fraser Steamroller Takes UAW Local Elections

United Auto Workers (UAW) locals around the country are electing delegates to the Constitutional Convention scheduled for May 15-18 in Los Angeles. UAW president Leonard Woodcock will be retiring and is rumored to be in line for a position in U.S. imperialism's foreign service, possibly as liaison officer to Peking. The "Administration Caucus" candidate to succeed Woodcock is Doug Fraser.

Returns from around the country indicate that Fraser will face little opposition at the convention. In the overwhelming majority of locals those being elected are lower-level toadies who regularly turn out to endorse the actions, candidates and sell-out program of the gang at Solidarity House.

WV Photo

WV Photo

Left, UAW tops Woodcock and Fraser. Right, strikers at Ford's River Rouge plant in September.

The Indianapolis Massacre

One of the built-in dangers to these local leaders was illustrated in the recent 12-day strike at the Indianapolis Chrysler Electrical Plant. Doug Fraser flew into town to personally break the strike, refusing International sanction and leaving 23 local officers fired in his wake.

Similarly, when the Local 1364 (Fremont, California GM) shop committee called its plant out on strike two weeks ago, demanding the dismissal of a foreman who had assaulted a committeeman, the International again came down hard. The Local leadership buckled under and called the strike off after four days, with the shop committee drawing serious disciplines and a large number of rank and filers put "on notice."

Despite the demonstrated willingness of the International to crush outbreaks of militancy at any cost and to axe any local bureaucrats who do not clamp down on rank-and-file militancy, few UAW office holders are able to conceive of challenging Solidarity House. *WV* recently interviewed a number of officers and delegates from key Detroit locals and found *not one* whose support for Fraser had been altered by his despicable strikebreaking.

Layoffs and Speed-up

The stranglehold of the Woodcock/Fraser bureaucracy is reinforced by the massive layoffs which hit auto workers during the 1974-75 depression. Nearly 300,000 auto workers were on either indefinite or temporary layoffs, and tens of thousands were never called back. Contrary to various crisis-mongers, workers usually respond to widespread unemployment with caution and conservatism rather than militancy. Betrayed at every turn by their "leaders" and knowing full well that there were plenty of unemployed willing to take their place, employed auto workers reacted to the layoffs with a drastic decline in wildcats, grievance-filing and militancy.

Auto company productivity in 1976 jumped at a rate *twice* that of the yearly increases in the previous decade. The necessary accompaniment to this speed-up was increased harassment and tight discipline to make the workers bear the pace. When auto sales finally began to pick up, many auto plants began scheduling grueling overtime as well: six days a week, nine and ten hours day. The killing combination of speed-up, overtime and harassment is so severe that it is common today to hear auto old-timers say that conditions in the plants are returning to those of the pre-union 1930's.

By these methods the Big Three did succeed in posting near-record profits in the final quarter of 1976. But discontent

continued on page 10

ILA's Gleason Calls Off Token Strike

APRIL 18—After a five-day "selective strike" by East and Gulf coast dock workers, International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) chief Thomas Gleason ordered his members back to work this evening. Abandoning the struggle for what could amount to thousands of jobs, Gleason settled for a big zero: some empty promises and nothing signed on paper. ILA longshoremen are now working without a contract.

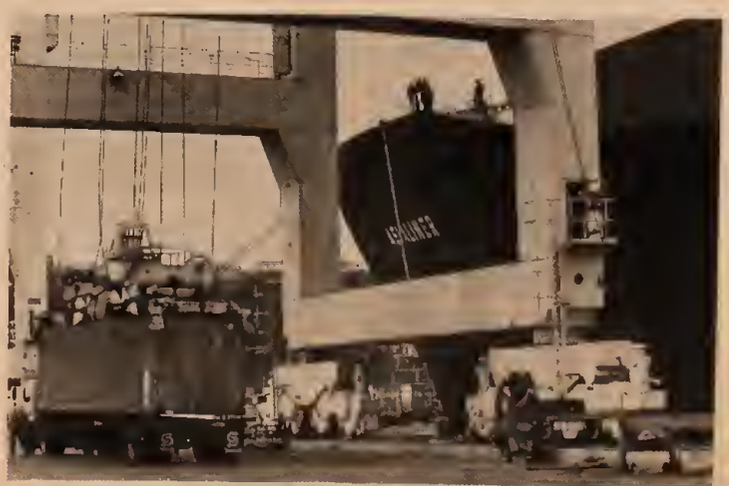
The "strike," nothing more than a token pressure tactic, was aimed at the government's enforcement of a 1975 National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruling which canceled the key job protection clause in the contract, due to expire this September 30. The ruling had been under appeal.

The latest slam against dock workers in the Port of New York and New Jersey came on January 10 when the Supreme Court upheld the NLRB decision voiding the clause which provides that ILA workers have jurisdiction to strip and stuff all consolidated containers moving to or from points within 50 miles of a port.

The government ruling clearly threatened the decimation of the ILA, with its 35,000 members the largest waterfront union in the U.S. The growth of containerized shipping has made it possible to do work which once had to be done at the docks in consolidated warehouses inland. Lower-paid Teamsters and non-union labor are utilized to bypass the longshoremen.

The dispute began in April 1973 when the ILA moved to crack down on widespread ignoring of the 50-mile rule by steamship lines in the Port of New York. Two off-pier consolidators, Twin Express and Consolidated Express, challenged the union clause in a Labor Board case. In December 1975 the NLRB settled the dispute in favor of the

continued on page 11



WV Photo

Container ship being loaded at Port Seatrain, Weehawken, New Jersey.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 155 29 April 1977

Vivier Rush/Boiffin

J. Haillot

Steel workers demonstrating against threatened closing of factory at Thionville.

Popular Front Holds Back Fight Against Barre

Strike Wave Protests Austerity Plan in France

In the five weeks since municipal elections were held (in two rounds of voting, on March 13 and 20), French workers have repeatedly taken to the streets and picket lines to protest the government's wage-cutting, job-slashing policies. After the popular-front Union of the Left—a coalition of the Communist Party (PCF), Socialist Party (PS) and the bourgeois Left Radicals—won over 52 percent of the popular vote and captured three quarters of the mayoralties, thousands of unionists declared they had had enough of "austerity."

In several cases their protests came after sharp employer attacks. This was especially the case with steel workers in the Moselle industrial town of Thionville. Repeated demonstrations there have protested the sacking of 3,000 foundry workers at a local Usinor mill, the first mass layoffs in the French steel industry since World War II. Their plight was given added importance by reports that an additional 16,000 steel workers' jobs in the Lorraine are threatened due to Common Market plans to "rationalize" the industry.

On April 14 more than 12,000 workers assembled in the center of Thionville, braving a steady rain to protest the firings which would effectively shut down the local plant. The trade-union federations (principally CFDT, CGT and FO) had promised to paralyze the town, and their call was heeded by everyone down to the smallest shopkeeper. The mood was grim; reportedly there were no imaginative slogans. Instead militants demanded occupation of the Usinor mill to protect their jobs; the PCF responded by calling for nationalization of steel (*Le Monde*, 16 April).

Already the press is comparing Thionville to the year-long occupation of the Lip watch factory in Besançon which became a cause célèbre in French labor during 1974-75. But Thionville is not an isolated case. Simultaneously the port of Dunkerque (Dunkirk) has been closed for almost seven weeks in a dispute between the CGT longshoremen and Usinor, which is attempting to introduce lower-paid non-stevedores to man its automated docks. On five successive weekends all French ports have been shut down by 24-hour sympathy strikes in solidarity with the Dunkerque dockers.

Like recent strikes in the printing industry (notably the lengthy *Parisien Libéré* dispute), the Dunkerque strike represents an effort by a traditionally strong union to defend gains (closed shop and hiring halls) won after World War II. In mid-April, however, the CGT and CFDT took over an automotive components plant of General Motors France near Paris in an explicit protest against the government's Barre Plan. Prime Minister Raymond Barre had decreed a 6.5 percent limit on wage increases while inflation is running at over 9 percent. GM obtained a court injunction to dislodge the 1,000 sit-down strikers occupying the plant, but obviously feared the consequences of a direct confrontation with police trying to clear out the workers. At last report, management is lurking in hotels and cafes outside the plant trying to figure out its next move (*Business Week*, 25 April).

François Mitterrand Der Spiegel

The current wave of strikes was certainly encouraged by the strong showing of the left in the March elections. Even though workers were chafing at the bit, Union of the Left leaders had put a clamp on walkouts during the campaign period. Then two days after the balloting was completed CGT leader Georges Séguy announced: "There is absolutely no reason to wait...to push for satisfaction of our most urgent demands concerning purchasing power, employment and working conditions."

But if the bureaucrats decided to loosen the leash on the ranks for a while, letting them blow off some steam in order to pressure the government to modify the wage limitations, the popular front holds out no perspective for victory of these struggles. Its Common Program provides no solution for the problem of mass unemployment caused by the capitalist production cycle; in fact, it doesn't even call for nationalization of Usinor or steel! (In all, the program promised only *nine* state takeovers, and these to be "compensat-

continued on page 4

Abel Yesterday, Sadlowski Today

Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel ...6

Ed Sadlowski Mark PoKempner

On April 7, West German chief prosecutor Siegfried Buback, the man in charge of the mammoth show trial of the anarchist Red Army Faction (RAF—referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"), was cut down by machine-gun fire while on his way to his office in Karlsruhe in a chauffeur-driven limousine. It was, the bourgeois press screamed, the first political assassination of a leading state official since World War II.

Government authorities responded by launching the most extensive manhunt in the history of the federal republic. Dozens of supposed "enemies of the constitution" were picked up and detained for questioning as the dragnet was spread ever wider in (to date futile) attempts to locate the authors of the attack on Buback.

The capitalist media blustered against "new-style anarchists" and a "threat to democracy." The Frankfurter Rundschau *called the action a "foul murder...a direct attack upon the constitutional state." The* Berliner Tagesspiegel *labeled it an "inroad of barbarism into civilization."*

Credit for the killing of Buback was later claimed by the "Ulrike Meinhof Kommando," named after one of the defendants in the RAF trial who was found hanged in her jail cell last August under circumstances suspicious enough to lead even the bourgeois media to call for investigation of the official verdict of suicide. (Another of the original five RAF defendants, Holger Meins, died while on a hunger strike.)

As the adjacent article by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, indicates, the assassination was an act of petty-bourgeois despair. While Buback was indeed guilty of crimes against the people (notably the massive attacks on democratic rights in the Baader-Meinhof trial) for which he would have been tried by the tribunals of a victorious workers state, this attack fed into an orchestrated campaign of anti-communist scare tactics by the West German state.

A major element in preparing the current witchhunt atmosphere in the federal republic has been the RAF trial, whose wholesale violation of the defendants' rights and brutal conditions of solitary confinement make a mockery of the West German bourgeoisie's pious claims of "rule by law." The judicial authorities have used the trial to introduce major modifications of criminal law, including use for the first time of informers granted immunity from prosecution for turning state's evidence.

In addition, various defense lawyers were repeatedly excluded and finally barred from the trial for supposed "disrespect" shown to trial judge Theodor Prinzing; their offices were broken into by police of the Bundeskriminalamt (West German FBI); and lawyers have been disbarred for supposed criminal conspiracy, charged with conveying appeals for support from the as-yet-unconvicted anarchist prisoners.

In a major scandal that erupted last month, and was eclipsed only by the slaying of Buback, it was revealed that not only was the defendants' correspondence with their lawyers inspected, but their supposedly private conversations to plan defense strategy had been bugged by the prosecution. Judge Prinzing was finally forced to withdraw from the trial when his role in these highly illegal proceedings became known.

Utilizing the atmosphere of "public indignation" whipped up over the assassination of Buback, the state prosecutor's office is now pressing for a rapid conclusion of the trial by the end of this week. The RAF defendants' chosen lawyers have withdrawn from court proceedings in a protest against the bugging operations, and the remaining RAF prisoners have embarked on yet another desperate hunger strike. While court-appointed lawyers are demanding dismissal of the trial for gross violations of the defendants' rights, the state is calling for three life terms plus an additional 15 years for each of the accused.

TLD Statement on Assassination of Siegfried Buback

No Tears for West Germany's Top Cop

Der Spiegel

Military funeral for slain prosecutor Buback.

Following the Buback assassination the bourgeoisie is once again calling for a strong state and even more rapid expansion of the repressive apparatus. Federal chancellor Schmidt has joined "without hesitating"—the ranks of those who are "inwardly" prepared "to go to the very limits of what is permitted by and required of a constitutional state" (*Der Spiegel*, 19 April 1977). What he and his ilk—Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and Liberals—are "outwardly" ready for is already well-known: "inwardly" Minister Maihofer was still a member of the "Humanistic Union" when he enriched the German language with the term "bugging attack" [*Lauschangriff*]. With the instituting of surveillance of defendants' written communications, even with their lawyers; the introduction of state's witnesses, who have played a sinister role in the trial of the RAF [Red Army Faction—referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"]; expulsion of defense lawyers from the trial, solitary confinement and shoot-to-kill orders; legalization of break-ins and illegalizing of demonstrations; making laws applying to foreigners more severe; threats to illegalize left organizations; *Berufsverbote* [prohibition of employing "radicals" in civil service jobs], etc.: the bounds of the "constitutional state" are becoming—both "inwardly" and "outwardly"—increasingly less precise.

For the attorney general of the bourgeois state revolutionaries spend not a single minute in mourning and shed not a single tear. Buback has been known as a faithful reactionary servant of the bourgeoisie since the 1962 action against the *Spiegel* [an illegal breaking and entering ordered by then-defense minister Franz Josef Strauss], which he directed. In the trial of the comrades of the RAF he represented the state power. He was among those responsible for the horrendous conditions of incarceration of the RAF comrades, for the exclusion of defense lawyers and for the introduction of Müller as state's witness. In the witchhunt of everything which can be subsumed under the rubric "terrorism," his desk assumed a central place.

The real terrorists are Buback and his cohorts. In the last analysis the reaction of the RAF and of similar groupings stems from their petty-bourgeois impatience, their isolation, their frustration and their hate for the bourgeois state. It is petty-bourgeois infatuation to believe that one can weaken in the slightest degree the foundations of the capitalist system by eliminating individual representatives of the bourgeois class. Leninists have always carried on a sharp political struggle against such tendencies, while nonetheless simultaneously seeking through sharp political confrontation to win to the proletarian communist program the best elements of those who direct their blows against the bourgeois state.

The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands [TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency] has always rejected the conception of individual terrorism. Two years ago the TLD wrote in a leaflet directed against the police terror following the abduction of [Christian Democratic candidate for mayor of Berlin Peter] Lorenz:

> "We Trotskyists consider the conception of urban guerrilla groups like the 'Red Army Faction' or the 'June 2 Movement' completely erroneous, but we see very clearly on which side of the barricade these comrades are fighting and we say so openly: it is our side, and on the other side stands the common enemy.
>
> "Our debate with comrades who out of petty-bourgeois despair have opted for the false course of isolated actions against representatives of the capitalist order differs in no way from our uncompromising struggle against *all* programmatic conceptions which mislead the proletariat and which are in part much more dangerous, because more influential, than guerrilla terrorism (e.g., reformism and Stalinism)."

In November 1974, following the death of [RAF prisoner] Holger Meins, our organization sent an open letter to other left organizations calling for the formation of a united-front action in solidarity with the comrades of the RAF. We did the same thing just recently after the Stammheim bugging affair became known. The demand for immediate and unconditional release of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe must be raised even (and especially) when the chances for its immediate realization are slim. The mobilization of the workers movement to free all the imprisoned comrades will only be attained when the most conscious elements untiringly take this demand into the working class.

At a time when the bourgeois state is carrying out a political show trial in order to reinforce a witchhunt atmosphere against the left, when bourgeois class justice is in the process of bringing about the death of another RAF comrade, Gudrun Ensslin, and when other imprisoned comrades are in an extremely critical state of health, the Stalinists of the [West German pro-Moscow] DKP, [West Berlin pro-Moscow] SEW and [Peking-loyal Maoist] KPD have nothing better to do than to assure the bourgeoisie of their respectability by denouncing the RAF. While we consider the murder of Buback, for which the Kommando Ulrike Meinhof has assumed responsibility, to be a senseless act leading nowhere—one which can only provide the state with a new excuse for intensifying its repressive measures against the left—at the same time we recognize that these comrades acted out of the desire to fight a symbol of capitalist repression. And this Buback certainly was. For this reason we say, "Down with the dragnet measures!" Though adopting a negative attitude vis-à-vis such acts of individual terror, the workers movement must nonetheless simultaneously mobilize for the political defense of these comrades against state repression.

We demand that the shameful trial in Stammheim along with its horrendous conditions of imprisonment of the jailed comrades be brought to a halt, as well as the trials against comrades Roth and Otto and the other trials of comrades of the left. But we also know that our demands will not be won by the intercession of "liberal circles" nor by despairing acts of terror. Only the revolutionary mobilization of the working class can put an end to bourgeois class terror. ■

Der Spiegel

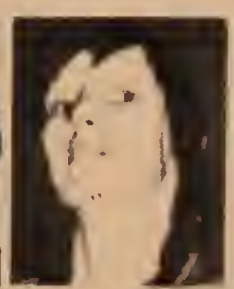
Andreas Baader

Keystone

Ulrike Meinhof

New York Times

Holger Meins



Der Spiegel

Gudrun Ensslin

New York Times

Jan-Carl Raspe

Down with the State of Emergency!

Riots in Pakistan Shake Bhutto Government

APRIL 25—As the death toll from political violence edged over 200, millions of Pakistanis were placed under virtual house arrest last week as the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto decreed a round-the-clock curfew in major cities. Mass detentions, savage police attacks and the imposition of martial law were the regime's desperate response to protests stemming from widespread vote-rigging in the March 7 national elections.

Martial law in the three largest cities (Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad) began the day before an opposition-led nationwide hartal (general stoppage of work and public activity). The volatile port city of Karachi had been in turmoil for weeks as a result of angry demonstrations and a strike wave spearheaded by militant transport workers. Four hartal calls since March 7 have met with a massive response from workers, students and shopkeepers.

The nine-party opposition alliance—the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)—had announced that on Friday "nothing must move, not a wheel shall turn." In response, Bhutto turned law enforcement over to the military in the three cities (martial law was extended to several others on Saturday) and issued orders to shoot curfew violators on sight. Additionally, 50 PNA leaders were rounded up and clapped in jail, where they join dozens of others arrested last month.

Despite this sharp crackdown and the slaughter of some 34 demonstrators and "curfew violators" that day, the strike took hold in much of the country. Violent anti-government protests swept many cities. Defiant opposition leaders called for a "long march" next Saturday to Bhutto's home to demand his resignation and new elections.

More Muslim Than Thou

The opposition—which groups the Muslim League, even more conservative Islamic sects, ethnic and provincial-based parties and vaguely liberal groupings—had expected (like India's Janata "Party") to translate a heterogenous electoral combination into major parliamentary gains against Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).

One of the PNA's driving forces is Asghar Khan, an immensely popular figure who resigned as air force commander in 1965 to campaign against the military dictator Ayub Khan. (A turbulent strike wave and mass student demonstrations in late 1968-early 1969 drove Ayub from office, but the armed forces' ruling circle simply replaced him with another military despot, Yahya Khan.) Two weeks before the election, Asghar Khan was welcomed to Karachi by a crowd that swelled to over half a million.

The opposition's hopes were buoyed. Baluchistan and the North West Frontier province, longtime centers of separatist agitation and armed clashes with government troops, were expected to vote solidly against the PPP. Bhutto's support was declining even in the Punjab, which contains 60 percent of the country's population and was once securely in the prime minister's pocket; he has several times had to purge his own party's leadership in the state.

When the PNA took only 33 out of 200 seats in the election tally, its leaders immediately cried foul. Foreign newsmen reported numerous instances of ballot stuffing, unsupervised vote counting and harassment of opposition voters and poll watchers. The PNA leaders refused to take their seats in the National Assemhly, boycotted the subsequent provincial elections and launched protest demonstrations against the government.

The PNA has capitalized on mass grievances over the regime's blatant corruption, the failure of land reform and Bhutto's ties to the land-owning gentry. However, the opposition itself is a sordid collection of self-serving bourgeois politicos, profit-grubbing businessmen, reactionary landlords and obscurantist religious leaders operating within the theocratic framework of the Islamic state.

On the one side is Bhutto's "Islamic Socialism." Campaigning under the symbol of a red sword, the landed aristocrat/Oxford intellectual/populist politician vowed: "Almighty Allah knows that my politics are the politics of the poor." On the other side, the PNA demagogically promises measures "obliterating economic depression and social inequalities," trials of government leaders for "acts of violence and tyranny" and imposition of even more rigidly Muslim codes of behavior. The PNA pledged to "close every bar from Khyber to Karachi" and to resurrect such savage canons of Islamic law as the cutting off of thieves' hands.

On April 17, Bhutto sought to cut some ground out from under the opposition by enacting the stifling puritanical measures advocated by the PNA: prohibition of alcoholic beverages and gambling, censorship "in conformity with the moral standards of Islam" and institution of a commission on Islamic law. (Almost simultaneously, his counterpart in Bangladesh, General Ziaur Rahman, substituted the Muslim religion for secularism as one of the four guiding "ideals" in that country's constitution.)

Der Spiegel

Prime Minister Bhutto

Carrot and Stick

A week after the election, Bhutto made a peace offer to his opponents which highlighted the anti-democratic machinations which are the stock-in-trade of all Pakistan's political cabals. With tens of thousands winding their way through crowded streets in the major cities denouncing him as "dictator" and "dirty dog," Bhutto offered a deal: reversal of the election results in just enough parliamentary districts to give the opposition a bloc of about 60 seats in the National Assembly and a rerun of the provincial elections to allow the PNA a second crack at the local spoils. When he was turned down, the prime minister unleashed the police and paramilitary forces on the demonstrators, arresting their leaders.

Edward Behr/Newsweek

Bhutto's security police seize an oppositionist.

After giving his critics a taste of hot lead, Bhutto tested the waters a second time on March 28, offering to release political prisoners, allow more press freedom and lift the state of emergency which has been in effect since the 1971 war with India. The PNA responded by appealing to the 400,000-man army to step in, oust the "illegal government" and conduct new elections. The opposition was given a boost when two leading military figures denounced the regime and resigned from diplomatic posts.

Air Marshall Rahim Khan, the ambassador to Spain, recalled how he had escorted Bhutto back to Pakistan to take over the reins of power from General Yahya Khan, who had presided over the crushing 1971 defeat that split away East Pakistan and gave birth to a Bangladesh dependent on India. Casting doubt on Bhutto's personal courage and trying to place the blame for the loss of East Pakistan on Bhutto, the air force leader claimed that the paramilitary Federal Security Force was a private PPP police force and was responsible for most of the killing and shooting.

A Theocratic State

Competition between the government and opposition for the army's support and the mantle of true Muslim leadership are deeply rooted in the nature of the Pakistani state. The creation of an Islamic state in 1947 was attended by unspeakable communal atrocities and the greatest forced population transfer in history. Since then there has always been simmering or open conflict with predominantly Hindu India and strong breakaway pressures by regional and national groups within Pakistan.

The monstrosity of creating a theocratic state in the mid-twentieth century was the bitter fruit of the "divide and rule" policy which consciously guided British rule on the Indian subcontinent for more than a hundred years. Playing on the antagonisms between the Hindu bourgeoisie and Muslim landlords, British viceroy Lord Minto in 1906 gave his blessing to the

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

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France...

(continued from page 1)

ed" by paying a ransom to the trusts.)

The Communist Party's current talk of steel nationalizations is a demagogic maneuver to forestall the threat of plant occupations throughout the Lorraine region, and the CGT CFDT FO tops will once again put the damper on the strike struggles should their militancy threaten to escape from bureaucratic control. Only by breaking with the popular front and fighting for working-class independence can the struggle against the Barre Plan's vicious austerity measures be successful. A Union of the Left government would only lead to a modified "progressive" austerity program of "voluntary" wage restraints and speed-up.

Disorder in the "Presidential Majority"

One of the leading French bourgeois political commentators, Pierre Viansson-Ponté, wrote recently in *Le Monde* that the elections constituted a "rout" of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's "presidential majority." Not only was the "majority" revealed to be in the minority following spectacular gains by the Union of the Left, but the Giscardians suffered a major defeat at the hands of their Gaullist allies. Former prime minister Jacques Chirac had pulled together the flagging Gaullist Union for the Defense of the Republic (UDR) last fall, rebaptizing it the Assembly for the Preservation of the Republic (RPR), and in an aggressive campaign managed to take the Paris mayoralty.

Giscard's defeat had a broader significance, marking an end to various attempts to put together a stable "center" coalition. Ever since de Gaulle's power began to wane following the miners' strike of 1963, a series of bourgeois maneuverers have attempted to put together "centrist" combinations to head off the spectre of a left alliance taking power. After Radical leader Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber (publisher of *L'Express*) tried and failed, it was the turn of Center stalwart Jean Lecanuet, who also went down to defeat.

After the death of de Gaulle's successor, Georges Pompidou, it was evident that the discredited Gaullists could not hold the bourgeois forces together. Giscard, head of the small "Independent Republicans" which had been an influential appendage of the UDR, managed to become the presidential candidate of the bourgeois "majority." However, lacking a coherent governmental program he has been unable to make a dent in either the Union of the Left forces (for example, by splitting away a section of the Socialists) or in the right-wing Gaullist bloc.

Bourgeois political scientists have attempted to explain the absence of a sizeable "center" bourgeois party in France by reference to a "U-shaped curve" of public opinion, reflecting a peculiar gallic propensity to gravitate toward extremes. Reformists and opportunist elements in the workers movement have used the same empirical fact to argue for the expansion of the popular front in an attempt to isolate the hard-core right wing. But to Marxists it is clear that the failure to consolidate a liberal bourgeois party in France is neither a national trait, nor the result of "flexible" coalitions by the Left.

Rather, it is the result of the organization of the majority of the proletariat in workers parties, i.e., of class polarization. The rise of the Labour Party in Britain spelled the doom of the Liberals as a major political force; likewise, it is because of the strength of Stalinist and social-democratic parties that no "center" bourgeois party has significant strength in Italy.

It is by sharpening this class polarization, providing a coherent program and organization for a revolutionary mobilization of the working class, that the proletariat can gather around it the wavering elements of the petty bourgeoisie. Attempting to dilute the class contradictions, seeking a false inter-class unity inevitably strengthens the bourgeois forces, as shown by the history of popular fronts from France and Spain in the 1930's to Chile and Portugal today.

Within the bourgeois political spectrum, Chirac was in the forefront of those arguing for a more aggressive anti-leftist policy, including a call for early elections in the expectation that the Union of the Left's electoral fortunes were on the rise. Giscard and the neo-Gaullists split over this question last August. While Chirac's prospects of heading off a left victory in the parliamentary elections (legally required by next spring at the latest) are questionable, he did correctly see that Giscard's "centrist" alliances were doomed.

Rallying the right wing with classical anti-communist demagogy, the RPR leader was elected as the first mayor of Paris since the Commune drove out Jules Ferry in 1871. Chirac bombastically announced he had "saved" the French capital for the "camp of freedom." The unmistakable vote of no-confidence in Giscard was emphasized by the defeat of seven out of 30 ministers or secretaries of state who were seeking re-election in municipal posts (usually running in "safe" districts). Among those who suffered ignominious defeat were the president's hand-picked candidate for mayor of Paris, Michel d'Ornano, who was defeated on the first round of the voting.

The Union of the Left

The number of cities of over 30,000 population controlled by the Communist and Socialist parties increased by more than half in the March elections, to a total of 159 out of 221. The fact that the right took Paris would seem contradictory, at least to American observers. But whereas in the U.S. major cities are losing their middle-class population to the suburbs, Paris proper has long been a stronghold of the right; it is the working class that has been driven out of the city into a "red belt" of industrial suburbs surrounding the capital. Since 1971 the proletarian population of Paris has declined by over one quarter and the middle class has risen by a roughly equal percentage. Despite this fact, votes for candidates of the Union of the Left in Paris increased by about 600,000 over 1971 (the previous municipal elections).

Bourgeois political analysts were generally agreed in ascribing the electoral victory of the popular front to the fact that the "presidential majority" is totally discredited—internally squabbling, tarnished by repeated scandals and committed to unpopular anti-working-class economic policies. An analogy is widely drawn to the French municipal elections of May 1935, which paved the way for victory of the popular front in the April 1936 popular-front elections. Certainly the reformist PCF and PS are acting accordingly, for they are assiduously seeking to reassure the bourgeoisie of their reliability.

Just prior to the 1935 municipal elections Stalin signed the mutual defense pact with France. This was followed up by his statement of "understanding" for the French bourgeoisie's militarism ("national defense"), and the PCF obediently voted war credits to the bourgeois government. In 1977, the PCF (now campaigning as "Eurocommunists") has made much of its new-found support for Soviet dissidents, and is agitating to open up the Union of the Left to include other "progressive" bourgeois forces, particularly dissident Gaullists.

In a number of electoral districts, Gaullists were included on the Union of the Left slates. This reached the point that some of the Socialist and Commu-

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Militant picket line outside district courthouse April 15 demanded charges against Bennie Lenard be dropped.

UAW Ranks Turn Out for Bennie Lenard Trial

CHICAGO—Bennie Lenard's nightmare of police and legal persecution continues. It all began three months ago when Lenard, a black United Auto Workers (UAW) member was driving home from work and had the misfortune to be the victim of a minor traffic accident. He encouraged the white woman driver whose car struck his to call the police to report the incident. However, upon arrival, the cops immediately slammed him across his car and, while screaming racist epithets, beat him senseless and threw him in jail. After weeks in the hospital, Lenard now faces a barrage of trumped-up criminal misdemeanor charges, including alleged battery on the woman, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and possession of illegal firearms.

WV Photo

Bennie Lenard

On April 15 Lenard's first pre-trial hearing was held at the Cook County Fourth District Ward courthouse in Maywood. Outside the court a crowd of almost 100 of Lenard's co-workers and Chicago-area leftists rallied to his defense. They were closely watched by a horde of Chicago and Maywood cops, unprecedented in this "quiet suburb," obviously fearful that their vicious racist assault on Lenard might blow the lid off the simmering racial tensions beneath the uneasy Chicago-area façade of "law and order."

Plainclothes cops loitered in clumps of six or seven, observing the demonstrators; Chicago "Red Squad" units snapping photos occupied the roofs of buildings; riot squad and state police units positioned themselves down the block and sheriff's deputies equipped with riot sticks and gas masks were massed near the courthouse.

Lenard's wide support from workers in UAW Local 6 at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park was obvious at the rally—even Local president Ed Graham and other bureaucrats felt obliged to attend. Representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and supporters of the Spartacist League, Revolutionary Communist Party, October League and the Revolutionary Socialist League also rallied in support of Lenard. Spartacist League signs demanded: "Indict and Jail the Racist Police Thugs!", "For Labor-Black Defense Against Racist Police Terror!" and "Stop the Racist Frame-up! Drop the Charges!"

Inside the courtroom, the judge initially made the outrageous ruling that Lenard's lawyers could not even take notes on the proceedings, although this was later withdrawn. At Lenard's second pre-trial hearing on April 20, only his wife and daughter were allowed inside with him, as the court had packed the room with staff employees. Lenard's first hearing before the actual trial judge is now set for May 2, at which time the trial and jury selection dates will probably be set.

It is necessary to rally the full support of the union, including all necessary legal and financial aid, behind Lenard while he is being dragged through this lengthy and expensive frame-up. Local 6 members have already voluntarily contributed almost $2,000 on his behalf and signed petitions protesting the police atrocity. However, the Local leadership has begun to undermine a full and militant defense of Lenard through bureaucratic maneuvers.

International representative Carl Schier pushed through a motion at the April 17 membership meeting calling for merging the Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, which had been established by a Local 6 membership meeting, with the already existing (and almost totally inactive) Fair Employment Practices Committee. This was an obvious effort to put a lid on the militancy generated by the Lenard case and place it firmly under the current leadership's control.

The Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), a class-struggle oppositional grouping which has been active in the Lenard defense, opposed this attempt to kill the committee. The LSC had earlier raised a motion, passed by the membership at its March union meeting, that the union match almost $1,000 raised at the plant gate for Lenard. The Local leadership has refused for over a month to hand

continued on page 11

ISO Hides from Spartacist League

The International Socialist Organization (ISO), latest clique spinoff of the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), made its debut last week by sponsoring a U.S./Canadian tour by Nigel Harris of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP—formerly International Socialists) with which the ISO has close "fraternal" relations.

The tour immediately revealed not only the ISO's threadbare political program—essentially the same as that of the I.S., including characterizing the Russian bureaucracy as a new "imperialist ruling class"—but also its despicable political cowardice. This led it to substitute bureaucratic suppression of elementary workers democracy, anti-communist exclusions and Stalinist thuggery for open political debate at its own "public" meeting. In fact, by the end of the tour, the ISO was choosing to *cancel* meetings rather than face the revolutionary criticism of the Spartacist League (SL).

At a forum in Boston on April 16 the chair attempted to prevent an SL supporter from speaking by calling for a vote on the question. However, the audience repudiated this gag attempt and the Spartacist spokesman finished her remarks in the alloted time. The chair and ISO supporters present continued to harass and disrupt SL supporters throughout the meeting. Harris, who spoke on "the crisis," hardly mentioned the ISO at all and flatly refused to respond to Spartacist questions and political criticisms.

Attacking the SL's record of unrelenting exposure of the betrayers of the working class, a vitally necessary task in reforging the Fourth International, Harris sneeringly tried to pass this off as mere prurient gossip-mongering. The SL, he claimed, is only interested in "whose mum slept with the milkman" and "whose grandmum slept with the milkman." In an amazing display of cynical contempt for his own supporters, Harris said the ISO doesn't have to account for its own history, since it is only a small tendency. Therefore, he asserted, the ISO, like the SL and the entire American left, is presently "irrelevant" to the working class.

Harris claimed that the SL was with its criticims trying to "dig a hole for me to fall through" (no need of that, Comrade Harris, your own mouth will do nicely).

The next stop on the tour was Cleveland. Not wanting to rely on bureaucratic suppression of SL speakers (or another fickle audience), the ISO placed its confidence in club-wielding goons. When two SL supporters arrived outside the forum to distribute literature, ISO thugs attempted to drive them away and ripped up their newspapers. One comrade was knocked to the ground, his shirt torn and his glasses knocked off. The sales team refused to be intimidated, however, and continued to exercise its democratic right to distribute literature. Meanwhile, an ISO thug brandishing an axe handle stood in the doorway to exclude all recognized supporters of the SL.

When several members of the audience protested this cowardly exclusion from the floor of the meeting, they were themselves forcefully excluded and threatened with being pushed down the stairs. The ISO's "justification" for this gangsterism was the incredible slander that the SL, which stands on an immaculate record of workers democracy attested to even by its bitterest political enemies, had disrupted the Harris forum in Boston!

The next night in Toronto, the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) distributed a leaflet condemning the ISO thuggery. On the Boston meeting the leaflet pointed out that "the so-called 'disruption' consisted in two SL speakers presenting their viewpoint entirely within the ground rules established for discussion by the ISO itself, and insisting along with a majority of the audience that these rules be applied consistently and fairly."

TLC leafletters were met with the threat of violence as goons of the Canadian I.S. (allied with the ISO) carried baseball bats supposedly to defend Harris against SL "disruption" (read political criticism). Apparently this wasn't enough to reassure him, for at the eleventh hour the forum was canceled because of the unfortunate presence of several members of the "Spartacus League" (sic). It was announced that another meeting would be held where attendance would be by invitation only.

In Chicago the ISO's feet got cold

continued on page 9

Excerpts from TLC Leaflet:

No to "Third Camp" Gangsterism!

The "third camp socialist" ISO, like the British SWP and the American and Canadian I.S., bewail the lack of workers democracy in the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states to the point where they cross the class line and refuse to defend these states from imperialist attack or capitalist restoration. But these strident Stalinophobes ape the vilest methods of Stalinist thuggery and political suppression in order to defend their own wretched reformist politics against left opponents. They run their own organizations like mini-Gulag Archipelagos, as the ISO, bureaucratically booted out of Joel Geier's clique-ridden caliphate, so recently discovered. Like many a victim of an anti-democratic purge, the ISO hypocritically claims in the first issue of their newspaper *Socialist Worker* to stand for "complete workers democracy." But as their revolting behavior in Cleveland shows, Geier trained them well in the "democratic" traditions of Noske, Scheidemann and Helmut Schmidt.

The Trotskyist League of Canada vigorously condemns the ISO's political gangsterism and exclusionism in Cleveland. These violations of the norms of workers democracy curtail the open, public debate within the workers movement necessary for the development of a correct revolutionary policy, cut across the often urgent need for united working class action around particular issues, and open up the left to agents provocateurs and police attack. The thuggery demonstrated by the ISO in Cleveland is what introduces real disruption into the left. The international Spartacist tendency intends to vigorously defend and enforce the norms of workers democracy in order to keep violence out of the labor movement, to better defend that movement from the violence of the capitalist class, and to establish the framework in which debate and revolutionary criticism can take place. We invite Comrade Harris, when he comes to San Francisco, to speak under *our* auspices where we can assure him, unlike his "fraternal" sponsors, that the norms of workers democracy will be defended and upheld.

No to violence on the left! Uphold workers democracy!

Trotskyist League of Canada
18 April 1977

Give Him a Brain

Healy's "Yellow Brick Road" to Revolution

"...We can confidently say that no force on earth can challenge the analysis made by the IC [International Committee] of this crisis." So boasted the Workers League (WL), American satellite of Gerry Healy's IC, in a recent perspectives document, under a heading appropriately called "The World Crisis."

For some sixteen years now, the American Healyites have been crisis-mongering with strident regularity. To those who protested the WL's cynical efforts to gear up its dwindling band for one last sacrifice hy invoking the "crisis" just around the corner, the WL hacks replied by charging that their critics must believe in the fundamental stability of capitalism. But of course the decaying capitalist system cannot escape periodic severe crises. Finally the WL has got its long-awaited "crisis," but their general situation recalls the unfortunate boy in the fable who cried "wolf"; vindication is likely to do the WL about as much good as it did him.

The WL's incessant cries of "crisis" have a political function which is more than inspirational. For the WL, "The Crisis" means that it is okay to support reformists and "lesser evils," because even a tiny tap is supposedly sufficient to topple imperialism in this epoch. Thus the WL's *Bulletin* was full of enthusiasm for...Jimmy Carter's electoral victory!

> "The intensification of the world economic crisis is the direct cause of the election of Jimmy Carter....The election of Jimmy Carter is a clear sign of the political radicalization of the working class....Millions of disillusioned working class Carter voters are heading for a revolutionary confrontation with this administration."
> —*Bulletin*, 8 February

Now the WL is similarly enthusing over the electoral victory of the bourgeois Janata Party in India. "On the Road to Revolution," screams the 24 March *Bulletin* headline for the article on the Congress Party defeat. While dutifully noting the "right-wing" character of the Janata Party, the article claims that its victory "dealt a smashing blow to the economic policies of the Indian bourgeoisie," and that "the radicalization of the masses now opens the door to the most powerful revolutionary struggles in India."

Truly the WL has outdone even the Pabloist substitutionalists whom it professes to oppose from the left. But no amount of enthusing for popular petty-bourgeois currents can obscure the fact that it was the *absence* of proletarian leadership in India which allowed the just rage of the bitterly oppressed workers and peasants to be channeled into support for a bourgeois party every bit as dedicated to the preservation of capitalist class rule as was its predecessor. ■

Bulletin
Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League
ON THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION
INDIAN MASSES THROW GANDHI OUT!
BY FRANK MARTIN

Abel Yesterday, Sadlowski Today

Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel

WV Photo

Right: Ed Sadlowski, bureaucrat on the make. Below: I.W. Abel, the one who made it.

The following is the edited transcript of a presentation at the recent Spartacus Youth League West Coast educational by an active class-struggle oppositionist in the United Steelworkers.

I want to begin by talking a bit about Ed Sadlowski and his recent campaign for president of the United Steelworkers [USWA]. However, the purpose of this talk is not to go into the specifics of the Sadlowski campaign, which you're familiar with from reading *Workers Vanguard*. Instead I mainly want to go through the oppositional movements in steel and place Sadlowski in context, show where he fits in, and then go through the responses of the left.

I haven't got the official results of the election and they'll be bickering about them for months. Sadlowski is probably going to go through with a court challenge, which is not surprising because the central political issue in steel has been the question of government intervention. But he lost by about a three-to-two margin. There's no major vote fraud which has come out from what I can tell. I'm sure that votes were stolen because the history of the elections in steel has been a question of who steals the most from the other guy. But I believe that the vote count is somewhat accurate and that Sadlowski did in fact lose.

As a matter of fact some people were surprised by how well Sadlowski did. He got about 230,000 votes which compares to the Rarick campaign in 1956 which I'll go into in a bit. Where Sadlowski did well was in basic steel; he got beat in other sections of the union. But where he really got killed was in Canada. That's important because the guy who was running for McBride up there was Lynn Williams, the director of the Steelworkers union in Canada. Williams has a lot of authority in Canada. When Sadlowski went up there he had to talk as a socialist because of the existence of the New Democratic Party [NDP, a social-democratic party supported by the Canadian Labour Confederation]. But Sadlowski didn't come off too well because he's been trying to play down the socialist question in the U.S. in order to duck the red-baiting, and besides Williams is a member of the NDP. So Williams carried quite a number of votes for the McBride ticket in Canada.

Sadlowski's program has been covered well in the pages of *Workers Vanguard*. In many ways it's a carbon copy of the I.W. Abel campaign in 1965 and one of the key components of his campaign, what he talked about a lot, is we have to return to the founding days of the union. This is a myth which has been carried by the *Militant*, the *Daily World*, etc. In a minute I want to deal with what the founding of the USWA looked like, because we do *not* want to return to the early days of the union. We have nothing to do with that tradition. We do not want to return to the days of Phil Murray. When Sadlowski talks about "let's go back to the old days" that's what he's talking about.

To understand where Sadlowski is coming from, it's important to go back and take a brief look at how the steel union was organized. First of all when you think about steel and the major events, they are all essentially defeats. What we're talking about are the Homestead strike in Pennsylvania in 1892, the Great Steel Strike in 1919, the "Little Steel" strike in 1937 and the 1959 strike. Every one of those was defeated and the result is a passive, demoralized, conservative workforce in steel.

The first union in steel was the old Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. At one time this was one of the strongest unions in the country. It was smashed at Homestead in 1892. Between then and 1901 this union was driven out of the mills, a period which coincides with the organization of the great steel trusts like U.S. Steel.

Up until 1919 there was basically no union and the working conditions were very, very bad. Let me give you a brief example. The basic workday was 12 hours and when you switched shifts you worked a 24-hour shift with no break. You had one day off out of 14 days. So the working conditions in steel were very, very bad. They still are today but at least we have an eight-hour day. These were the conditions which were fought by the Great Steel Strike in 1919, but that was defeated. They went back again with no union. The union doesn't come about until 1936.

The United Steelworkers has been a very bureaucratic union from the very day that it was founded. It was organized from the top down, essentially by John L. Lewis' miners union. In fact, there was no USWA at all for almost six years after the first organizing successes because Lewis wouldn't let them get out from under his thumb. He kept it an organizing committee as long as he could, until he could clamp a loyal bureaucracy on the union.

What's very important here was the relationship between the coal miners and the steel workers. There was a wildcat in coal in 1933 which if successful could have led to organizing steel. The role of Lewis was to smash this movement so that he could organize steel under his control. The Communist Party [CP] played a big role here so I want to spend some time on this.

John L. Lewis and the Communist Party

There was virtual war in the coal fields between 1925 and 1933. This is the period when John Brophy ran against Lewis for the presidency of the United Mine Workers [UMW]. He launched a "Save the Union Movement" in 1926. The miners union was being decimated left and right, and Lewis was fighting to maintain his hold on the union. He used the newly passed Section 7A [of Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act] to work out a contract that saved a big section of his union but allowed the captive mines (mines owned by the steel companies) to remain unorganized. So about 60,000-70,000 miners were left with no union.

These guys were pretty pissed off at being sold out. There was a wildcat strike led by a man by the name of Martin Ryan which shut down coal in that section. The strike quickly spread to steel. This was very significant. Steel workers with no union went out in a solidarity strike with the miners; they had been smashed since 1919 and they went out in solidarity with the miners.

Lewis organized a torrent of red-baiting against Ryan with the purpose of consolidating his present contract which sold out the captive miners and getting the steel workers back to work. Martin Ryan was finally brought to Washington to have dinner with Roosevelt. But between 1933 and 1936 a rank-and-file movement existed in steel which tried continually to organize a nationwide strike, and Lewis continually worked to prevent this from taking place. The estimates are they got as many workers to sign cards in 1934 and 1935 as the Steelworkers Organizing Committee [SWOC] did in 1936 and 1937. They got about 150,000 workers to sign cards with no union, no protection, no legal support to back them up.

There is a sidelight to this, which is what the Communist Party did. The CP had a "red" union which it organized in 1929 and was fairly large. They claimed it had about 20,000 members. Of course, you can't believe their figures—so maybe cut it in half and then divide again by something else, but they did have several thousand steel workers. They did lead a number of local strikes. This is during the "Third Period" and so what they attempted to do was to counterpose their dual union to the rank-and-file-led movement of steel workers in the Amalgamated. But after the turn to the popular front the CP suddenly stopped denouncing the leadership of this movement and began running around with a new line. Now what they want to do is to merge with this rank-and-file movement.

The workers who led the rank-and-file movement were mostly from West Virginia, from Kentucky and western Pennsylvania. They were not communists. They did not have a conception of fighting Lewis politically, although they sure hated his guts. They wrote letter after letter to Lewis demanding that he stop sitting in Washington doing nothing and get out there and organizing steel workers.

What these guys wanted was a union. They were willing to play ball on Lewis' terms if necessary. They figured that Lewis had them beat. He had defeated the miners in 1933. He had defeated every attempt they had made to organize a national steel strike. They finally said, we have no choice—if you can't beat him, join him. So these militants, who were members of the Amalgamated mentioned above, were put on the payroll.

The Communist Party at that point switched over to tail Lewis. When the CP came in there, instead of trying to lead the struggle against Lewis, they simply said: this is the name of the game—Lewis is going to do it. They got 60 organizers jobs out of the deal. There was an interesting pamphlet put out recently by Art Shields, who was a member of the CP's "red" union and what he says is a classic statement straight from the Stalin School of Falsification. What he says is, "The steel victory came out of a united front between the United Mine Workers and the Communist Party."

This is pure bunk! The CP simply gave in to Lewis. When Lewis set up SWOC they got no positions of leadership in the union. They got no local presidents; they got no district directors. They simply were put on the payroll. Anybody who has worked in the union movement knows what people on the payroll do—they raise their hand; they do what they're told. This is notorious in steel. Staff reps vote the way Abel or someone tells them to.

These were Lewis' terms and this is what the CP willingly did. They simply capitulated to everything which Lewis and Murray did. Later they came out and blamed the whole thing on Earl Browder, who was only carrying out the Stalinist popular front line in America.

They say: we made some mistakes in steel. We didn't fight Murray when we should have, because all we did at the conventions was raise our hands, etc. So Browder is the scapegoat.

Founding of the USWA

But this is what they did and so communist leadership was never forged in that crucial period between 1933 and 1936. This is why there is a very bureaucratically organized union today. This didn't just happen. There was a political defeat suffered by the left. Lewis was sharp. He knew what he was doing. He was probably one of the smartest bureaucrats in this country and he did a real job on the CP. He smashed them and then gave them jobs. He knew that they were the best people available to go out and organize the plants.

With the Amalgamated militants and CP organizers now on the payroll and in no position to challenge Lewis, SWOC began its drive to organize the steel plants. The United States Steel Corporation (known as Big Steel and at that time the largest steel corporation in the world) was naturally the most important target. This was the same company that drove the Amalgamated out of the industry.

The major battle to organize U.S. Steel was not fought by steel workers but by auto workers in Flint, Michigan. Myron Taylor (chairman of U.S. Steel) knew that the U.S. would eventually enter World War II and that Lewis would keep the ranks in line. He didn't want production on lucrative military contracts interrupted by a Flint sitdown in steel. So he signed a contract with Lewis without a fight. The Little Steel bosses (the rest of the American steel companies) took a harder line and defeated SWOC's 1937 strike. The Little Steel plants were for the most part organized by NLRB suit during the war.

CIO

John L. Lewis turning over CIO presidency to Philip Murray at 1940 convention.

There is a real contrast here between steel and auto workers. Both have fought major battles against the companies but the UAW won theirs on the picket lines. All the steel workers' most important strikes (Homestead 1919, Little Steel and 1959) were defeated. One can say that there is a tradition of militancy in the UAW but that tradition does not really exist in the USWA. So when Sadlowski wants to return to the good old days, we can only ask, "*What* good old days?"

By the time the first convention occurred, the union has existed from 1936 to 1942. At this convention Murray got up and said: there will be no "backroom talks"—meaning no caucuses and no political fights. He said: we're not going to quibble about democracy—which meant that we're not going to vote on the contract. Steelworkers members in basic steel, to this day, have never voted on a single contract in 35 years. So this is the situation from which the oppositional movement developed: the CP was smashed, they were put on the payroll, they served as Phil Murray's whipping boys, and then Murray threw them out in 1946 during the anti-communist witchhunt.

This is what steel is like, this is the union. In those six years between '36 and '42 an entrenched bureaucracy was built. The top leaders doled out jobs as district directors and had six years to build up a lot of patronage. Murray hired the staff and called all the shots. He carried a lot of authority. If you attacked Murray from the union floor, the old bureaucrats got very, very upset.

USWA

Above: 1959 strike at U.S. Steel. Below: Steel Workers Organizing Committee brought 250,000 union supporters to 1936 rally.

CIO

Dues Protest and the 1959 Strike

Murray died in 1952 and David McDonald took over. McDonald didn't carry the same authority as Murray and he began to have trouble. The first real movement to develop in steel, the first post-witchhunt movement, was the Dues Protest Committee in the 1950's. It's funny, the way Sadlowski talks a lot about how he's from the rank and file, how he's one of the the guys from the plant. This guy has been part of the bureaucracy for about 15 years. He sits on the national executive board. The leader of the Dues Protest Committee was a man by the name of Donald Rarick, a local president. He had a lot more credentials as a rank-and-file militant than Sadlowski.

This movement came from nowhere—they had no support in the bureaucracy, no district directors, nothing. And they racked up about 223,000 votes. It's comparable to what Sadlowski got. Now this election, the 1957 election, was really stolen. It has been compared to the Brophy campaign in coal. Rarick thinks he won and so do a lot of bourgeois commentators.

Rarick's movement had essentially no program. The dues question has always been a hot issue in steel and most people who fight around it do so in a way devoid of politics. For us it's a question of confidence in the bureaucracy: we are not going to vote for a dues increase that means more money for the politics of Abel. But if they wanted an assessment to give money to the striking British miners we could support that. For Rarick, it was simply a question of: Gee, we're paying $3 a month; now you want to make it $5. We only got 6 percent on the last contract, etc. No basic challenge to the policies of the leadership. The Dues Protest Committee itself was a hodgepodge which included conservative anti-communists as well as some ostensible socialists.

So what did Rarick do after he lost? He went to court: he made this big campaign against a dues increase and then he sued the union for a million bucks! Sadlowski is suing for $5 million today. Rarick went to court on vote fraud and sued for slander. This is the same suit which Sadlowski has now.

McDonald didn't have much authority but he wasn't stupid. At the 1958 convention (the dues protest was beaten in 1956) a big demonstration takes place. Bureaucrats come out with this big casket marked DPC (Dues Protest Committee) and they go running around like they have buried the opposition. During the discussion McDonald invited Rarick up and said: we'll give you the podium and you can defend your positions. You ran a campaign against me saying stop the dues increase. But now you're suing this union for $1 million. Please tell the rank and file where the money is going to come from. And there's Rarick up there trying to explain how on the one hand he's against a dues increase and on the other he wants to sue the union! That was the end of Rarick, but there are some roots coming out of the old Dues Protest Committee—the Rank and File Team (RAFT) from Youngstown essentially comes out of the old 1956 committee.

McDonald really began to go downhill after the 1959 strike. This was the last national strike in steel; it's been almost 20 years since there's been an industry-wide strike. There's a world of difference between steel and auto. In steel there's not much tradition of wildcats, of sitdowns, of quickie strikes. If you file a grievance you're a real militant. The 1959 strike was the last major strike and there's good reason for that. The union really got murdered during this strike. They went out for 116 days and went back to work with not one penny more. If you talk to old timers in the union they will tell you: we went out for 116 days and we got nothing and you bet your life I'm for that no-strike pledge. People lost their homes, they lost their savings accounts and got nothing out of it. They were paid something like $5 a week to feed a family of six kids.

In 1959 the major confrontation was over work rules which the company was trying to change. McDonald wrote a demagogic response to the company proposals, saying that the United Steelworkers of America is not a company union. Then when the strike was over he agreed to a so-called Human Rights Committee, which existed essentially to investigate whether or not the companies' charges of featherbedding were true. McDonald claimed there was a big victory in defending the work rules, and then he agreed to form a joint labor-management committee to find out if in fact management's charges were true! That didn't help McDonald's popularity, either.

The Abel Campaign

This is the background to Abel's rise to power. The campaign that Abel ran in 1965 was the same as those run by Arnold Miller in the UMW and by Sadlowski. Abel said that McDonald was spending too much time drinking martinis with the bosses in Pittsburgh, that this was "tuxedo unionism." What Sadlowski says today is the same thing, that Abel is spending too much time drinking martinis with the bosses in Pittsburgh. But Abel hit back effectively, saying Sadlowski was playing the big-money liberal cocktail circuit.

The whole thing was supposedly to

continued on page 10

France...

(continued from page 4)

nist ranks rebelled. Thus in Brive, where the national leaderships proposed putting former Gaullist minister Charhonnel (notorious for his anti-working-class policies in 1968) on the ticket, a split took place in the popular front, forcing him to form his own list.

The implicit support for NATO contained in the Common Program which last year's Union of the Left presidential candidate PS leader François Mitterrand, has been making increasingly explicit—found its expression in the attempt to run former admiral Sanguinetti on a joint ticket in Toulon, a port city with a major naval base. Again this was too much for local leaders to swallow and the PS split, part of it allying with the Communists to defeat Sanguinetti on the first round.

The counterpart to the popular front's attempts to enlist potential allies on the right is a hard attitude toward forces on its left. An example of this was Mitterrand's deliberate coolness toward the Socialist candidate for mayor of Paris, Georges Sarre, who is a spokesman for the ostensibly leftist CERES group (advocates of "self-management") within the party. At the same time, Mitterrand pursued an effective effort aimed at increasing tensions in the left-reformist United Socialist Party (PSU), by adding leaders of the PSU right wing to Union of the Left slates in several cities.

The Ecology Phenomenon

The political wild card of the elections was the appearance of ecologist slates, which scored well on the first round. To the dismay of both the "presidential majority" and the Union of the Left, these lists averaged about 10 percent of the vote where they ran, thus holding the balance of power in many closely contested races. The "back-to-nature" candidates piled up unexpectedly high vote totals by appealing to an amorphous electorate discontented with the electoralism of the popular front and with technological advance.

The ecologist movement was generally counted on the left, which is the milieu from which most of its voting base was drawn. However, its leaders refused to endorse either the Union of the Left or the Giscard/Chirac "majority." The reactionary petty-bourgeois character of this movement was underscored by the fact that following the elections, Paris ecology groups accepted positions in neighborhood councils set up by Chirac, thus fueling the Gaullist leader's ambitions to take over leadership of the "anti-socialist" bourgeois formations by next year.

In the last days before the voting, the ecologist movement threw the Union of the Left into a panic, inducing PCF mayoral candidate for Paris Henri Fiszbin to talk of turning the superhighway which encircles the capital into a giant parking lot. But it was not just the reformist left that was threatened by the "ecology phenomenon." *Le Monde* noted that in Paris the "far left" candidates were particularly worried about losing votes to the nature freaks.

On the eve of first-round voting, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) issued an appeal to voters inclining toward the ecologist slates. "Becoming conscious of environmental problems does not *'naturally'* lead to adopting an anti-capitalist consciousness," it said, "and especially not to joining the workers movement" (*Rouge*, 10 March 1977). Indeed it doesn't. The success of the Swedish Center Party in using petty-bourgeois opposition to atomic energy as an effective lever to unseat the ruling Social Democratic Workers Party is proof enough that the environmentalist cause can be easy prey to bourgeois reaction. Nonetheless, with its history of appealing to environmentalists on the same minimalist basis as to other constituencies (feminists, students, etc.), the "far left" slates not only lost votes to the ecologists, but the LCR appeal kicked up a storm inside the organization as some militants found it insulting to the ecology movement!

The "Far Left" in Shambles

An electoral bloc of the LCR, Lutte Ouvrière and the Maoist Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT) presented candidates in 30 different large cities and the capital. The coalition demagogically baptized "For Socialism, For Workers Power," and modeled on the Democrazia Proletaria joint list in Italy—scored an unexpectedly high percentage of the vote, averaging just under 5 percent in the districts where it presented candidates.

Jubilation was the order of the day in the LCR, since its electoral combine paid off: it had achieved nirvana, becoming a "credible alternative" which could now hope to court the Union of the Left more freely and with a certain amount of bargaining power. In a style reminiscent of the electoral cretinism of its American "fraternal" organization, the Socialist Workers Party, the LCR's *Rouge* revelled in quoting endless statistics to prove its success.

Gamma/Liaison

Jacques Chirac, Gaullist victor in the municipal elections.

However, a careful examination of these statistics reveals the reality of the "far left" electoral success: rather than conscious votes for a revolutionary program, the score of the LCR/LO/OCT coalition reflects vague discontent with the limited program and passivity of the Union of the Left. The "far left" bloc did well precisely in those areas where the PSU was not present in the popular-front slates and where the ecologists were more overtly right-wing. Conversely, where PSU candidates were included on the Union of the Left ticket and the ecologists spiced up their rhetoric with some leftist phraseology, the "far left" averaged around 2 percent.

For example, in Orléans where the bloc received a surprising 13 percent of the vote there was no ecologist slate and the PSU (which won 15 percent of the vote in 1971) did not present candidates. In contrast, in Toulouse where the PSU was in a bloc with left-talking ecologists, the LCR, LO/OCT cartel got only 1.9 percent, less than the combined vote of LCR and LO presidential candidates in the 1974 elections. The same pattern held throughout the country. In short, the votes for the "far left" bloc were precisely what LCR leader Alain Krivine labeled them: a "warning" to the Union of the Left.

With all its components looking for instant popularity, the election combination did not project the image of lasting unity. The pressures and contradictions in the bloc came to the surface shortly before the second round when Lutte Ouvrière publicly rejected an LCR call to continue the coalition. The LO leadership was clearly under pressure from its own membership for having formed a rotten bloc with the "petty-bourgeois" LCR and Maoist OCT. LO argued vociferously during the campaign that organizational blocs had to be based on fundamental programmatic unity, and wrote several editorial replies to letters insisting that it had not compromised any principles in forming the electoral agreement.

Following the first round, the LCR's Krivine wrote a front-page editorial asserting that the vote totals proved the existence of "a unitary dynamic which enables the revolutionaries to enlarge their audience...." The LCR called for a common "action platform" which would encapsulate the "broad current of men and women workers and youth who are...desolidarizing themselves from the policies of the reformist leaderships..." (*Rouge*, 18 March).

At what was billed as an election rally at the Mutualité that evening, the LO leadership did an about-face and rejected Krivine's call to extend the electoral agreement. Throughout the meeting LO spokesman Arlette Laguiller pointedly ignored her OCT bloc partner sitting next to her on the stage. Appealing to her cheering supporters (and watching the Ligue leadership turn ashen), Laguiller lectured to the LCR that, "The revolutionary workers party will be Trotskyist, or it will not be." LCR speaker Daniel Bensaïd, whose Guevarist sympathies were notorious, sprung to the defense of the OCT and attacked this "sectarian" assertion.

Lutte Ouvrière's attempt to appease the class instincts of its membership is manifestly self-contradictory. For if the bloc represented insufficient programmatic agreement, then why did the LO leadership enter it at all? But such considerations did not bother the "Trotskyist" LO. On the day following the "rally," an article by LO published in *Rouge* explicitly attacked the LCR's analysis of the first-round voting:

> "Presenting the electoral battle on the second round as something important to the workers, as a chance to 'fight the right' or even as a chance to 'eliminate an obstacle' to future struggles of the working class is merely propagating illusion."

So what did LO do to combat these illusions? It, too, called for voting for the popular front on the second round, advocating "solidarity with millions of workers who trust in the Union of the Left"! It welcomed the popular front to power "to the extent it is desired by the majority of the workers" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 9 April). Obviously, Arlette Laguiller is in no position to wag her finger at Bensaïd and Krivine for capitulating to the Union of the Left.

While the LCR/LO/OCT bloc more or less openly advertised its support to the popular front, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), claimed to oppose it. However, it refused to say "no vote for the Union of the Left," instead enigmatically insisting "we know who we will vote for." The focus for the OCI's capitulation to the popular front was in its ostensibly simple democratic demand for new elections to the National Assembly. In a statement on the first-round results, the OCI political bureau confirmed the real content of this demand, namely to put the popular front in power:

> "...the so-called majority has been crushed. It is in the minority in France. From this point of view, to which the leaders of the Union of the Left subscribe, dissolution of the National Assembly, dominated by the Giscard and Chirac parties, should be the logical consequence of the first-round election results ..."

For an Authentic Trotskyist Party!

This squabbling among the bloc partners has continued in negotiations over what policy to adopt in May Day demonstrations. Traditionally, the Communist Party has excluded the "far left" from marching in the main parade, forcing it to bring up the rear, as much as half a mile behind the rest of the contingents. Organizations such as the OCT have countered by organizing their "revolutionary" demonstration separate from the PCF/CGT parade. This year the LCR, LO and OCT agreed to organize a joint contingent at the end of the main march, but there was a dispute over slogans.

The LCR has made a point of raising only those slogans which would not disturb the popular front, such as "Out with Giscard" and for wage increases. LO rightly takes exception to these slogans and warned that the joint contingent must not "appear as a far left cover—a minority and childish cover to boot—of the present and, in particular, future policies of the Union of the Left." A common slogan was finally hammered out for this propaganda bloc—

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Berrelly/Black Star

Workers perform skil during recent occupation of GM plant near Paris.

stating that governments of both right and left exploit the workers—but the LCR is insisting on demands which speak to the "immediate needs" of the workers. As if clarity on the popular front were not the most urgent and immediate need of the proletariat!

Despite its electoral "success," the LCR/LO/OCT bloc holds no answers for French workers. Like the Democrazia Proletaria in Italy, it was explicitly intended as a left pressure group on the popular front, pledging to vote for Union of the Left candidates on the second round. (The LCR held up a fig leaf to cover its capitulationist policy by calling for abstention in Perpignan, where the popular-front slate was headed by a Left Radical. This, however, was only one more "warning" to PCF and PS leaders; perhaps next time around Krivine can even work himself up to a "censure.") Because the "far left" list did not represent an attempt to fight for working-class independence against the class-collaborationism of the Union of the Left, revolutionaries could not call for votes to it.

Krivine, Laguiller & Co. are not concerned with such questions of Marxist principle: for them the test is the number of votes in the ballot box. But even at the level of organizational growth, the demagogic "far left" propaganda bloc is no success. Democrazia Proletaria also received a substantial vote in last June's Italian elections, but since that time two of its three major components have had major splits and the third, Lotta Continua, has practically dissolved itself into the "broad vanguard" of "autonomist" students.

The crisis of Democrazia Proletaria is reproduced in its French counterpart, not only in squabbles between the LO and LCR, but within each organization as well. The last LCR congress was marked by the appearance of a sizable feminist caucus and the leadership received a bare majority of the votes. Recently several dozen members quit the LCR by publishing a notice in *Liberation* that they were "on strike" against the leadership. This farce bears witness not only to the bureaucratic practices of Krivine and his cohorts, but also to the abysmal political level on which the Ligue recruits.

From the appearance of a male-exclusionist caucus in its ranks, to the "strike" of a dozen militants, to the loss of votes to PSU and ecologist candidates, it is clear that the widely recognized crisis of the "far left"—in particular of the LCR—is a direct result of its attempts to recruit by appealing to the present consciousness of what it calls the "broad vanguard" rather than building a homogeneous Leninist combat party around solid recruitment to the Trotskyist program. When the constituencies come into conflict, the shaky organizations or coalitions which hold them together shatter.

These would-be Trotskyists are caught in the consequences of their perennial search to find an "easy path to the masses." As fast as they piece together rotten-bloc electoral combinations the pressure of the class struggle breaks them up. Political struggle is not a horse race, and attempts to find a "winning combination" are doomed to failure.

The international Spartacist tendency and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France, have uniquely upheld the policy of refusing to give electoral support, however critical, to the candidates of the *bourgeois* popular front or to its "left" appendages. We hold with Trotsky and Lenin that there is one experience which revolutionists do not share with the working class, that of class collaboration. The job of Marxists is to warn against its dangers, to draw the lessons of Chile and Spain, and to defend a consistent policy which can show the proletariat the way out of the popular-front impasse. ■

Atlanta...

(continued from page 12)

er for an economic structure based on luring industry from the unionized North. Up for re-election in a few months, Jackson saw an opportunity to solidify business support by cracking down on the municipal workers and took it.

The gambit seems to have worked. Both of Atlanta's daily newspapers rallied behind Jackson, baiting AFSCME as a tool of "northern labor bosses." Bert Lance, Carter's budget director and a weathervane of Atlanta business opinion, said that Jackson's position had been strengthened. And in the second week of the strike, a statement was issued by Martin Luther King, Sr., of the Atlanta Baptist Ministers Union, Lyndon Wade of the Urban League, the Atlanta Business League and Atlanta Chamber of Commerce which stated:

> "Although we fully sympathize with the plight of the workers of our city, we deplore the tactics of this union which purports to represent some city workers, while using these same workers in a cynical power play aimed at taking over city government in Atlanta, and a campaign to discredit Atlanta generally and Mayor Jackson in particular...."

"Daddy King" was more blunt: "If you do everything you can and don't get satisfaction, then fire the hell out of them" (*Atlanta Journal*, 5 April).

Ironically, this statement appeared on the ninth anniversary of the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., who was shot down in Memphis while supporting a sanitation workers strike there. Some liberal observers and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *Militant* of 22 April expressed "shock" at King's crude attack on Atlanta's miserably paid, overwhelmingly black workers. But the alliance of civil rights preachers with big business financiers should not prove shocking to Marxists.

In order to rule more peaceably with an aura of "democracy," the worst excesses of Jim Crow were eliminated, civil rights activists were pieced off with "Great Society" jobs in community centers and a place was found in Southern country club politics for loyal black Democratic toadies. Yet their strikebreaking calls do not represent an about-face from the 1960's; the moderate leaders of the civil rights movement, including Martin Luther King, Jr., always pursued a policy of liberal reform through the Democratic Party.

ATLANTA, GA., April 26—Atlanta AFSCME strikers, turned away when they attempted to return to work Monday morning, today occupied the City Hall offices of Mayor Maynard Jackson. Nearly 100 strikers and their supporters held the sit-in, demanding that they get their jobs back, that the city resume negotiations and that Federal mediators be called in to settle the dispute.

While Jackson was predictably absent, Atlanta city cops showed up in force within ten minutes, arresting AFSCME area director Leamon Hood and strike leader Willie Bolen. When the rest of the strikers refused to leave, the cops began a club-wielding assault that resulted in eight more arrests on charges of assault, destruction of property, disorderly conduct and inciting to riot. Six cops and four strikers were reportedly injured.

The desperate demands of AFSCME now amount to no more than getting back to work without victimizations. At a meeting of Local 1644 tonight, union leaders in fact urged the workers to accept the temporary federally-funded jobs and end the strike. But the embittered strikers rebuffed their "leaders" and voted this proposal down.

Black Workers vs. the Democratic Party

The current all-out attack on Atlanta AFSCME may sound the death-knell for this predominantly black union local. Such a bitter setback must serve to debunk the illusion that the black masses will fare better under black Democrats than under their white counterparts. Jackson's union-busting also underscores the need for the labor movement to break with the Democrats to form a militant workers party on a class-struggle program. Jackson has served notice that his strikebreaking actions are part and parcel of an employers' war against Southern labor organizing. "If AFSCME went out of business tomorrow, I'd never think twice about it.... I see myself as only the first domino in [labor's] Southern domino theory" (*Atlanta Journal*, 10 April).

The AFSCME bureaucracy, however, is so entwined with the Democrats that it cannot learn even the most bitterly imposed lessons. In 1969, AFSCME supported Sam Massell for mayor of Atlanta; in 1970, Massell fired every striking AFSCME sanitation worker in the last major strike of city workers. (At that time, vice-mayor Jackson, hustling votes for his upcoming mayoral bid, marched with the striking workers and declared their wages a "disgrace before God.") AFSCME and the rest of Atlanta labor then supported Jackson in 1973 and are being repaid today with billy clubs and termination notices.

Despite Jackson's unequivocal stand, union leaders are still trying to figure out how to support him *again*. When *WV* asked AFSCME spokesman Owen King if the union would consider running a labor candidate against Jackson, or breaking with the Democrats to form a labor party, King replied: "No, I'll tell you what we'd still like to do...we'd like to convince Maynard he's made a mistake and that we want him back on our side and we want to continue to support him."

The entire strike strategy of the AFSCME leaders has been subordinated to pressuring factions within the Democratic Party, instead of mobilizing the rest of Atlanta labor behind the striking city workers. AFSCME launched a $60,000 nationwide newspaper campaign ("pitched to the liberal Eastern establishment," as one union aide admitted) in an effort to bring liberal pressure on Jackson. (This at least put AFSCME one step ahead of the Communist Party, which is so committed to "progressive" black Democrats that it has yet to print one word on the Atlanta strike in its *Daily World*.) AFSCME also offered from the beginning to submit the strike issues to federal mediation, in the forlorn hope that the anti-labor Carter administration might be more sympathetic.

Given the political and economic centrality of Atlanta in the South, a defeat of the city workers' struggle will have an impact far beyond the strikers' ranks. It will be a blow not only to AFSCME's drive to organize public employees but to all attempts to unionize the South. Faced with the cops, courts and city hall's union-busting, AFSCME's only road to victory—and, at this point, even to continued existence—is to call on the rest of Atlanta labor to strike in its support. Atlanta's large poor black population, which has far more in common with the striking workers than with the Jacksons and Kings, should be called on to support the strike and bolster the picket lines. No progress can be made by a fruitless search for "better" Democrats. The South will be organized by militant union struggles and a mass mobilization of working people...or it will not be organized at all. ■

ISO...

(continued from page 5)

even sooner, and Harris' scheduled appearance at the Red Rose Bookstore, a collective of assorted "third campers," was abruptly canceled after Red Rose insisted that norms of workers democracy be upheld. The ISO at first agreed but quickly backed out, ludicrously claiming that it was in danger of a physical attack by the SL.

It was not physical threats which had struck fear into the heart of the ISO, of course, but revolutionary politics. Only a few weeks earlier, the ISO had been politically defeated in a Red Rose-sponsored debate entitled "What Next for Steelworkers?" An ISO supporter in the steel union had topped off her pro-Sadlowski presentation with a defense of the apolitical focus of the women's committee in her local on more women's bathrooms by uttering the memorable statement: "Toilet paper is not the road to workers revolution, but it should be." She had nothing to say in response to the charge leveled by a class-struggle militant in the same Chicago-area local that during the last big layoff she had demanded the recalling of five women while ignoring the several thousand male steelworkers who had been laid off.

The sputtering tour petered out completely in Los Angeles, where there was no attempt to hold a public meeting of any sort. The cowardly thugs of the ISO could only arrange an RSVP dinner in a private home. ■

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Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel...

(continued from page 7)

return the union to the rank and file "union democracy." But union democracy, as the officials mean it, is a farce. As soon as they get in office, they act just like their predecessors. Every leaflet which Lloyd McBride [Abel's candidate] put out said we're for union democracy, and the Socialist Workers Party[SWP]says Sadlowski is for union democracy so we should go out and vote for him.

In 1965 Abel won in a squeaker by 10,000 votes. That election has been characterized as which side stole the most. An old-timer once told me how they would steal votes. When Rarick ran, a lot of union members in this local voted for Rarick and left blank the slot for district director. They went down to the union hall, boarded up the windows and locked the doors. On every blank ballot they just wrote in the name of their candidate for district director. He picked up 2,000 votes which nobody cast this way! This same guy told me he himself had voted 50 times for Rarick, who was supposedly going to clean up the union. On McDonald's side they were voting 150 times. The same was true in 1965. The election boiled down to who stole more, McDonald or Abel, and apparently Abel did.

What is important is that Abel was able to split the bureaucracy. The line-up on district directors was 15 to 14. There was a real split. Sadlowski split nobody but himself—no other district director supported him. This is why his campaign looks much more like Rarick's than Abel's in terms of organization. But that's not a product of program, it's only a product of the relationship of forces within the bureaucracy. Believe me, Sadlowski would have liked a palace revolt. He would have loved the same kind of deal as occurred in 1965.

Then Abel turned around and did what McDonald had done before him. There was another wave of dissatisfaction directed at the newly entrenched Abel bureaucracy. In 1969 Abel was challenged by an obscure staff lawyer of the USWA, Emil Narick, who got over 40 percent of the vote. Narick, of course, did not offer a programmatic alternative, either. His campaign showed that almost anyone can get a lot of votes running against the International in steel.

This brings us up to the present. Steelworkers Fightback is what we have now. Sadlowski's program is very vague, which is not surprising. His support is mainly among younger workers, many of whom really believe he would end the no-strike pledge. His real position is that in 1981 he would have a referendum. Even McBride at one time came out and said: look, if it doesn't work we'll scrap it. Sadlowski talks out of both sides of his mouth, depending on his audience. In Toronto he said he was a socialist. At more conservative plants: "Don't worry. I'm not a communist."

Left Support to Sadlowski

Let me go through what our opponents on the left are doing. One funny thing is that all these groups, which supposedly hate each other, are right at home doing donkey work together for Sadlowski. You go to a typical Sadlowski meeting in a large city: the SWP is selling raffle tickets and manning the literature table, the I.S. [International Socialists] are setting up the microphone, the CP is showing people to their seats, and a Maoist kicks off the meeting by singing a folk song.

The biggest left group supporting Sadlowski is the CP. Their politics are the same old reformist pop-front stuff. They talk about how Sadlowski is really fighting for democracy, etc. Of course, they said the same thing about Abel in 1965. In many ways you could simply substitute pages of the CP's *Daily World* for the SWP's *Militant* and you wouldn't realize you were reading a different press. The CP has had a large concentration in steel for a long time. They're very cynical they supported Sadlowski, but Sadlowski wanted nothing to do with them: Their response was, "The CP always gets excluded. We expected that." But they will probably come out of the Sadlowski thing in the best shape simply because they did not liquidate their own groupings.

There was a big debate in the pages of the I.S.' *Workers' Power* on whether or not they should liquidate into Steelworkers Fightback, and of course they liquidated. The SWP never discussed whether they would liquidate. It came naturally.

Jack Barnes of the SWP toured the country to whip up support for Sadlowski Barnes couldn't even defend his positions without resorting to demagogy The SWP would try to call on only the most inexperienced-looking people in the room, which was kind of amusing because even they could get up and say a lot of stuff about Sadlowski that embarrasses them And the SWP's answers were the following: the SL refuses to use court suits against the union; therefore it refuses to use the courts in principle, therefore it's against court suits for busing, etc. Their stock in trade is to use the old Stalinist slanders—the SL is the most reactionary group on the left, etc. This is the SWP. For them the trick is not even capitulating to the backward consciousness of Sadlowski's rank-and-file supporters, which is the stock in trade of most of the fake-lefts. The SWP really wants to be the waterboys for the "progressive" bureaucrats, just like the CP.

David McDonald

The Revolutionary Socialist League [RSL] supports a tiny caucus that's been active in Chicago. They maintained in their press that they're not going to vote for Sadlowski but the RSL-supported caucus came out with a leaflet that was just dying to support him. They said: If Sadlowski will meet certain conditions we'll vote for him. But the question of court suits against the union and government intervention in the labor movement was not one of those conditions. Of course, that's because they supported Miller.

The Workers League capitulated to Sadlowski out of habit, since they have nothing in steel; and Workers World also came out for him. The Maoists have been active in steel. A couple of years ago the October League [OL] was instrumental in putting together the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, which initiated the first court suit against the no-strike contract. This was essentially a bloc between the CP, the October League and the SWP. They all went to court together and sued the union.

Now this committee has fallen apart. Most of it went into the Sadlowski movement, although the OL has suddenly come out against him. The Revolutionary Communist Party supporters have a paper called the *Steelworker*. They have a position of critical support, which if you read their stuff, is the bare minimum of criticism and plenty of support.

What Next?

There are two more points I want to cover: Why did Sadlowski lose? And what will become of the "Sadlowski movement"? An important point is that the bourgeoisie did not particularly want Sadlowski to win. They didn't need him. Abel was not like Boyle in the miners union. When Miller won Boyle could not control the ranks. There was wildcat after wildcat and Boyle could not stop them. This is not the situation in steel. Abel has got the union under his thumb. Sadlowski's court challenge will probably come up, but I don't think the Labor Department will touch it with a ten-foot pole. They do not want Sadlowski in office right now. They don't need him—Abel is doing his job.

Having signed away the right to industry-wide strike, Abel backed the company's protectionist drive in 1973 ads.

Now, in terms of who voted for him, most of his support of course came from the younger steel workers who were opposed to the no-strike contract. By the way, people should be aware that there's a tremendous "generation gap" in steel. Just to pick up two figures that have come out in the press: first, over half the basic steel workforce is now under 30; and second, 40 percent of those covered by the steel contract have over 20 years seniority.

In steel there was a real class of '59. They support the no-strike pledge; they don't want to go out on strike for 116 days and lose their houses, because they know that the bureaucracy doesn't fight to win. They know that if they go out on strike it'll be a big joke because they'll go out there with three pickets at a gate and they'll stay at home and lose money.

Sadlowski's program did not inspire a real movement in steel. There is no basis for critical support to Sadlowski. Nothing in his program represents a break from class collaboration. His program is the same as the Abel program in 1965. So what's his future? I have pegged him for four more years. He is in a good position. He's going to return. His people won in District 31 [Chicago-Gary] and I guarantee that Sadlowski's not going to go back in the mills and work. He'll probably get put on the staff. Balanoff won in District 31 so he now takes the heat. We polemicized and criticized Sadlowski for doing nothing as district director about layoffs and doing nothing about the racist mobilization in Marquette Park in Chicago. Think of the labor/black defense that could have been built with 100,000 steel workers in Chicago—Marquette Park wouldn't have happened. As staff rep Sadlowski will now be taking no heat If Balanoff is popular, he's Sadlowski's man; if not, Sadlowski can say, "Well, I'm not responsible for those policies."

The campaign that he built was not a movement. It was an election campaign. Office rents will expire, telephones will be ripped out of the walls. They will not keep the Steelworkers Fightback Committee in cities around the country for four years, much to the chagrin of his supporters on the left who believe that that's what he's going to do. They vote for Sadlowski and expect him to give them office space to organize? That's crazy. He has no intention of doing that. There was nothing in the Sadlowski campaign which represented in any way, shape or form the building of class-struggle caucuses.

Let me finish up by covering what we've done and some of the issues that we've raised. Sinking roots and building authority in steel takes a long time. But we have succeeded in making two basic points clear about our program. *We're* the ones who are opposed to the government being brought into the labor movement. We're known for that, and we're known for being the ones who don't support Sadlowski. We're the only ones who have consistently opposed him. And the pressure to capitulate is real. As you know, virtually all the other left groups have folded to it.

We are now veterans of the Sadlowski campaign. Next time around we'll speak through direct experience. If you talk to some of the workers who've been around, they will tell you that Sadlowski sounds just like Abel in '65. We can get up and say the same thing but everyone knows we're youngsters; we weren't around then. But we were there this time, and we were the ones who told the truth about Sadlowski while everyone else was trying to clean up his speeches and make out like he really opposed the no-strike deal. There is at least a small layer of militant workers who know we fought Sadlowski every step of the way; these are the people we want to reach. And, of course, Sadlowski knows it. These are small things; we have no big successes, no big caucuses. But that will come. It takes time and a struggle for principle. ■

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Riots in Pakistan...

(continued from page 3)

formation of the Muslim League. It pledged to "foster a sense of loyalty to the British government among the Muslims of India."

Although the upper-class Hindus benefited most from the British educational system and wielded dominant positions in commerce, the colonialists encouraged fierce competition for posts in the civil service and the military. The living embodiment of the Muslim petty-bourgeoisie's aspirations for a state and the opportunity to exploit their plebeian co-religionists was the wily lawyer and Muslim League leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Until the late 1930's he had advocated cooperation between the League and the largely Hindu Congress movement in a gradualist campaign for Indian independence. However, the repeated unwillingness of Hindu politicians to share the spoils in provincial elections led him to advocate partition and the creation of Pakistan.

The British empire emerged from the imperialist World War II impoverished and shaken to its core. There was a post-war resurgence of the "Quit India" movement and massive demonstrations of intercommunal solidarity around the 1945 trial of three leaders (a Hindu, a Muslim and a Sikh) of the militant anti-colonialist Indian National Army. This and the February 1946 naval mutiny demonstrated the potential for a radicalization of the Indian masses that could escape the grasp of their venal bourgeois communal leaders.

While relying on Mohandas Gandhi and the Congress to keep the Hindus "non-violent," the new viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, began to assiduously court Jinnah, softening Britain's formal opposition to partition and conniving in the Muslim League's communal provocations. On 16 August 1946, the League proclaimed a "direct action day" to demonstrate its determination to win a separate state. In that single black day, 6,000 Hindus and Muslims died in the streets of Calcutta alone, victims of a saturnalia of communal carnage.

Within a year, the British overlords washed their hands of India, acceding (as did the power-hungry Congress leaders) to the Muslim League's demand for partition, and created the abortion of an Islamic state divided into two halves, sharply different in their nationalities and separated by nearly a thousand miles.

The Pakistani bourgeoisie grew out of the same semi-feudal land-owning class which staffed the army. It was dependent from birth on direct subsidies from the state bureaucracy and on government manipulation of agricultural prices to channel the peasant surplus into the pockets of some 22 mainly Punjabi ruling families. The state apparatus was particularly rapacious in looting the Bengali peasantry in the East, whose jute and tea exports constituted most of Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings. When resentment over this shameless robbery exploded in 1971, the result was an Indo-Pakistani war (see "New Masters for Bangla Desh," *WV* No. 4, January 1972).

Bhutto was installed in power by the military ruling circle which forced General Yahya Khan's resignation and opted for a bonapartist "civilian" government enveloped in populist rhetoric. But Bhutto's high-handed rule and inability to placate the impoverished masses or stifle centrifugal tendencies among the ethnically distinct Baluchis and the tribes of the North West Frontier are again tempting the military to intervene.

Trotskyism vs. Opportunism

The states of India and Pakistan today are nightmares of poverty, cultural backwardness and national/ethnic/religious oppression, a testament to the fraud of British imperialism's claim to a noble "civilizing mission." Only through a common mobilization of the toiling masses of the subcontinent under a proletarian internationalist vanguard can there be a truly democratic solution to the innumerable sectional conflicts and an end to the grinding misery of the masses.

Historically the only force which fought uncompromisingly for independence from Britain, for the right of

Wide World

Leaders of Pakistan National Alliance being arrested at protest rally.

national self-determination and for proletarian unity across religious and ethnic lines in the Indian subcontinent was the Trotskyist movement. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India played a heroic role in organizing the Bombay general strike in support of the 1946 naval mutiny and in opposing the imperialist Balkanization of the subcontinent. During the same period, the Communist Party of India attempted to quash independence struggles in the interest of British and U.S. imperialism's "war for democracy," divided the party on religious lines (sending Muslim members into the League) and gave tacit support to the partition.

But today the remnants of ostensibly Trotskyist forces in India and Pakistan have abandoned the revolutionary program of the Fourth International. When the Indian army subordinated the East Bengali's struggle against genocidal occupation by Pakistani soldiers to Delhi's revanchist schemes, the Communist League of India (CLI) refused to take the principled stand of revolutionary defeatism on both sides. As Farooq Alim wrote in a letter to *WV* (No. 65, 28 March 1975):

> "Trotskyists in India misguided by the two factions of the dis-United Secretariat [USec] failed to adopt a correct stand on Bangladesh, not to say of intervening effectively in Bangladesh. Either they wanted to tone down all criticism of the Awami League [the petty-bourgeois East Bengali nationalist leadership] or tended to identify themselves with one of the Maoist groups...."

While the USec minority led by the American Socialist Workers Party called for "unconditional support" to "the armed struggle against the capitalist rulers of Pakistan" (led by the capitalist Indian army!), the European-based USec majority threw a smokescreen around its own tacit support to the Indian intervention with calls for a "United Red Bengal." Marxists certainly support the right of self-determination for the entire Bengali nation, separated in the 1948 partition, but this does not mean actively advocating the separation of the combative West Bengali workers from their class brothers throughout India.

Moreover, in the context of the 1971 war, this slogan was simply an evasion of the necessary call (made only by the Spartacist League) for the workers, peasants and soldier ranks to "turn the guns the other way," against both the West Pakistani butchers and the Indian usurpers.

In an article entitled "Pakistan and Bangladesh: Results and Prospects," in the collection *Explosion in a Subcontinent* edited by Robin Blackburn (Harmondsworth England: Penguin Books, 1975), Tariq Ali, a Pakistani leader of the USec-affiliated International Marxist Group in Britain, made one of the more bizarre arguments in post-hoc justification for support of the Indian invasion.

> "The decisive Indian role in the birth of Bangladesh by no means implies that its existence as an independent state is a pure fiction.... An instructive parallel can, perhaps, be drawn with the circumstances whereby Cuba became an independent republic. In the late nineteenth century the Cubans waged a tenacious war against the Spanish for independence. However, during the course of the Spanish-American War of 1898 the US armed forces invaded and occupied Cuba, subsequently disarming the Cuban liberation fighters. The Cuban Republic was eventually set up by an act of the US Congress after four years of US military occupation. The other Spanish Caribbean island, Puerto Rico, became a US colony. The subsequent history of Cuba and Puerto Rico shows clearly enough that juridical independence can, under certain conditions, become a weapon which a genuine national liberation movement can use against imperialism."

Tariq Ali blithely ignores Cuba's semi-colonial status under U.S. overlordship during the first third of the century, codified in the Platt Amendment (another parallel to the vassal relationship of Bangladesh to India). Moreover, he incredibly confuses the correct call for independence of the U.S.' new colonies with the process by which it took them over from Spain, making a case for military support to the U.S.' first imperialist military adventure!

While enthusiastic for Bengali nationalists riding on Indian tanks in 1971, Ali carefully skirted the reactionary religious nature of the Pakistani state in his earlier book, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?* (New York: Morrow, 1970). He blithely dismisses the issue of partition ("The reasons for Partition are many and varied, and a proper explanation of them would require a lengthy analysis that is not, strictly speaking, relevant to my purpose in writing this book") and bows to the very architect of partition ("There can be no doubt that Jinnah represented the progressive wing of the Muslim League...").

In a laundry list of "transitional and democratic demands," Ali merely makes a single abstract mention of the right of self-determination for East Pakistan (otherwise barely touched on in the book), and advises that "we should distinguish between the reactionary Indian government and the Indian masses...." No mention is made of the historic interrelationship of Hindu and Muslim workers in the Punjab, Bengal and the rest of the subcontinent, or of the need for a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent.

The record of Ali on the 1971 war is fundamentally identical to that of the CLI on every major question: wavering capitulation to the popular mood. At the beginning of the Indian state of emergency in 1975 the CLI leaned toward Indira Gandhi, giving credence to her claims of a CIA threat; later it leaned toward the reactionary anti-Gandhi opposition.

Genuine Trotskyists must demand immediate abolition of the state of emergency and all special repressive measures in Pakistan. While mobilizing the masses to militant struggle against the Bhutto regime, they must give no support to the equally corrupt and reactionary opposition. Only under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, through the establishment of a revolutionary workers and peasants government in the framework of a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent, can the Pakistani working masses be liberated. ■

Bennie Lenard...

(continued from page 4)

this badly needed money over to Lenard.

Local president Ed Graham showed up at the first meeting of the now unofficial Bennie Lenard Defense Committee with the Fair Employment Practices Committee to defend the leadership's stalling. Waving a letter he received from Solidarity House in Detroit (which he refused to show to the members), Graham claimed that since the case had nothing to do with the union and Lenard wasn't actually attacked at work, the union constitution forbids giving money to individual members for "traffic violations" or other causes.

This disgusting legalistic excuse is an insult to the entire membership and to Bennie Lenard the victim of a brutal and racist attack, not a "traffic violation"! But it is consistent with the whole approach of the conservative and timid bureaucrats, whose strategy has been to appeal to State Attorney Bernard Carey to "investigate" the case and who are more interested in developing good relations with the local police and politicians than in defending their own members.

Meanwhile, a small spinoff of the original Bennie Lenard Defense Committee has renamed itself the "Provisio Township Committee" and is calling for an April 30 rally to feature Renault Robinson of the Afro-American Patrolmen's Association. This strategy not only completely ignores the need for the union as a whole to take up Lenard's defense but also fosters the dangerous illusion that the cops are the friends of workers and blacks. The LSC has argued to exclude all cops from defense activities, pointing out that "cops have historically proven to be the direct and immediate enemies of all working people."

The leadership's bureaucratic maneuvers and reformist illusions in the cops must be resolutely opposed by the Local 6 membership. The Bennie Lenard Defense Committee must continue to fight for official status, for full union aid to Lenard and for the demands: "Full Compensation to Bennie Lenard and His Family!", "Indict and Jail the Cops!" and "Drop All Charges Against Bennie Lenard!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Capitalist Politician Does His Job

Maynard Jackson Breaks Atlanta Sanitation Strike

AFSCME pickets in front of Atlanta city employment office.

Mangiafico/Atlanta Constitution

ATLANTA—Mayor Maynard Jackson, darling of Democratic Party liberals, is busy proving what the "New South" really means. The "progressive" black mayor is on the verge of breaking a desperate strike by Atlanta's poorest-paid city workers, 80 percent of them black. Jackson has fired every striker, has had cops scab-herding on overtime and has mobilized a reactionary coalition spanning black civil rights leaders and white racist businessmen. While the notoriously egotistical mayor appears to be primarily concerned with bolstering his own electoral capital, his attempt to destroy Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) places him at the head of resistance to unionization by a solid front of Southern corporate interests.

With nearly 500 strikers already returned to work, hundreds of scabs hired with federal anti-poverty money (!) and only 450 of the original strikers still out, Jackson has brought the union to its knees. After a union rally last Saturday, the city finally made its first "offer" in the month-old dispute. Local 1644 spokesman Rodney Derrick told *WV* that in exchange for AFSCME calling off the strike, ceasing all anti-Jackson advertising and guaranteeing *never* to strike again, the city had offered to fill the remaining job vacancies with strikers. The remaining workers, up to a maximum of 200, would be offered federally funded jobs for three months; after that their jobs would be reviewed on a month-by-month basis "to the extent that Federal funds are or become available...." Thus, the strikers are not even guaranteed their jobs back! None of the strike demands was even mentioned.

This "offer" is nothing more than a death warrant for the union. While AFSCME officials protested the no-advertising, no-strike provisions, they were eager to end the strike and ordered all strikers to return to work Monday morning and reclaim their jobs. Jackson, however, proved unwilling to settle for less than unconditional surrender. Without capitulation on every one of his union-busting terms, he ordered the workers turned back when they reported for work.

Anthony Barbossa/New York Times

Mayor Jackson

The strike began on March 28 when the 1,100 members of Local 1644—about half the city's workforce—walked off the job. The strikers were predominantly garbage collectors, laborers and public works employees. Their demands centered on a 50-cent per hour wage increase, as well as better insurance and hospitalization coverage, more shop stewards and an increase in dues check-off. The wage demand was certainly minimal: union members average a poverty-level $3.55 per hour (before deductions) and have not had a wage increase in almost three years.

But Jackson hardlined it all the way, claiming that there was no money in the city coffers. A union review of the city's budget, however, uncovered over $28 million in unspent appropriations and contingency monies, far exceeding the $5 million needed to meet the union's wage demand.

Undaunted, Jackson fired every striker on the fifth day of the walkout. He quickly obtained a court injunction limiting picketing and put Atlanta cops on 12-hour shifts to escort scabs across the picket lines. The city hired hundreds of unemployed and offered to rehire strikers who would immediately return to work. Clashes on the picket lines led to strikers being arrested on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to assault. It is expected that Jackson will soon try to financially cripple the union by revoking dues check-off.

The "New South" in Action

Maynard Jackson, the first black mayor of a major Southern city since Reconstruction, was elected in 1973 by a coalition of liberals, church groups, civil rights organizations and labor unions. As one of the most prominent of an increasing number of "Black Elected Officials" (BEO's) he was hailed as the symbol of a new "spirit" transforming the racist and anti-labor South.

But the installation of a handful of black Democrats in city halls has made no difference in the conditions of the oppressed black minority. From Newark's Kenneth Gibson, who joined with a racist board of education to defeat a 1970 teachers strike, to Thomas Bradley in Los Angeles, who revels in the gestapo tactics of L.A. police "SWAT" squads, these black capitalist demagogues serve only to defuse the black masses' struggles. In an effort to appeal to disaffected black voters, "BEO's" flocked to the early conventions of the National Black Political Assembly, yet in the "New South" the Maynard Jacksons peacefully coexist with racist Dixiecrats like James Eastland and George Wallace by implementing the same anti-working-class policies.

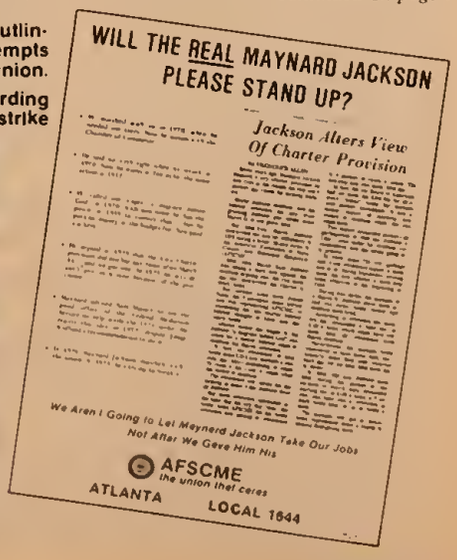
The "New South" is a phony for both the black masses and labor. Its best-known spokesman, Jimmy Carter, was elected with labor and black support only to appoint an outright segregationist as attorney general and oppose jobs spending, the "common situs" construction trades picketing bill and the AFL-CIO proposal for a $3 minimum wage. Another "New South" favorite, Andrew Young, was given the job of putting a better face on U.S. imperialism as Carter's man at the UN. And Maynard Jackson has proved to be just as much a strikebreaking servant of Southern financial and industrial interests as his predecessors.

Unions are still massively resisted by both the Southern-based bourgeoisie and Northern capital which has moved South looking for low-wage, low-tax profit-taking. As the corporate/financial center of the "New South," Atlanta is seen by the ruling class as a bellweth-

continued on page 9

Right: AFSCME leaflet outlining Mayor Jackson's attempts to break municipal union.

Below: Atlanta cops guarding city garage during recent strike by sanitationmen.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Jackson Alters View Of Charter Provision

We Aren't Going to Let Maynard Jackson Take Our Jobs Not After We Gave Him His

AFSCME the union that cares

ATLANTA LOCAL 1644

Bill Mahan/Atlanta Journal

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 156 6 May 1977

Bloody May Day

It may have been one of the bloodiest May Days ever in the history of this proletarian holiday. On Bloody May Day 1977 dozens of workers and leftists were shot to death in the streets of Istanbul, scores were clubbed and horsewhipped in Madrid and Barcelona while incendiary bombs sent flames leaping from left-wing offices in Naples. Similar incidents of police attack and right-wing terror swept Athens, Rome, Colombo and Manila as desperate reactionary provocateurs sought to demoralize and intimidate the workers.

The worst murderous onslaught came in Turkey, where 35 persons are reported dead, hundreds wounded and many hundreds more "detained" after police invaded Istanbul's huge Taksim Square with automatic weapons, water cannons and tear gas. The 150,000 marchers dropped their placards and dove to the ground or tried to scramble out of the square when the shooting began. Some were crushed in the panic while others died as armored cars rolled over their bodies.

Called by the left-wing trade-union federation (DISK), it was the second May Day celebration in Turkey's history and came at a time of increasing right-wing terror in anticipation of general elections scheduled this summer. The bourgeois press has widely reported Sunday's police attack in Istanbul as being caused by Maoist "snipers," with the cops merely stepping in to "restore law and order." The *New York Times* claimed that "ultraleftists" were "pitted against the police and trade unionists." The *Times* of London ran a front-page headline, "39 Die as Turk Maoists Fire on May Day Rally."

This classic piece of police "disinformation" was exposed, however, by a UPI dispatch (1 May) which reported: "Witnesses said the fighting was sparked by a burst of gunfire *at* a group of Maoist marchers" (our emphasis). A much more plausible account than the official version of the events in Taksim Square was offered by the London *Financial Times* (2 May), which notes that the Turkish police who have blamed the Maoists were unable to offer any concrete proof for their story.

> "The Istanbul incident has been the culmination of violence which has been continuing since last Monday. The violence started when extreme right-wing people believed to belong to the Youth Branch of the Neo-Fascist Nationalist Action Party...violently attacked election rallies held for Mr. Bulent Ecevit [head of the Republican People's Party (RPP)]."

The Nationalist Action Party youth, known as "the grey wolves" and headed by Colonel Alparien Turkesh, have been the fangs of a reign of terror against the left since the end of the state of emergency (imposed during the 1971 Cyprus crisis) at the time of the 1973 elections. Until Sunday, most of the assassinations and gun battles have centered on the universities, claiming an estimated 180 lives in the last fourteen months (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 April). The universities, traditionally centers of the left-wing intelligentsia, have been subjected to an ongoing blood purge by the ruling right-center coalition of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel.

The Turkish working class has been crippled in its efforts to defend itself against the fascist terrorists and reactionary government by the class-collaborationist Stalinist misleadership of DISK. Although the Communist Party has been outlawed since 1924, the pro-Moscow Labor Party hungers for a deal with the RPP, especially concerning "peaceful cooperation" across the Soviet-Turkish border. While the Stalinists have thrown their weight behind the Republicans in the hopes of returning to a "left-of-center government," the RPP has formed a coalition with the

continued on page 4

Wide World

Spanish cops pursue May Day marchers through the streets of Madrid.

Crazy Terrorists Make Atom Bombs

Yes, it can happen, and it did. Fanatic international terrorists stole the materials to make their own private arsenal of nuclear weapons. It is just what the U.S. government has been warning could be the disastrous result of unrestricted trade in nuclear technology.

Hadn't Carter and Ford projected the picture of a bunch of dangerous terrorists armed with A-bombs or worse, threatening to blow up entire cities unless their demands were met? Hadn't the "responsible" press printed sketches of "comparatively easy" plans for a do-it-yourself nuclear warhead? Hadn't the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Ford Foundation, the MITRE Corporation warned about nuclear capacity falling into "the wrong hands"?

With high-sounding alarms of thermonuclear doom, the government and its paid and unpaid publicists have been screaming about the new potential for nuclear blackmail. The picture they paint is Black September with nuclear capacity. Or the Weather Underground trying to hook up a 100-megaton hydrogen bomb in a darkened Greenwich Village basement. Or a crazed engineering student fantasizing about blowing up half the world. Or a Hanafi

continued on page 5

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

Workers Must Crush Sectarian Terror ...6

Lona O Connor/Free Press

NOW leadership gives salute at Detroit convention.

At Detroit NOW Convention

"Consistent Feminists" Redbait SWP

DETROIT—The Socialist Workers Party's reformist daydream of becoming the "best builders" of the bourgeois-liberal National Organization for Women (NOW) blew up in their faces at NOW's tenth national convention here over April 22-24. For months prior to the meeting the SWP's *Militant* was full of lengthy analyses, reports and motions for the convention, all of which boiled down to more "mass actions" and bringing more minority women into the largely white, middle-class organization. Many SWP rank and filers at the conference, completely disarmed by their leadership's timid reformism and idiotic appeals to sisterhood with the tough bourgeois politicos running the conference, were shattered and reduced to tears by the vicious redbaiting they got at the conference.

Although SWP interventions in NOW have been limited to the most minimal demands, the NOW leadership, busy professionalizing their image as a respectable bourgeois lobby, was not about to tolerate any hint of "communist influence." A national conference supplement, *NOW Times*, ran a special full-page article entitled "SWP: A Study in Political Parasitism," which accused the SWP of being a vanguard party dominated by white males, asserted that many feminist groups had been disrupted and destroyed by the SWP and even compared the latter's activities in NOW to FBI and CIA infiltration of the SWP!

SWP speakers were booed at the microphones, and in the final minutes of the conference, as most SWP supporters were out of the room at a Minority Women Workshop, a full-scale attack was launched. A black NOW member announced to the delegates, "I heard that an organization has called a meeting of the Minority Women's Caucus to declare that NOW is a racist organization. That group doesn't speak for me as a minority woman." She left the mike to thunderous applause and cheering, returning moments later to announce dramatically: "I have been asked to name the organization. That organization is the Socialist Workers Party." More applause. She went on, "...the SWP is using the issue of minority rights as a tool..." and the crowd burst out into chanting "NOW Lives! NOW Lives!"

Willie Mae Reid of the SWP tried to speak, after joining in the "NOW Lives!" chorus, and managed to get out only a few words about the need to "unite" and denouncing "tactics that divide women." The cheers became boos and hisses, and SWP defenders found their microphones cut off.

WV Photo

Willie Mae Reid

A motion was made and passed overwhelmingly amidst cheers condemning the SWP: "...that this conference protest attempts by the SWP to use NOW as a vehicle to place before the public the agenda of their organization and to exploit the feminist movement. We bitterly resent and will not tolerate any group's attempts to deflect us from pursuit of our feminist goals."

The shaken SWPers regrouped after the conference adjournment to assess what had gone wrong. Mary-Alice Waters angrily condemned the redbaiting and was furious at the implication that the SWP didn't belong in NOW "as if we had ideas that were in contradiction to NOW." Waters said she didn't care if a woman was a member of the Democratic Party: "...it is irrelevant.... What counts is what her ideas are and if they can move the struggle forward." Willie Mae Reid added that "I am outraged that we were used to destroy one of the best conferences NOW has ever had."

The SWP has learned absolutely nothing from this fiasco. Of course they are more used to dishing out the kind of bureaucratic witchhunting they received, as in 1971, when Spartacist League (SL) members were expelled from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) for protesting the presence of Democratic Party politician Bella Abzug. Despite the SWP's efforts to become respected members of NOW and thus earn the right to occasionally lend their own social-democratic politics to NOW's activities, the bourgeois feminists are not about to have it. While the SL condemns the redbaiting, we are not surprised when it comes from the likes of NOW. Unlike the SWP, Trotskyists know full well that feminism is a bourgeois ideology, necessarily hostile to communism. We say openly: the only road to women's liberation is the road of class struggle. For women's liberation through proletarian revolution! ■

500 Rally Against Nazi Terror in Chicago

CHICAGO In response to a threatened march by uniformed Nazi stormtroopers in the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie, Illinois, the Survivors' Chapter of B'nai B'rith held a militant counter-demonstration April 30 on the steps of the village hall. Among the more than 500 supporters of left and Jewish organizations who participated were many survivors of the Nazi death camps. Their placards declared "Never Again—Treblinka, Dachau, Auschwitz and Buchenwald."

The demonstrators responded with derision and boos when the mayor of Skokie urged them "to let our law enforcement operate without interference" should the fascists evade a police detail and march. The Spartacist League carried militant anti-fascist slogans and picket signs—"For Workers' Defense Guards to Fight Fascist Terror," "No Platform for Fascists" and "An End to Provocation Against Blacks and Jews."

The tiny National Socialist Party of America had attempted to march despite a court injunction served against it two days earlier, but was stopped when Chicago police met the Nazis and served a second injunction April 30 at the expressway exit on the Chicago-Skokie border. However, the Nazis vow they will march on Skokie again on May 22. These home-grown Hitlerites have sworn to expand their hate campaign from terrorizing black people in Chicago's South Side to an attempt to foster anti-semitism in the North Shore suburbs. Frank Collin, the group's self-styled Führer boasts that "last summer in Marquette Park we had 10,000 people out wearing swastika T-shirts and yelling 'six million more'" (*Chicago Jewish Post and Opinion*, April 1977).

The recent provocations here have come in the context of a general rightward shift in the American political climate, which has encouraged a variety of fascists grouplets to stick up their heads from the underbrush. As well as the threatened Skokie rally, a demonstration was called in downtown Los Angeles this weekend, and a Klan cross-burning has been threatened in New York City. In San Francisco the two-bit imitation Hitlers had the gall to open a bookstore directly across the street from a synagogue, whereupon it was promptly trashed by irate community residents.

The militant rally on Saturday contrasted sharply with the pleas of many religious and community leaders to "ignore" the fascist provocations. When the Nazis announced last November their intention to move into heavily Jewish areas, the Midwest regional office of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League warned against counter-demonstrations and stated its position of defense of the Nazis' "constitutional rights."

At a follow-up rally on May 1 at the parking lot of the Temple Judea, called officially by synagogue leaders, speakers congratulated the crowd for its restraint, assuring it that the Bill of Rights means "it can't happen here" and hailing the police "who came out to save and defend Jewish and human honor." (The speakers failed to note that the police—the uniformed agents of the bourgeois state—were among those racist thugs hurling rocks and bottles at civil rights marchers in Marquette Park last summer.)

Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) was holding its "own" anti-fascist, anti-apartheid demonstration on the empty steps of Skokie Village Hall. Chanting loudly to themselves, RSL members herded young anti-apartheid militants, wearing yellow and red hard hats, to the tune of pick-up-the-gun rhetoric such as, "What Are We For, Class War—How Is It Done, With a Gun." The arrival of six members of the Surrealist group carrying the anarchist black flag only completed the already bizarre spectacle of the mock bravado of this sect posturing to itself.

Rumors that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) would come out from New York to Saturday's Skokie rally did not materialize. But while the crowd was unconvinced by appeals to trust in capitalist law and order, the militant Zionism of many of the participants could lead them into the arms of such ultra-rightist thugs. In Israel the JDL is itself fascist, using the same terror tactics against West Bank Arabs as the neo-Nazis direct against blacks and Jews in Chicago.

WV Photo

Anti-Nazi demonstration in Skokie, Illinois.

This is not only reactionary but suicidal, like Zionism in general. While the Nazis are a tiny bunch of Hitler-loving nuts, the Marquette Park demonstration took on serious proportions precisely because the Nazis were able to combine with native American fascists of the Ku Klux Klan and exploit white racism. No JDL or even the mass of the American Jewish population by itself will crush a serious fascist threat.

The working class can and must be mobilized in the fight against fascism. In the Chicago South Side area many black trade unionists were themselves subjected to threats and harassment at the time of the Marquette Park demonstrations and would respond eagerly to a call for workers' defense. Defense efforts led by the 100,000-man integrated steel workers union would quickly put the fascist scum in their place. ■

Bitter Philadelphia Transit Strike in Sixth Week

PHILADELPHIA—The bitter strike of 5,000 Philadelphia transit workers, members of Local 234 of the Transit Workers Union (TWU) against the Southeast Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) has entered its sixth week. In the face of a massive scare campaign by the bourgeois media to discredit the striking workers and drum up adverse public opinion, the determination of the subway, bus and trolley drivers and maintenance workers remains unbroken.

The official union demands are for a 60-cent increase the first year and a 40-cent increase the next, as well as more rapid implementation of pension and cost-of-living increases. SEPTA, however, is offering a piddling 60-cent wage increase spread over two years, far less than the $1.10 the union won in its last strike in 1975 and wholly inadequate simply to keep up with inflation.

The determined resistance of the TWU ranks has been in spite of, not because of, its leadership. The strike began officially on March 24 only after the membership turned down the SEPTA offer by a vote of 2,500 to 1,700, despite vigorous efforts by Local president Ned LeDonne to win approval. LeDonne has come under widespread attack for his handling of the strike, even from generally more conservative older workers. There was never any organized picketing, and now even major terminals go unpicketed. Refusing to schedule any membership meetings, LeDonne is deliberately keeping the rank and file disorganized and in the dark about negotiations—a conscious attempt to breed demoralization.

When transit workers critical of LeDonne scheduled an unofficial demonstration April 25 to show their support for the strike, LeDonne suddenly appeared, seeking to refurbish his tarnished reputation with fake militant rhetoric about standing up to the city bosses. Hoping to upstage his critics, LeDonne also boasted that he would schedule a mass union rally later that week.

But only two days later, Mayor Rizzo called his bluff and the union hack quickly folded. In front of major news media at the Sheraton Hotel, where negotiations were taking place, Rizzo confronted LeDonne: "I heard you were putting the bum rap on me a couple of days ago and I don't like it. Everything's Frank Rizzo in this town. Nothing moves without him." When Rizzo returned to the lobby a half hour later:

> "LeDonne trotted after him and caught up with him on the sidewalk. Rizzo resumed his tongue lashing, saying 'Frank Rizzo is all you've got. I'm the only one who's done anything for you.' "'I ain't banged you since Monday,' LeDonne broke in. 'Just 'cause some guys in the rank and file are talking don't mean I'm talking.' LeDonne assured the mayor that today's demonstration had been postponed. LeDonne came back into the hotel lobby, grinning and sighing with relief, 'Jeez, if he gets mad at us the show's over.'"
>
> *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28 April

Ranks Resist Maneuvers

Even prior to the contract rejection it was clear that LeDonne and his clique would be facing strong opposition from the ranks. There is widespread support among the membership to force the rehiring of 180 union members still laid off after a series of transit cutbacks last spring.

At a union strike-vote meeting on March 6, attended by over half the Local 234 membership, LeDonne was confronted by shouting, foot-stomping workers. After several unsuccessful attempts to bureaucratically silence the questions and shouts which came pouring out of the audience, LeDonne finally screamed in exasperation, "You think I'm going to take 5,000 people out of work for the sake of 180 people? You're crazy!"

But the ranks would not allow LeDonne off the hook so easily. Finally, in an attempt to avoid being pinned down on contract demands, he cynically maneuvered a strike authorization vote and adjournment. A call for "solidarity" brought several hundred of the audience to their feet, as many to shout down the leadership as to applaud it. LeDonne then seized the microphone and called for a vote on his strike motion. Confusion reigned, and as some of the membership began to seat themselves while others rose, LeDonne declared the motion carried "by standing vote" and adjourned the meeting.

With this "endorsement" in his pocket, LeDonne negotiated the sellout deal later turned down by the membership. Not only was the wage offer pitiful, but LeDonne & Co. turned a cold shoulder on the felt desire of the membership to restore service cuts, rehire laid-off workers and halt the planned 10- to 15-cent fare increase.

Fearful of the inevitable reaction of his ranks to this sellout, LeDonne refused to disclose its terms. Instead, he simply called off the strike thirty minutes before its midnight, March 14 deadline! Rather than facing his membership, he at first refused to schedule a meeting to consider the contract, then scheduled a ratification vote two weeks later, when hopefully the ranks would have cooled down.

LeDonne's maneuver was not successful. Angered by this piece of treachery, well over 200 drivers protested the deal by closing down three major terminals on March 15. SEPTA management seized the opportunity to fire 15 workers. But instead of defending the victimized workers, LeDonne closeted himself with the SEPTA management and reached an agreement that, in return for dropping any grievances they might file, the fired workers would be rehired ..with a thirty-day unpaid suspension!

Even this shabby attempt to demoralize opposition to the sellout failed and the contract was rejected. But if LeDonne did not succeed in preventing a walkout, his conduct of the strike is designed to insure its defeat: his stated willingness to compromise on the union's wage demands, kowtowing to Rizzo, failure to maintain picket lines, etc.

Potential for Broad Labor Support

In fact, transit workers are in a good position to win broad labor support. Shortly after Rizzo's re-election a massive budget deficit was suddenly "discovered." In its aftermath there have been cutbacks in social services and layoffs of city employees. Now a new round of layoffs of hundreds of public school teachers threatens. Disgruntlement with Rizzo is no longer confined largely to a small group of liberals and the city's racial minorities, but increasingly affects organized labor as well.

The cutbacks in transit service and the threatened fare hike have been particularly unpopular. Last October community groups protesting reduced service, blockaded SEPTA depots for brief periods. Drivers refused to cross their lines. While these actions did not achieve success, they clearly pointed to the fact that a TWU-led struggle for more transit jobs and halting cutbacks and fare increases would receive broad support from the city's working population.

But LeDonne has flatly refused to raise the demand of no fare hike and is not even fighting for the jobs of the 180 laid-off transit workers. Instead, he continually issues defeatist statements, such as: "...to get the public on our side at this point is really a lost cause" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 7 April).

LeDonne's woeful and widely discredited handling of the strike has isolated him from the rank and file. In the absence of any organizational outlet for the ranks' anger, more or less by default the role of opposition spokesman has fallen in part to Driving Force, a group in Local 234 supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). While Driving Force has publicized a number of LeDonne's betrayals, its strategy has been to tail-end the spontaneous militancy of the membership.

Driving Force helped initiate the Coalition for a Decent Contract. The coalition was active in organizing the contract rejection vote, but it has no strategy to win the strike. It has mainly provided a convenient forum for aspiring out-bureaucrats who, with local elections approaching next September, are not unhappy at being able to embarrass LeDonne over his conduct of the strike. Other than that, it exists largely as a pressure group on the bureaucracy, alternately criticizing it and calling on it to lead the fight. Thus its members have demonstrated outside negotiations with signs reading, "Give 'Em Hell, Ned" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 6 April).

What is crucially necessary—and what the coalition has never raised—is an elected strike committee. Only through such an instrument could leadership of the strike be wrested from the treacherous hands of LeDonne and be made to serve the interests of the membership.

While correctly opposing a fare hike, Driving Force calls for diverting $300 million earmarked for constructing a tunnel connecting two downtown commuter train terminals—to subsidize mass transit. This is a typical reformist gimmick, which has been supported by a number of community groups. Cutbacks in social services are a result of a declining economic situation and cannot be whisked away by "reordering priorities," juggling finances, playing off construction workers against transit workers, etc. Only a united working-class response can reverse the layoffs

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WV Photo

Protest Conviction of Leonard Peltier

—reprinted from *Spartacist Canada* No. 16, May 1977.

American Indian Movement (AIM) militant Leonard Peltier was convicted on April 18 of frame-up murder charges stemming from the 1975 shooting death of two FBI agents in South Dakota's Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Although the prosecution has waived the death penalty, Peltier faces possible life imprisonment.

The railroading of Peltier is part of an intensive FBI campaign against AIM, which began following the 1973 armed occupation of Wounded Knee. The vendetta continued into the Fargo, North Dakota, courtroom where, on the recommendation of the U.S. marshal's office, Peltier was denied the right to a public trial for "security reasons."

Peltier was extradited from Canada on the order of Justice Minister Ron Basford late last year following an intensive defense campaign. His conviction adds to the large number of AIM leaders and other Indian militants who have fallen victim to the concerted FBI attempt to destroy the militant Indian movement.

Peltier's lawyers have announced their intention to appeal his case before the courts. The left and labor movement must continue to mount a concerted protest to reverse the racist frame-up of Peltier and to stop the attacks on AIM. Leonard Peltier must go free!

Neal Boenzi/NYT

FBI agents on the steps of U.S. Court House in New York City applauded indicted agent, John Kearney.

Jail the FBI/CIA Criminals!

On April 17 some 300 FBI agents massed in NYC on the steps of Foley Square courthouse in a threatening attempt to halt the criminal proceedings against FBI former supervisor, John Kearney. When Kearney arrived by car at the courthouse, the grimly silent, business-suited agents broke into applause.

Patrick Conner, a special agent in the New York Office, spoke to Kearney and to the political point of this mobilization of the domestic political police: the FBI agents were demonstrating, he said, to "give testament to your just and moral leadership over a period of years in the fight against the enemies of our nation, namely—anarchy and terrorism" (*New York Times*, 15 April 1977). Thereupon the "just and moral" leader went inside the courthouse to plead "not guilty" to charges of conspiracy, illegal wiretapping and mail opening during the 1970-72 FBI search-and-destroy operations against the Weatherman organization.

Kearney supervised the 60-man "Squad 47" of the New York City field office, a special anti-"red" outfit which regularly burgled, wiretapped and opened so much mail that they talked about the "mail run." No doubt, Kearney's "just and moral leadership" of "Squad 47" involved more than just illegal wiretapping and illegally reading the mail, but it was for these crimes brought to the attention of a federal grand jury that Kearney got caught. He is the first FBI agent ever to be indicted on felony charges.

This trial comes in the wake of the Watergate exposures as the government attempts to posture as if it will clean up its criminal secret police agencies. Faced with these exposures it has been forced under public pressure to prosecute a few token criminals in its secret police force. The recent FBI mobilization and general propaganda counteroffensive by the "intelligence communities" and their friends is an effort to turn the tide of opinion, to offer the government a basis to drop the charges and stop the investigations of the murderous activities of the FBI/CIA.

Although none of the agents at the Foley Square mobilization would answer newsmen's questions about who had organized the action, this show of secret police strength was certainly orchestrated at the highest circles of government. In Washington, FBI director Clarence Kelley's statement gave official sanction to this move to take the heat off his agents and their criminal activities. Kelley said he was "deeply troubled" by the indictment of his agent.

When Kelley says, "I intend to use every means at my command to assure that his [Kearney's] predicament is resolved as soon as possible" (*New York Times*, 15 April), he is not only talking about sending his agents on demonstrations. His main chance is obviously with the prosecuting branches of government who also want to get the FBI off the hook. Kelley's statement explained that he was "working with Attorney General Griffin Bell" to "acquaint him with all the factors."

These "factors" are well known. The FBI is a snake pit of government-organized crime. The agents who mounted the steps of the Foley Square courthouse as well as the "deeply troubled" Kelley are worried about more than the fate of Kearney. They are worried about more FBI exposures and a pattern of token "clean-up" prosecutions. They are haunted by the prospect that more such prosecutions will be sought if the full truth were known about more than 100 illegal burglaries of the Socialist Workers Party offices that have already been admitted.

And what about the decades of provocation and disruption of the left, black and labor movements? If some FBI agents are placed in the dock there may be other more damning exposures, more public outrage and a momentum for more prosecutions at a time when the "intelligence community" is trying, in the words of ex-CIA director William Colby, to "swing the pendulum back again." So it is not for the public that the bonapartist FBI demonstration was staged, but for the government itself.

Consider the case of the CIA, says Kelley. CIA agents were exposed not only for the crimes on which Kearney was indicted, but also for assassinations and attempted assassinations. Yet the CIA was not hauled into court. The Justice Department decided in its "wisdom" that justice and "national security" would best be served if they simply refused to prosecute. So the director of the FBI asks for the same treatment for his hired thugs, so they can continue to operate openly outside the law:

> "I have asked the Attorney General to review the matter again in the same light that was afforded the CIA. The thrust of the department's resolution of that matter was based on the principle that it is not possible to 'indict an era'."

Of course it is not at all a question of indicting an entire "era," but of indicting an entire secret police force. And this capitalism will never do. The entire FBI

continued on page 11

Bloody May Day...

(continued from page 1)

Muslim-communalist National Salvation Party. With the labor movement thus tied to the class enemy and held back from a revolutionary offensive, the way has been laid open for an anti-communist offensive by the military and Turkish's "grey wolves."

Spain

Casualty figures from the police riot in Madrid have not reached the levels of the bloodbath in Istanbul, but the political consequences of Bloody May Day in Spain could send shock waves through Europe. While the government promotes an image of peaceful reform, the country has been tottering on the brink of a working-class explosion for months.

As in Turkey, it was Communist Party (PCE) appetites for a popular-front government which set up workers for a police riot. Instead of mobilizing a massive May Day demonstration, the reformist-controlled labor organizations left many isolated groups of demonstrators to be the victims of riot police horsewhips, truncheons and rubber bullets. (Last year the PCE did the same, abandoning the streets to the fascists and holding a picnic in a downtown park while cops attacked "far-leftists.")

The police rampage against gatherings in Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao has left many hundreds injured, some quite seriously. After the tear gas, smoke grenades and bullets sent demonstrators fleeing through the streets, mounted police charged through the park, toppling tables in outdoor cafes, lacerating picnicking families with their foot-long whips and shooting indiscriminately at onlookers. Significantly, even foreign correspondents were subjected to vicious beatings, something hardly designed to improve the regime's image abroad. In the best Francoist tradition, the government which proclaims "Spanish democracy" ordered the media to remain silent about the cop assault.

The bloody May Day incidents reveal the bonapartist reality behind the reform image of the government of Adolfo Suárez. Having legalized the PCE and promised elections for June 15, the Francoist monarchy calculated it could permit die-hard Falangists and the trigger-happy special police forces to blow off steam by banning May Day demonstrations. During the attack, victims were often forced to give the fascist salute in order to stop the beatings. They were whipped until they would shout, "Up with Spain." UPI reported that in the downtown area cops were aided by the guns of "suspected right-wing extremists."

This is hardly the first time such incidents have occurred since Franco's death. In March 1976 riot police opened fire unprovoked on strikers meeting in a Catholic church in Vitoria, and shortly afterwards fascists ambushed a Carlist gathering in the Basque country. In February, there was the brutal slaying of five lawyers associated with the PCE-dominated workers commissions at their office in Madrid's Atocha district. In every instance the reformists have sought to hold back the masses' outrage, always with the argument of the impending danger of a military coup by the ultra-rightist "bunker."

The workers commissions formally "defied" the ban on May Day demonstrations, although they clearly did not mobilize to achieve the protection of hundreds of thousands marching in the streets. Thus the PCE allows some workers and "ultra-leftists" to be sacrificed in order to demonstrate its "responsibility" (to the Francoist monarchy, which it recently hailed as "legitimate"). Only last month, Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo called off a scheduled rally to celebrate legalization of the PCE in order to please Suárez and placate Falangist hard-liners.

Even now the Spanish workers are rising in protest against the murderous attack of the dictatorship's police run amok. Demanding release of the May Day prisoners, wildcat strikes have broken out at John Deere and Kelvinator factories in the Madrid area. But as was the case following the Atocha assassinations, the PCE can be counted on to sabotage and limit these protests instead of expanding them into a mammoth popular mobilization against the decrepit Francoist regime. After all, Carrillo will say, we don't want to disturb public tranquility with elections so close; it would only isolate the workers from their allies in the Coordinación Democrática.

But as May Day shows, the PCE's popular-front "moderation" is what really isolates the workers and disarms them politically before their most deadly foes. It is not a handful of Christian Democratic politicians who are the true allies of the most militant sectors of the proletariat, but the rest of the working people who have come out in support of one anti-government demonstration after another over the last year and a half. Once again the tragic lesson of the Spanish Civil War has been confirmed: the popular front means the blood of the workers will flow.

Bloody May Day 1977 has demon-

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strated the depth of the crisis of revolutionary leadership throughout the world. In the southern tier of Europe a combative proletariat finds its hands tied by Stalinist popular frontism. In Peking, Tien An Men Square is filled with Hua posters as May Day is manipulated by Stalinist personality cultism; the Kremlin rulers are so stupefied by their rhetoric of "peaceful co-existence" that they won't even show off their big guns on Red Square any more, for fear of damaging the moth-eaten fabric of détente. And in the U.S., with one of the potentially strongest battalions of the world working class? The AFL-CIO, as always, refuses to recognize the international workers' day; the government sponsors "Law Day" (in the midst of renewed controversy about illegal FBI break-ins), and 200,000 Zionists demonstrate against the Soviet Union in lower Manhattan.

The revolutionary future of the proletariat depends on the construction of an international Bolshevik, Trotskyist party whose unswerving struggle for socialism will avenge the martyrs of this tragic, bloody May Day. ■

Steel...

(continued from page 12)

Conference in Washington, which voted narrowly to approve the contract, the president of every basic steel local in the district except one, including even some McBride supporters, voted against the contract.

Were the Sadlowski forces who run this district genuine class-struggle militants, they would immediately convene a district conference to dump the ENA and the contract. District 31, with well over 100,000 steel workers, has enormous impact on the union. Were such a district conference to prepare for strike action and appeal to the rest of the membership to go out in solidarity, ENA could be smashed.

But Sadlowski has no desire to mount a real struggle against the contract. During the USWA elections Sadlowski, and particularly his apologists on the left, claimed repeatedly that his Steelworkers Fight Back was not simply a vehicle for getting into office. Two months later, when Abel announced his sellout contract, Steelworkers Fight Back is nowhere to be seen. Not one mass rally, not even a nationally distributed leaflet to the membership. And certainly not a hint of a strike.

In fact, Sadlowski would have nothing at all to propose to the membership save taking the contract to arbitration. As he stated during his campaign, Sadlowski considers ENA binding as long as it is legally in effect (no matter how undemocratically it was rammed down the throats of steel workers). And Balanoff was reported on radio as having said that the membership would just have to live with the settlement.

To be sure, Sadlowski did berate the agreement as expected, and Balanoff called it a "big zero." It's easy to criticize this patent sellout deal while doing nothing to mobilize the rank and file. But this cheap talk won't put a single dime in the pocket of a steel worker, provide a single job or eliminate one unsafe working condition in the mills.

The reformist groupings in the USWA have been uncritically enthusing over local union condemnations of the contract. A 19 April newsletter of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), which is supported by the Communist Party (CP), hailed a resolution passed at Local 1557 (U.S. Steel's Clairton Coke Works outside Pittsburgh), which called for a special convention to establish membership ratification of the contract, but which said nothing about dumping ENA.

But even this minimal step was undercut by its call for reconvening of the Basic Steel Industry Conference to revote the contract. The NSRFC claims that Locals were not given voting rights in proportion to their size at the conference meeting in Washington. While it is undoubtedly true that the meeting in Washington was conducted undemocratically, the concern of militant steel workers should not be limited to such proprieties. Ratification rights do not belong with the 800-member Basic Steel Industry Conference, but with 350,000 basic steel workers.

However, the NSRFC commits a more fundamental betrayal. By refusing to call for smashing ENA it makes a farce out of any opposition to the contract. Under ENA, even were a contract to be rejected, it would go to compulsory arbitration—a major step backwards.

The major concern of NSRFC, however, is not the interests of steel workers but the careers of the Sadlowskis and the Balanoffs, whom it uncritically supported. Any call for strike action would expose these do-nothing opportunists. So the NSRFC is content to confine itself to pressure tactics designed to embarrass Abel, McBride & Co., but not to provide a program for victory to steel workers.

The smaller but equally reformist grouping around *The Steelworker*, which is supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), called a demonstration April 22 outside USWA headquarters in Pittsburgh. Only about 120 people picketed, of whom perhaps half were steel workers. Like most events called by these slightly reconstructed New Leftists, this one had a gimmick: mock rejection ballots, solicited at plant gates and containing names and local union numbers of the signers, were handed over to the International. This was apparently designed to demonstrate to the bureaucracy that the membership was displeased with the contract. Of course, this entirely misses the point. Even the ossified bureaucrats in Pittsburgh know full well the disposition of the membership, without the assistance of the *Steelworker* grouping. Such gimmicky demonstrations serve only to let frustrated workers blow off steam, while completely failing to present them with a class-struggle strategy to turn back defeat. But *The Steelworker*, which also supported Sadlowski, has no such strategy.

In at least one local union the reformist strategy of Sadlowski and his supporters was challenged. At a Local 65 meeting April 13, a motion was put forward by local trustee Roberta Woods, an NSRFC supporter, to condemn the basic steel contract and to commend the local president, John Chico, for voting against it in Washington. A motion was then advanced which clearly counterposed a militant strategy to this mere protest tactic. The motion, which was printed in a leaflet distributed at a subsequent union meeting by its authors, called for rejecting the contract and convening a special union convention to reject ENA, institute rank-and-file ratification and prepare for industry-wide strike action:

> "Whereas, the recently settled steel contract, approved by less than a third of the members of the Basic Steel Industry Conference and negotiated behind the backs of the membership, represents a wretched betrayal of the interests of steelworkers, and
>
> "Whereas, this settlement further exposes the total bankruptcy of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement and of the International's longstanding policy of denying its membership the right to ratify the contract,
>
> "Therefore be it resolved that USWA Local Union No. 65 denies the legitimacy of the recent settlement and demands the reopening of the contract, and
>
> "Be it further resolved that USWA Local Union No. 65 will concentrate its efforts and resources toward the convocation of a special convention for the purpose of:
>
> 1) Repudiating the recent settlement,
> 2) Rejecting the ENA and all compulsory arbitration schemes,
> 3) Securing an industry-wide vote on the settlement, and
> 4) Preparing for the eventuality of strike action against the steel industry."

According to the leaflet, this motion was subsequently voted down. Both the NSRFC supporters, who put out the "Local 65 Rank and File Voice," and the Breakout group, which is aligned with *The Steelworker*, refused to support this motion. Both abstained, preferring simply to vote against the agreement and to commend Chico.

While the reformists were lavishing praise on Chico, the Local bureaucrats were proving that they had learned a trick or two from the International. Local 65 officials returned with an abysmal local contract that had been signed in Pittsburgh before its terms had ever been revealed to the membership. This created a certain amount of furor in the Local, particularly inasmuch as Chico had run for office as a Sadlowski supporter, supposedly committed to "union democracy."

Local 65 members who attended a special union meeting on April 25 told *WV* that a motion was put forward by a group of union officers and others, including supporters of the "Voice," which called for a vote on the local contract. Chico informed them that the right to vote was restricted to "unresolved issues." Since the contract had already been signed, it was not "unresolved."

However, Chico indicated that he would permit a straw vote to get a sense of the membership. This meaningless and cynical gesture, which provides that the contract would remain in force even if solidly rejected by the membership, was accepted without a murmur by the ostensible "champions of democracy" who had called for a vote. Of course, the "Voice" and most of its bloc partners had supported Chico, and did not want a confrontation with him.

Despite the deep resentment within the ranks of steel workers at the Abel/McBride contract, a struggle will not be waged against it by Sadlowski, Balanoff, their local supporters and the reformist hangers-on. All of them simply wish to "make the record" as opponents of this unpopular agreement They are all committed to accepting the no-strike ENA framework as long as it remains the "law," a position made amply clear during the elections and afterward.

Steel workers are not about to wage a fight against this rotten contract only to see it turned over to compulsory arbitration. The needs of the USWA ranks can only be addressed through industry-wide strike action—for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay; for full plant-wide seniority to combat discrimination by the company; for union control of health and safety conditions, a big wage hike and full cost-of-living protection. This requires that ENA be smashed now! Unless such militant class-struggle policies are pursued, the legitimate anger of steel workers will only dissipate itself into frustration and demoralization. ■

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Crazy Terrorists...

(continued from page 1)

Muslim outraged beyond reason, thirsting for revenge.

Last week American nuclear expert Paul Leventhal told the Conference for a Non-Nuclear Future in Salzburg, Austria about the dramatic disappearance of 400,000 pounds of uranium. He described how a German freighter left the port of Antwerp in 1968 with enough uranium to manufacture nearly a gross of nuclear warheads. The ship appeared to vanish on the high seas. Weeks later, it reappeared with a new name, a new flag, a new crew—but no uranium. To this day the uranium has never been officially accounted for.

Where did it end up? In some Provo IRA hovel in Derry alongside the sticks of gelignite and stacks of Armalite rifles? In Muammar Qaddafi's Libyan "Revolutionland"? In the hands of an airplane highjacker with death-wish delusions? Or maybe it was Idi Amin?

No, it appears that the mad bombers who made off with the 200 tons of uranium were the U.S.'s firmest ally in the Near East—the Zionist butchers of Israel. Various "sources," American and European intelligence officials and nuclear experts, told a *New York Times* reporter, that all signs point to Israel, which in 1968 was one of the few countries in possession of the heavy-water reactor capable of processing uranium ore and plutonium necessary for the manufacture of atomic weapons. The *Times* article (29 April) quoted a former U.S. intelligence expert who said he had seen reports that Israel had obtained uranium in the U.S. "by surreptious and illegal means."

Israel of course stonewalls on the question of whether it has produced nuclear weapons. Its standing assertion is the discomfiting: "Israel will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons to the Middle East." But why should anyone believe them? The Zionist butchers have more than once demonstrated their boundless capacity for state terror, their impulse to genocide. The scare campaign about atomic Weathermen pales beside the image of the savage saturation bombers of Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon armed with nuclear weapons. For the state-of-siege fanatics in Tel Aviv—who have already slaughtered entire village populations in "retaliation," who shot down a Libyan passenger airliner—the firing of nuclear death into Cairo, Damascus or Baghdad would be a simple extension of their claim to the god-given "right" of apocalypse.

Leventhal's Salzburg speech was intended to embarrass the U.S.'s allies into acquiescing to American supervision of processing and resale of nuclear fuels. The U.S. is the major international supplier of uranium and has sold nuclear reactors to favored "free world" allies: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, Spain and Pakistan. Now the American imperialists piously blather about stopping "nuclear proliferation," stalling plutonium deals and curtailing uranium sales, tightening security at U.S. nuclear facilities, and so forth.

The spectre of atomic-armed terrorists reflects the American bourgeoisie's desire to limit the ability of contentious imperialist and sub-imperialist powers to challenge U.S. nuclear blackmail. In the name of "responsibility," U.S. imperialism—the mad bombers of Dresden, the mass murderers of Hiroshima, the terror bombers of Vietnam—take it upon themselves to decide when mankind will be incinerated. ■

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British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

Workers Must Crush Sectarian Terror

by David Strachan

We print below the edited text of a talk by Comrade Strachan of the London Spartacist Group, delivered at a Spartacist League forum in New York on March 14.

Our topic tonight is "Leninism, the National Question and Ireland." Why Ireland? It's a fairly small place, only about four million people. The death rate is very low much, much lower than Lebanon or Cyprus recently. In fact the murder rate in Glasgow presently is much higher than in Northern Ireland, and I imagine it's much higher still in New York. So why Ireland?

Well, first of all, the fact that things are very quiet there at the moment does not indicate relative social peace. There are between 15,000 and 20,000 British troops in Northern Ireland. It is a very fragile social peace imposed by the brute force of the British army. And if the British army were removed immediately, the prospect would be one of massive bloodshed.

There is a more important reason which we've had to deal with in London, and that is the impact in Britain. The question of Ireland is a crucial test of the revolutionary integrity of the British left-wing groups, and the ability to analyze Ireland is a touchstone for self-proclaimed Marxists everywhere. Currently the question of Ireland provides a crucial test, and I believe a confirmation, of the unique position of the international Spartacist tendency in upholding Leninism on the national question.

For internationalist communists who reject the simple, ultimately genocidal logic of the nationalists, the complex situation in Ireland may seem to be utterly intractable. There have been 800 years of English oppression in Ireland and we have a situation there today which combines features which have been classically associated with a variety of types of colonial and imperial oppression The situation in Northern Ireland resembles in some ways the classic colonial situation, in which a colonial administration administers, oppresses and exploits the native population. But it also resembles the situation where you have a colonial settler people who wipe out or expel the original native population. And, as well, it resembles the features which are classically associated with the multinational empires in eastern Europe.

However, tonight, rather than giving a run-down of the history of Ireland and an up-to-date account of the current events there, I want to concentrate on the programmatic questions.

British Troops Out!

Toward the middle of last year the eminent British historian A. J. P. Taylor was interviewed on the BBC. He had a number of things to say that considerably disturbed bourgeois opinion in Britain He said quite simply and bluntly that the British should get the hell out of Ireland. He said that the presence of the British army fundamentally oppresses the Catholic Irish people and that nothing progressive can come through the presence of the British army. So I want to start by asserting than an essential plank for any revolutionary analysis and program for Ireland must be the demand for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army.

That should be obvious to revolutionists, but unfortunately it isn't very widely held. In the British Labour Party, with all its "lefts," who are forever willing to sign this and that petition and to take up this and that socialist cause which is as remote as possible from their immediate interests, there is not one MP [Member of Parliament], no matter how left he claims to be, who is clearly for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army. The Communist Party of Great Britain [CPGB] has a position that the British army should withdraw to the barracks. The "Official" wing of the IRA has a position that the British army should withdraw from working-class areas; and a number of other organizations, including the "Provisional" IRA, have a position that the British army should set a date for its withdrawal.

Even among the organizations of the far left, the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, there is a readiness to abandon this essential plank For example the International Marxist Group [IMG], the fraternal organization of the American Socialist Workers Party [SWP], which was formerly on the extreme left of the United Secretariat, is currently moving more and more rightward. At the time of the Bloody Sunday commemoration marches last year it had a position not for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal but for "End British Involvement," a nice vague plank They hoped through this to attract some sympathy from the Communist Party They didn't, but their willingness to take up some vague slogan like this in order to get a little bit closer to the Communist Party is indicative not only of their opportunism but of their inability to confront and stand up against British imperialism.

It should also be obvious that the "Troops Out" demand by itself will not solve the problem. The historian Taylor recognizes this to his credit. He says that, of course, there will be some sort of settlement reached after the troops get out; but then he was asked if he thought there would be unity of the people on the island His answer was that this is a matter of relative strength. He acknowledges that the solution may be imposed by one party or another. He acknowledges that civil wars and bloodshed can solve these questions.

P. Michael O'Sullivan

Bloody Sunday, January, 1972—British troops opened fire on demonstrators protesting against internment.

Now almost all the British groups of the far left present the "Troops Out" demand either as having some inherently revolutionary connotations or else as an application of the demand for self-determination for the Irish people as a whole. The assumption that if you just demand "Troops Out" everything will go fine is tied to their understanding of the applicability of the demand for self-determination in Ireland.

I want to take as an example the International Marxist Group again. It says in one of the IMG newspapers, "The right of Ireland to national freedom is merely the basic democratic right of all oppressed peoples to determine their own destiny, free from all outside interference and control. It means the right to control their own economy, decide on their own political system in relation with other countries and the right to develop their own national culture."

That is not the Leninist position on self-determination. Leninists are opposed to all forms of national oppression and to all national privileges. The right of self-determination means simply the right to establish your own political state. It does not say anything about economic independence, or about some conception of utopian freedom from outside interference.

In the general sense the demand for self-determination is unconditional. That is, we do not when we raise it place conditions with regard to the question of the class nature of the state that emerges or of the leadership. However, the demand is not a categorical imperative to be raised everywhere and at all times, even for oppressed nations. It is a subordinate part of the whole revolutionary program. It is one of a range of bourgeois-democratic demands which must be a part, but only a part, of the revolutionary program.

So we can recognize the right of self-determination for a nation and then argue against its exercise. For instance, that is the position of the international Spartacist tendency at this time with regard to Quebec. The demand must be subordinate to the overall considerations of the class struggle.

No to Sectarian Slaughter!

I wanted to make these points to establish that the demand for self-determination is not something that must always be raised It has to be evaluated in terms of the general considerations of the class struggle. And, in particular, where the exercise of self-determination for one people means that they will, in fact, deny that right to another people, then it ceases to be a democratic demand. This arises with interpenetrated peoples, where two peoples are living intermingled on the same territory

I want to argue that this is the case in Ireland, that if you simply demand self-determination (a demand which does not transcend the bounds of capitalism), you are condemning the working masses to further rounds of communal bloodshed, massive population transfers and genocide. Those who want to argue that in Ireland the crucial demand is "self-determination for the Irish nation" must face the implications of what they are saying. That is, they are for the forcible reunification of the island under a bourgeois regime, irre-

spective of the wishes of the Protestants.

Many of the British left-wing groups don't want to face up to this, so they argue that there's some transcendental dynamic that will make everything work out fine. Sixty percent of the population of Northern Ireland a quarter of the population of the whole island will just give up or get caught up in this revolutionary dynamic and, as the IMG claims, "The working class will have the opportunity to unite for socialism and peace." Just like that!

It ought to be obvious to everyone but the most myopic and the most nationalist that getting the troops out will not by itself solve things. There are more than 100,000 *registered* guns in Ulster. The vast majority of them are in the hands of the Protestants who are well-trained, well-organized and quite determined. As the "Unionist" slogan goes, "Ulster will fight. Ulster will be right." And they very well might win, certainly against the IRA and even against the Irish regular army.

The reality of the situation is that a number of possibilities are posed if the British troops get out. There can be the consolidation of a Protestant "Zionist" state, accompanied by forcible population transfers, genocide, etc. There could be a reversal of the terms of oppression. That is, the Irish Catholic state consolidated on the whole island, with the Protestants becoming the new Palestinians. There could be a situation like Cyprus, a new boundary change.

We should also keep in mind what happened in Lebanon, where the most "progressive" Arab state, Syria, the supposed best friends of the Palestinian liberation movement, intervened and blocked with the Christians to smash the Moslem forces. No doubt it will turn around and smash the Christian forces as well. The Irish Catholic state might act in the very same way: intervene in Northern Ireland (with, of course, the support of British imperialism), smash the radical Irish nationalists and then turn on the Protestants. After all, the Irish bourgeoisie has already fought a civil war with the more radical nationalists, so why shouldn't that happen?

Now I don't want to speculate on what is the most likely possibility. *All* these possibilities pose the likelihood of massive communal bloodshed. So I want to stress that the "Troops Out" demand must be linked to a revolutionary, communist program that can set the basis for working-class unity.

Britain Playing the Orange Card?

In association with the call for "Troops Out" and the false assumption that this will lead to the collapse of Protestant opposition, there is an argument that maintenance of the artificial Orange statelet, the six counties of Ulster, is absolutely essential to the interests of British imperialism in Ireland. So I want to look briefly at the motivations of (and tensions within) British imperialism. It's clear, at this point, that the Northern Ireland statelet is not necessarily part of the British strategy in Ireland. They have used the Orange card in the past but it's a nuisance today.

British imperialism's approach to Ireland has always been much more complicated than the simplistic analyses that are often put forward. Up to 1912 the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie was aiming for a near-colonial "independent" state. This was stopped and opposed by a block of the Protestants, the officer corps of the British army and the landed aristocracy. Nowadays the border is anachronistic to the general intentions of British imperialism. It gets in the way of business: the desire to invest in the south and the fact that the industry in the north is decaying, run down.

They have a problem. If they try to hand over Northern Ireland to the southern Republic they are going to run into a civil war, because the Irish Catholic bourgeoisie is not strong enough to control the situation. And given the hostility of the Protestants there will be one. So what British imperialism is trying to do is continue business as usual, invest as much as possible and try and keep the lid on things.

They made a big attempt last year at power-sharing, to get the moderate Catholics and the moderate Protestants together, that failed due to opposition from the Protestant hard-liners. So they are now trying a mixture of economic pressure, increasing the power of the police forces and agencies in Northern Ireland (for instance, rearming the Royal Ulster Constabulary) and calculated use of the British Army. The result is that Ian Paisley, the most prominent mass leader of the Ulster Unionists, currently accuses the British government of conducting psychological warfare against the Protestants. Just to give you an idea of the discrepancy between the interests of British imperialism and the Ulster Protestants, if you look at the figures of March last year for political prisoners in Northern Ireland, there were 900 Roman Catholics and 600 Protestants. It indicates that there's not exactly agreement between the militant Ulstermen and British imperialism at this time.

What Are the Protestants?

The key question is what are the Protestants. There are a number of ways to avoid this question, and you will find that they have all been tried by various left-wing organizations. One way is to say that the Protestants are just backward workers, and then follow this up with lots of "unite and fight" talk and vague rhetoric about how the dynamic of the class struggle will solve everything. That is, you don't address the communal and national divisions at all. Another way is to adopt the real position of the extreme Irish nationalists and to say, in effect, they are just agents of British imperialism, so drive them into the sea. Or if you're a little bit shamefaced about it you say something along the lines of, "I can't tell the Irish people what to do."

G Peress/Magnum

Wounded child is carried to safety after attack by British troops.

G Peress/Magnum

IRA check point in the Bogside in Londonberry, 1972.

There's a variety of other excuses put forward for plumping for the Catholic nationalists, the Republicans, and I would like to run through them briefly. There's the argument, for example, that only oppressed people have the right to self-determination. Now that is not so at all. For Marxists all nations have the right to self-determination. But the problem with raising the demand for self-determination in Ireland is that it doesn't resolve the Catholic-Protestant conflict in a democratic manner. Obviously, when India was fighting to separate from Britain, British self-determination wasn't in question. In that situation it would be a reactionary slogan, just as it would be if the Germans and the British each argued that they were fighting WWII on the basis of their right of self-determination.

But in the case of interpenetrated peoples, where one or the other is likely to be immediately either the oppressed nation or else the privileged nation under imperialism, it's a lot more complicated. There are two peoples here and whatever way you work it, if the oppressed gets its self-determination under capitalism, then it will simply become the new oppressor. There's no equitable solution within that framework. And if you want to say that only the oppressed people have the right to self-determination, then you're really saying that what happens to the Protestants after self-determination in Ireland doesn't matter at all, because after all right now the Irish nationalists are progressive and the Protestants are reactionary and that's the end of it. Too bad, Protestants!

There's another argument, to the effect that Loyalism (which is the common term to describe the Protestant communalist ideology) is simply an imperialist ideology. That is, it's just really British chauvinism given a little slightly different tinge in order to attract a mass following amongst a certain misled section of the Irish workers.

I don't think any of these arguments I just dealt with deserve serious attention from Marxists. But there are some other arguments which attempt to present a more sophisticated Marxoid type of analysis. The one that's most frequently heard is that the Protestants are a labor aristocracy. This theory is essentially the same one as the New Left guilt theories about the American white working class being bought off because of "white skin privilege."

To begin with it ignores the fact that, with or without the Catholic population, in Northern Ireland you have one of the highest unemployment rates in Britain, and the fact that housing for the whole of the working-class population in Northern Ireland is the worst in Britain and amongst the worst in Europe. It also grievously distorts Marxism. The term "labor aristocracy" was used by Lenin in a very precise way, to indicate a layer of the working class, largely trade-union bureaucrats, that had sold out. To describe the whole of the Protestant working class, including the large percentage unemployed, as a labor aristocracy is obviously not just an extension but a gross distortion of the meaning of that Marxist term.

Thirdly, it suggests that the Protestants are nothing else but a stratum of one class, ignoring the fact that the Protestants are a trans-class grouping. With that methodology you would have to look at the tsarist empire before the Russian Revolution and argue that the Great Russians and the Poles were labor aristocracies. After all they enjoyed

continued on page 8

Sectarian Terror...

(continued from page 7)

relative privileges if you want to put it that way. They were better off—they were more advanced sections of the society. You'd have to say on those grounds that, because the Poles were amongst the most advanced and had privileges compared to so many other peoples in the tsarist Empire, they didn't have a right to self-determination! But of course, the people who have such arguments like to avoid these little problems.

New Left Moralism

In association with these attempts to explain why we don't have to worry about the fate of the Protestants, there are two other things I want to look at. One is the argument that the Ulster state is an artificial imperialist creation, that its borders were designed to ensure a Protestant majority. Now that's true, and prior to the partition, revolutionists in Ireland would have fought for a unified independent Ireland and to transcend the sectional differences that existed at the time.

But with the partition and the communal bloodshed that accompanied it, with the establishment of a bourgeois Irish republic and the state boundaries, to argue for unification after that point is to ignore what had clearly become consolidated communal differences. This argument often goes with the position that not only was it an imperialist partition but, as well, the Protestants are a colonial-settler people. You know, they threw out the native people, they don't really have a right to be there. So, the American people don't have a right to be here now; you've all got to go home. The Australian people don't have a right to be there; they've all got to go home, too.

But if the colonial settlers have no rights, then you've got to argue that the Vietnamese people have no rights. Do you know what the Vietnamese did in the nineteenth century? There're only two villages left now in Vietnam of the Champa kingdom. The Vietnamese were slaughtering them in the nineteenth century; they were throwing out the Cambodians. The Cambodians' national existence was saved by the arrival of French imperialism. So why not give back most of South Vietnam to the Cambodians, too? The point is that almost every modern nation has been consolidated on the basis of slaughtering and wiping out and throwing out other communities and peoples. If you want to argue in these terms, it's simply a form of nationalist, liberal moralism, and leads straight into the typical irredentist arguments about our "holy" land which we've got to save or get back.

Now while I'm on the subject of the New Left and New Left moralism, there's another argument, which is presented as anti-economism. That is, the Protestants are so bound up in their reactionary ideas that they can *never* be part of a proletarian revolutionary mobilization. There is a small British group, called the Revolutionary Communist Group [RCG], which puts forward this argument and prides itself on having a Marxist understanding. It recently split, largely because, while it claimed to have a Marxist understanding, it never had any programmatic conclusions. The RCG says:

> "It is the height of naiv[illegible] to expect the two sections of the northern working class to unite on economic issues, when it is precisely these that divide them. As the crisis begins to bite, the Protestant workers will pursue the traditional way out the expulsion of Catholics from employment. Only later, when the Unionist regime is visibly unable to preserve the position of the Protestant workers, will the possibility exist of breaking the Protestant workers from Loyalism and drawing them around the programme which emphasises economic issues."

Now that ought to be absurd for Marxists.

That's full of back-handed support to Irish Catholic nationalism, because what you're saying is that the workers can never transcend their sectional interests; they'll always be narrow and selfish and they'll always want to throw their non-communal class brothers out of employment. So rather than attempting to transcend that type of attitude with a system of transitional demands, you come up with a position which says: narrow trade-union consciousness plus nationalism is revolutionary consciousness. And what that leads to inevitably is a two-stage Stalinist theory of revolution. Because in order for the workers to have revolutionary consciousness, first of all, as a precondition, they must fight for national liberation.

Protestant Communalism and the Union Jack

The Protestants have their origins as a settler colonization. They've generally fought for the British connection with one important historic exception: the 1798 United Irishmen uprising, which was led by Protestant Presbyterians—in particular clergymen and merchants—and was defeated by mobilization of the peasantry by the Catholic priests and the growth of the Orange Order stimulated by the landed aristocracy and British interests. That was effectively *the* opportunity for the establishment of a united nation in Ireland and it failed. Since that time, there have been these deep communal divisions.

I want to make the point that Unionism and Loyalism—i.e., Protestant communalism—should be understood as a means and not an end. That is, the Protestants are acting in what they perceive as their own interests; they're not just agents of British imperialism. This can be graphically shown by looking at quite a number of examples. I only want to give one—Sir Edward Carson who was the first prominent leader of the Protestants in this century. He was actually a representative—to be more precise—of the old landed aristocracy, and he differs significantly from later people like Craig and Paisley in terms of his origins. But he, as a leader of the Protestant interest in Ireland, was willing to threaten British imperialism and to say that he would seek German aid. So he saw the connection in a way that wasn't just acting on British imperialism's behalf.

And you can see a series of other things happening, which I've mentioned already—the 1912 opposition to British plans for Irish home rule, the Ulster Protestant workers' strike in 1974, the number of Protestant political prisoners—which all indicate that Protestant communalism in Northern Ireland is not identical with support for British imperialism.

So the Protestants have a separate identity. It's defined largely negatively, as against the Irish Catholic nation. Religion plays an important part; you've noticed I've been using the term Irish Catholic nation to make the distinction. It's not so much that everyone goes to different churches, but the religious question provides an ideological form for the dispute between the communities. And it's deeply involved in the cultures and the nationalism of both communities.

Let me make one thing clear: the Protestant bigotry (and its religious qualities) necessarily excedes the worst excesses of Green nationalism, of Irish Catholic nationalism. Take Rev. Ian Paisley—this is from one of his speeches:

> "Watch the Jews. Israel is on the way back to favour. Watch the papist Rome rising to a grand crescendo with the Communists. The Reds are on the march; they are heading for an alliance against the return of Lord Jesus Christ."

And these are headings from his paper:

> "The Love Affairs of the Vatican."
> "Priestly Murders Exposed!"
> "Children Tortured, Monks Turned Out as Sadists!"

Now Paisley is not some sort of fringe crackpot religious fanatic. He's a mass leader of the Protestants. He expresses and is a manifestation of the attitudes amongst the Protestants.

The Protestants have a self-image of themselves as being hardy and self-reliant while the Catholics they see as being dirty, indisciplined, lazy and breeding like rabbits. The Orange Order, which is a sort of Masonic formation amongst the Protestants, is the epitome of the Ulster Protestant culture. It was created as an instrument of counterrevolution around the time of the United Irishmen's uprising and has been used ever since as such. Its rituals, its exclusion of women, its marches represent a way of life and a social focus for the Protestants.

No to Forced Reunification!

At the same time we look at the Republic and we find a reactionary, clericalist regime. You don't need to go very far to notice that. Take the best of the bourgeois papers in Ireland—and none of them are very good—the *Irish Times*. You find that on every single issue, no matter how insignificant, the thing that is absolutely necessary is the opinion of a priest. The Protestants see themselves as getting nothing from a unified bourgeois Ireland. And they make a great deal about the clerical nature of the state.

There's a whole series of things that are not very attractive about the southern Irish bourgeois state: the prohibition on divorce and contraception, the role of the Catholic church in education, its influence in the higher circles of government. Its influence is not limited solely to the most reactionary circles, but is found in the more plebeian organizations as well. For example, in 1969 during the height of the civil rights movement, when there were some layers of Protestants willing to support it at that time, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association refused to dissociate itself from the Irish Republic's constitution, which contains provisions guaranteeing rights to the Catholic church, and from Irish government policies vis-a-vis the church and contraception.

Leaving aside the empirical facts of the nature of the Irish Republic, apologists for unification argue that presently and in general the Protestants have been treated better in the South than the Irish Catholics in the North. Now in the quantitative sense this is certainly true. Presently, the Irish Catholic state is obviously much more reasonable and liberal than the Protestants in Northern Ireland.

However, there's a more basic point involved here. It's not a matter of looking at the present relative reaction of each nationalism, but seeing that religion is a core component of the nationalism of both groups, and understanding an elementary Marxist principle: that all nationalism is reactionary. To suggest that the Irish Catholic bourgeoisie will treat the Protestants well is to argue that somehow this particular nationalism is progressive, because it's going to be *good* to people who are not of the Irish Catholic nation. There're no historical examples of nationalist regimes doing that, so why should the Irish be the exception?

The Protestant communalists are not any better, and in the Northern state there is systematic discrimination in

G Peress/Magnum

Victim of British troops on Bloody Sunday.

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housing, hiring and education. That's all well-known. The majority of the sectarian murders that have taken place in Northern Ireland in the recent period have been carried out by Protestant gangs. Let me give you one example of the bigotry in this situation. A gang kicked in the door of a house, lined up a family and shot them—kids and parents alike. Before they shot the woman, one of them raped her. This particular man was subsequently arrested by the British Army and was sentenced to a long jail sentence. When he arrived in jail, he was viciously beaten up by his own comrades and almost killed. The reason he was beaten up was not that he'd shot the Catholics, but because he'd had sexual contact with a Catholic.

So there is obviously a series of urgent democratic demands with regard to the Catholics in the Northern Ireland statelet. In particular I want to mention housing and employment, because just by arguing that it should be more equitably shared, you say to the Protestant workers: you should suffer some more. That's obviously not going to solve the problem, so even in terms of immediate urgent democratic tasks, these will have to be linked to demands that have been classically associated with the Trotskyist Transitional Program. For example, for a sliding scale of hours and work-sharing on full pay.

There's a problem of distinct communities. We recognize that there are distinctions, and we don't want to just ignore them but seek to transcend them, and to offer some way out of the vicious communal cycle. The one million Protestants can be defined largely negatively, as against the Irish Catholic nation, as being not part of the English and Scottish nations any more, and not in a strict sense being a nation either. But they do have a separate identity, and the concerns of this community must be taken into account.

The definite resolution of what the Protestants are exactly is most likely to occur at the time that the British Army gets out, and will depend on the circumstances accompanying that. That is, there could be the consolidation of a real Protestant nation, based on a sectarian, communalist bloodbath in the Irish Catholic community; or they could be wiped out; or else they could, in the context of a revolutionary working-class mobilization, transcend these divisions.

We want to oppose the forcible reunification of the island and reject the call for the "self-determination of the Irish nation," demands which give preference to the claims of one of the interpenetrated peoples. We call instead for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles, which at this point leaves open exactly where the Protestants will fall.

We counterpose the algebraic formulation of an Irish workers republic to the common left-nationalist slogan (e.g., of the IRA officials) of a "united socialist Ireland." We do not insist that the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland must be part of an all-Ireland workers state. Furthermore, the slogan of a "united socialist Ireland" has become a left cover for Green nationalism implying forced reunification under bourgeois rule and a two-stage revolution—first unity, then socialism.

For Anti-Sectarian Workers Militias!

There's another important plank in our program which I want to emphasize, and that is the demand for an anti-sectarian workers militia to combat indiscriminate terror, both Green and Orange. Now this has to be seen in its proper context. There's a group in Britain called the Militant group—a deeply opportunist organization inside the Labour Party which has a call for a trade-union militia. Unfortunately, our slogan is sometimes confused with this. Their slogan is coupled with the demand for withdrawal of British troops, but they say that until there's a trade-union militia the British Army should stay. And they see this trade-union militia as growing out of some sort of organic unity of the working class based on trade-union economism.

If you take a look at the Armagh shootings last year, where you had five Catholics shot in one night and, I think, two nights later ten Protestant workers shot up in a mini-bus, you can see a problem. Suppose the Protestant workers had been an armed self-defense group. What you would have had was simply a sectarian shoot-out between Catholics and Protestants. So obviously in each defense squad you must have at least one member of both communities.

But the question of an anti-sectarian workers militia is also very much tied in with the rest of your program. It's not just a matter of disliking the killings; what about the British Army, what about indiscriminate terror? It has to be linked to the revolutionary mobilization because otherwise the trade-union militias would simply become the armed adjunct of the peace movement, which doesn't have a position on the key question of whether the British Army should stay. Effectively the Militant group's demand ends up supporting the status quo—that is, the British Army stays, and capitalist law and order is maintained.

There are objections to the demand for an anti-sectarian workers militia. One is that it's not practical. I think the comrades are probably all familiar with this type of reasoning—I believe it's one of the props of the Socialist Workers Party's position on troops to Boston, that is, labor/black defense is not practical. Really it is a form of reformist methodology used to justify capitulating.

The other argument is that it is wrong to equate the terror of the oppressed and the oppressor. That's true, but what it leads these people into doing is justifying any act by an oppressed group. That is, as long as you say you are fighting against imperialism, it doesn't matter what you do, we give you a blank check. That means you have to justify Grivas in Cyprus, who was a neo-fascist, not only when he fought British imperialism, but when he went out and slaughtered Turks. And you'd have to defend the Stern gang, not only its actions when it fought British imperialism, but when it slaughtered Palestinians. And, of course, in Ireland this means taking the side of the IRA, not only when they are fighting the British Army or the Royal Ulster Constabulary, but also when they blow up Protestant pubs.

The two sides are obviously different in Northern Ireland: the Catholic minority is oppressed and you can't ignore this. It's also true that the question of Irish self-determination was not fully resolved by the establishment of the Irish Republic. We defend the IRA against the British Army, but we need to distinguish between terrorism directed against the imperialist oppressor and what is purely indiscriminate, indefensible terrorism. We would not want to defend the perpetrators of such barbarous acts. An anti-sectarian workers militia would be interested in stopping pub bombings which just slaughter workers, the tube—subway— bombings and the Armagh shootings.

It's obvious that the analysis of terrorism is crucial to the ability of that anti-sectarian workers militia to act in a way that is supportable by Marxists. So that any anti-sectarian workers militia is not only going to have to attract at least one member from each community into each such formation, but it must also have a strong component of cadre from the revolutionary party.

Opportunities for Class Unity

I touched several times on the argument that it's not practical to mobilize Protestants. There's a difference between on the one hand recognizing the complexity of the situation and the fact that mass consciousness has been poisoned, and on the other hand a view of profound historical pessimism which says that the working class doesn't have the potentiality as a force for revolutionary change.

If you look at the history of Ireland you can see a number of contradictory phenomena. In 1907 there was a series of strikes led by Jim Larkin which managed to keep significant unity of Protestant and Catholic workers. In 1919 there was a Belfast engineers' (metal workers) strike. The bourgeoisie managed to smash it, and in the sequel 12,000 Roman Catholics lost their jobs. But that wasn't all that happened: 3,000 Protestant socialists and militants lost their jobs, too. In 1933 there was massive unemployment, and for a brief period you had joint mass unemployed marches in which it is reported the Green and Orange flags flew together. This fleeting unity was preceded by massive sectarian violence and followed by massive sectarian upsurge, which destroyed the unity.

Things are not going to get better automatically. We made the point in *Workers Vanguard* that in Cyprus there was one period of 48 hours—at the time of the attempted reactionary coup inspired by the Greek colonels' junta—when the question of nationalism was flatly counterposed to democratic issues, and there was a potentiality of uniting the Turkish and Cypriot workers. It was only one short period where the class struggle asserted itself and subordinated these massive communal tensions, but it was an opportunity.

The same is true in Ireland. In the absence of a revolutionary party we might get some transitory unity on pacifist or reformist grounds. The sequel to the Armagh shootings is that there were joint marches of Protestant and Catholic workers, but they were marching on a quite unsupportable plank: they were demanding strengthening of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which we want to see smashed!

In the absence of a revolutionary party the prospects are bleak. But an organization which for many years may remain isolated, generally hated and impotent can seize such opportunities in the class struggle as I've outlined. That means defending a Leninist perspective. It means refusal to capitulate to British chauvinism, to Orange Loyalism and to Irish nationalism. If we have that, then we can expect that when the opportunities do come, when the class struggle reasserts itself in some form, such upsurges will not be immediately drowned in communal bloodshed. Nor will the workers have a transitory unity on the basis of waving Green and Orange flags together—there will be an opportunity for revolutionary cadre to see that the flags they're waving are red flags. Such opportunities are a part of the mobilization toward the only progressive solution for the bloody sectarian/communalist conflict in Northern Ireland - proletarian revolution!

Gamma

British troops round up "suspected IRA members" in Northern Ireland.

Supplemental Remarks by Reuben Samuels

SAMUELS: I just gave a forum on colonial-settler states and the permanent revolution, which I would like to relate to the Irish question. An interesting point about the colonial-settler question in South Africa is that the "great treks" of the Boers and, just a little later, by the Zulus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries wiped out a great many peoples whose economic livelihood was at a lower level of development than either the Zulus or the Boers, such as the Hottentots and Bushmen who were almost exterminated.

In fact, this has been the entire course of human progress over the last ten thousand years. The history of class society has been one of the subjugation or extermination of less advanced peoples by a more advanced people—those people who had the bigger hatchet, the longer ax, the ones who developed gunpowder and so on. As Engels said, human progress is indeed a cruel chariot that rides over mountains of corpses.

There are a lot of petty-bourgeois vicarious nationalists, very often at a great distance from the struggle they claim to support, who have picked up the ideology of the "wretched of the earth" from Bakunin to Fanon, and who would like to reverse the chariot of human progress. They dream that the less advanced societies will rise up against the more advanced societies and create another mountain of corpses, but at least the chariot will go downhill this time.

Their politics are basically moralism, so for them what makes the Protestants an oppressor people—or for that matter the Israeli Hebrews, or the South African whites—is their higher standard of living. In the case of the Protestant workers in Northern Ireland, this is not much greater than that of the Irish Catholics, and it's significantly less than the standard of living of anyone in this room.

Let me point out that the average standard of living in Northern Ireland is 25 percent below the standard of living for all of Great Britain, and I assure you

continued on page 10

Sectarian Terror...

(continued from page 9)

that this is a very low standard indeed for northern Europe. Furthermore, if you compare Protestant to Catholic on the basis of income differentials (which tends to exaggerate the difference), the Protestants have a differential of about 15 percent over the Catholics. Of course, there are percentagewise more poor Catholics in Northern Ireland, but in absolute numbers there are more poor Protestants than poor Catholics.

There is a book by Geoffrey Bell, published by the International Socialists in Great Britain, which claims that the Protestants are a labor aristocracy. He uses the following reasoning: if you look at the labor aristocracy, it's predominantly Protestant, therefore all Protestant workers constitute a labor aristocracy, or are part of the labor aristocracy. If you look at the labor aristocracy in the United States, by comparison, it's predominantly white, therefore supposedly all white workers are part of a labor aristocracy, as the New Leftist Noel Ignatin told us some years ago. This kind of logic, which I call Geoffrey Bell logic, has superseded both Aristotelian and Hegelian logic. It runs as follows: most or all donkeys are animals, therefore all animals are donkeys.

These are the arguments of people who have despaired of a proletarian solution, that is a solution other than the mounds upon mounds of corpses that the chariot of history has gone up or come down in the past. This solution, which has only been opened up in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is counterposed to the way in which the national question has been resolved historically, namely through genocide, forced population transfers and subjugation of the oppressed peoples.

And if you don't think the terms of oppression can be reversed, just look at Cyprus. Two thousand years ago Cyprus was colonized by the Greeks; five hundred years ago it was colonized by the Turks, who became an oppressor people under the Ottoman Empire. The British imperialists cultivated both peoples at one time or another. So who were the oppressor people after the British left? The Greeks. And who are the oppressor people in Cyprus today? The Turks. The terms of oppression can definitely be reversed.

This is not the Leninist solution to the national question. This is the Bakuninist Fanonist solution: to reverse the terms of oppression, to call for a unified, necessarily Catholic-dominated Ireland without a proletarian revolution.

The 1973 Ulster general strike, a 14-day general strike that totally shut down Northern Ireland, demonstrated that the social power and the social weight of the proletariat is there, even if in this particular case it was used for reactionary ends. It was also an entirely anti-British strike. The British had set up the Council of Ireland, which was a scheme for a peaceful, if forcible (through economic pressure) reunifying of Ireland and dumping Northern Ireland, which has become a liability for British imperialism.

The strike was entirely reactionary, but that was a demonstration of real social power, social power that can be welded to the chariot of human progress, which in this epoch can only be drawn by the proletariat as an international class. And those people who have posed the proletarian solution as opposed to the nationalist solution have gotten a hearing in spite of the communal hatreds. We stand in their tradition, in the tradition of Jim Larkin and the Palestinian Trotskyism.

Supplemental Remarks by James Robertson

ROBERTSON: Life is complicated, comrades. In the past generation, in the attempt to defend the just struggles of oppressed peoples, there's been a tendency to lose the context in which, for proletarian revolutionary Marxists, that struggle must be undertaken. What we are seeking to do is to defend the core of revolutionary Marxism, the *proletarian* solution, against those who would simply embrace the "good" nation against the "bad" nation.

I believe that there's very little that can be added to Comrade David's talk in the particular framework of Ireland. I'd like to underline one thing: he spoke of the metal workers' strike in 1919, in which 12,000 Catholics and 3,000 socialist, class-struggle-oriented Protestants were fired, driven out of the industry. Ireland is a very small country, so that is probably *more than half* of the metal workers. Driven out!

What then do you have? We thought we had a bad purge in the late 1940's in the United States where 10,000 communistic elements were driven out. But that's 1 100th of one percent, not over 50 percent. So those who think that the Irish are simply locked into endless sectarian killing should examine the historical record. The metal workers could have been and were trying to be the leadership of the proletariat on the island, but over 50 percent of them were socially annihilated. That's a defeat in a struggle, not the organic chauvinism of the priest ridden and the arrogant!

That's where the function of the revolutionary party comes in. Every generation there recurs the opportunity and the loopholes where an international Leninist formation that is alert can intervene. You must not take what is at present as the inevitable product of history which cannot be changed, ever. It's necessary to fight, not to be passive.

And in the case of Ireland, it's particularly easy. On the island of Cyprus, a Greek is a Greek and a Turk is a Turk. How many of you have had the same experience that I have had, of working with young militants, either Ulstermen or from the Republic of Ireland? As soon as they're broken from the nationalist ideologies, and you encounter them and work with them as comrades outside that poor island, they are simply components of the English-speaking nation. That's the truth. It is only when locked into this poverty and oppression that they're thrown at each others' throats. They may *become* separate nations; in the defeat of the proletarian goal. But not yet.

Last point: when I talked here last time, some young woman, who I'm sure was entirely well-meaning, said, "Does any people who oppresses others have a right to exist?" That's the only thing that I took away from the discussion that I'd been brooding about. And then I thought, if one wants to be idiosyncratic and make trouble, what's the most chauvinist people on earth, who absolutely have the right to exist? I think it's probably the Chinese. In 2,000 years they developed no other term for foreigners except, "the barbarians." Do you understand the conception behind that? But they have the right to exist. They were just a very powerful people, used to suppressing those on their borders and never running into anybody from a culturally higher standpoint, even if they were occasionally conquered by "barbarians." It's the nature of the world in the framework of a class-divided society.

I have two observations to end with. For many minorities that are powerful—the young woman put it the wrong way around—it is seen as *necessary to oppress in order to exist*. That's one of the lessons of life that we have to shatter, but it does give some insight into the question. Finally, what should be very obvious, something that precedes Marxism but was encompassed within it: we do not believe that any baby born into an ethnic, religious or national group thereby deserves or merits a death sentence. That's the answer to that young woman. ■

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LONDON

ILWU Convention...

(continued from page 12)

longshore locals were now on record for the shorter workshift (Local 10 having voted to strike for it last summer), and argued for the strike action necessary to win the demand.

This position was in sharp contrast to delegate Joe Figueiredo, a supporter of the Communist Party (CP), who pushed the reformist strategy of gaining "30 for 40" by legislative action. Noting the wide array of bureaucratic forces opposing the Seattle motion, Mandel urged delegates to vote for it after his attempt to add a pro-strike amendment was ruled out of order.

The bureaucratic counterattack against the Seattle "six-for-eight" motion was flagging (the main contenders in the upcoming elections being reluctant to openly oppose it) when Bridges finally stepped into the fray. Brushing aside the CP's legislative daydreaming with a wave of his hand, he took on the question of strike action directly. Drawing on the 1934 strike, Bridges argued that even with the Bay Area labor movement mobilized in support, the longshoremen had been able to win a reduced workday only with a reduction in pay. It is certainly the most defeatist logic to maintain that what was won 40 years ago, when the union was fighting to win a hiring hall, is the limit of what can be fought for today! But most of the delegates were unwilling to buck Bridges and dutifully killed the motion.

The alternative to taking on the capitalists directly in a fight for jobs is pitting worker against worker in a scramble for the dwindling amount of available work. The ILWU has already engaged in despicable raiding against other maritime unions. This fratricidal warfare is now beginning to erupt within the union.

The Longshore Caucus, which followed the week-long convention, was reportedly dominated by maneuvers to prevent the transfer of San Francisco longshoremen into other ports. The S.F. port has been by far the hardest hit by the employers' job-robbing offensive. Man-hours worked have dropped by over a third in just the last four years. Though the treatment meted out to Local 10 shows the future being prepared for the other longshore locals, delegates at the Caucus reportedly sought to put off the problem, hoping that with Bridges' retirement things will change. But stalling will not eliminate the mounting pressures on the union members' jobs.

The leadership of Local 10, which has a high proportion of black members, reportedly used the Caucus to accuse the other locals of racial discrimination and made thinly veiled threats to force them to accept transfers. The desperate Local 10 officials have been pushing to declare San Francisco a "low work opportunity port" early (it is automatically imposed by the sellout contract when available work dips below a certain level) and reportedly even implied the use of court suits against the other locals.

The preliminary round of this ugly battle had been fought out earlier on the convention floor. Local 10 delegates, with the aid of the CP, tried to ram through a motion calling for "affirmative action" in the union. Warning that this would set the union up for government legal action, Bridges skillfully forced the motion's authors to drop "affirmative action" and reduced the motion to a simple statement against discrimination instead of the intended accusation of racist job-trusting.

Cleophus Williams, the black president of Local 10, will undoubtedly try to use the defeat of the "affirmative action" motion to whip up support in S.F. for forcing transfers on the other longshore locals. Both he and Bridges, unwilling to junk the "unemployment contract" are responsible for the threat of increasing racial polarization which could open the door to ILWU members fighting each other along color lines for jobs.

Hawaiian Jobs Threatened

Mushrooming unemployment is a threat throughout the union. In warehouse, 15 percent of the membership is currently unemployed. And in Hawaii, with over 20,000 of the union's 55,000 members, the union faces the closure of large sugar and pineapple plantations. Estimates are that unemployment could be jacked up to 20 percent on the islands, with 50 percent of key ILWU locals being laid off.

The threat stems from moves by plantation owners, mainly the less profitable ones who have not invested heavily in modern refinery equipment, to low-wage areas in the Philippines and Taiwan. The union leadership's response has been to plead to the federal government for protective legislation in the form of a renewed sugar act holding up prices and subsidizing the bosses.

The contract was already extended by the union for six months when the employers demanded that an existing contract clause prohibiting the liquidation of plantations during the life of the agreement be scrapped. The extension through the peak harvest season was the focus of a back-biting dispute between Bridges and Goldblatt, who have been feuding for the past few years.

In an hours-long closed-door session, Bridges reportedly blasted the Goldblatt-engineered extension and the stated willingness of the sugar negotiating team to work without a contract as a sellout, advocating an island-wide strike to hold all industry hostage against sugar plantation runaways. But the dispute is, in reality, a minor one. All

Workers Vanguard

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Militant Caucus Protests Exclusion of Soviet Delegation

The following resolution was submitted to the 22nd convention of the ILWU by the Militant Caucus of Local 6

The exclusion of the Soviet delegation by the Carter administration, spearheaded by the reactionary Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO, is a calculated blow against international labor solidarity and in the service of the government's perpetual anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaign. The government's refusal to grant visas to these trade unionists exposes the hypocrisy of Carter's campaign for "human rights" for Soviet dissidents and lays bare the fraudulent nature of the Helsinki accords.

The ILWU demands that visas be granted immediately to these official representatives of the Soviet trade unions. Denial of the visas represents an attack on the Soviet Union, which despite the repression of the working class, still embodies the economic forms and historic achievements resulting from the expropriation of capitalism by the Soviet working class, a'gain for all workers.

The union will send a delegation to the Peace Arch at the Canadian-American border to demonstrate for the admission of the Soviet delegation and calls on the British Columbia Federation of Labour to escort the Soviets to the border and to join the demonstration.

Bridges wants is the same deal he foisted on the longshoremen: an unemployment fund like the PGP in exchange for the loss of jobs!

The Militant Caucus has called for the fields to be expropriated without compensation and for agricultural workers committees to take over the plantations to save their jobs. Recent struggles in Hawaii already point in this direction. Among the Hawaiian delegates were several who participated in a recent battle by agricultural workers, supported by students, against the conversion of fields into condominium housing on Oahu. The workers won such massive support that the state government reportedly decided to buy the land and maintain agricultural production.

Regional Squabbling and a Vacuum at the Top

Bridges' probable successors have no comparable recognition or authority. Local 34 president Jimmy Herman, candidate for president, and his campaign partners are united in nothing more than a marriage of convenience based on vote-juggling regional considerations. Herman and Rudy Rubio, candidate for vice-president and past head of the Los Angeles longshore local, represent the two largest ports. Curtis McClain, candidate for secretary-treasurer, is from the warehouse division, while the incumbent George Martin has the Hawaii vote.

G. Johnny Parks and Fred Huntsinger, from the smaller and politically more conservative Northwest ports, are also running for president and secretary-treasurer. Theirs is also essentially an appeal to a regional base.

Though these candidacies are not counterposed on the issues, the jockeying for position is intense. A proposal from the Bridges camp to cut the number of International officers from four to three almost precipitated a fist fight on the fourth day of the convention. The motion was intended to split McClain and Rubio by forcing them to run against each other and brought nearly a dozen local officers running to the microphone. But, reflecting the erosion of Bridges' position, the proposal lost.

With the dominating figure of Bridges gone, the regional antagonisms fueled by scarce work threaten to pull the union apart. Fearful of simply being swallowed up by bigger unions, the new officers will probably continue to resist the proposal Bridges has been pushing: merger with either the East- and Gulf-Coast based International Longshoremen's Association or the Teamsters. There also continues to be massive resistance in the ranks of the union to subordination to the reactionary Gleason and Fitzsimmons bureaucracies.

The convention did mandate continued negotiations for re-affiliation with the AFL-CIO. But the federation's proposed terms, which include turning over shops organized in the last year to AFL-CIO unions (e.g., can manufacturing plants to the Steelworkers), will be a stumbling block there, too.

It was evident at this convention that the only sharp challenge to the pattern of bureaucratically engineered defeat is the program of the Militant Caucus. The reformist CP, which has long had a fond relationship with Bridges and the mantle of the "left wing" in the union, has lost a lot of ground. It has been the waterboy for the ILWU bureaucracy for so long that any other role is virtually inconceivable on both sides.

The major function of Communist Party supporters at the convention was to act as hatchetmen against the Militant Caucus. The CP's West Coast newspaper, *People's World*, ran three consecutive convention-related articles specifically attacking the caucus and Bob Mandel. Early on in the convention proceedings, CP supporter Joe Figueiredo and various bureaucrats began hailing the Caucus as "paid company agents." But several delegates, including Los Angeles Local 13 president Art Almeida, took to the convention floor to protest and put an end to this time-worn Stalinist slander.

On the third day of the convention, CP supporters issued a slanderous leaflet denouncing the Militant Caucus for alleged racism. This was in response to Mandel's opposition to a motion calling for an open-ended longshore boycott of all South African and Rhodesian cargo, which would be implemented *only* if the employers Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) agreed to allow it in the next contract!

The utter hypocrisy of the CP knows no bounds. Speaking on the floor against the hypocritical motion, Mandel pointed out that it is these fakers who have sabotaged *every* concrete proposal and action in solidarity with the South African black masses. Last July, during the student and worker uprisings, CP supporters opposed a motion by Stan Gow to immediately implement an already adopted Local 10 motion to boycott South African and Rhodesian goods, on the cowardly grounds that such action might endanger PGP payments! Again in August, on the very eve of the Johannesburg general strike, CP ally Leo Robinson moved to put off any action indefinitely and kick the matter to the International for more "study"!

In October, the CP-supported Local 10 leaders ordered longshoremen to cross a Spartacist League-initiated picket line at S.F. Pier 27 protesting the South African ship *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. And in January of this year, when the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) called for a one-week boycott of all South African goods to protest the repression of trade unionists, it was again the *Longshore Militant* which fought for compliance. The CP-led official Local 10 South Africa Liberation Support Committee sat on its hands.

At every point, it has been the supporters of the Militant Caucus who have called for concrete actions to aid the South African masses, not just paper resolutions which "promise" action if only the bosses will allow it. In debate on the boycott motion, Mandel counterposed a strategy of specific solidarity actions. Such action would actually

Luis Carballar

Bob Mandel at Seattle convention.

support the black students and workers, while an on-going boycott of everything South African, if successfully implemented, would in fact lead to more unemployment of the black working class, thus dampening its ability to struggle.

Even more revealing of the Stalinists' cowardly policy was their complete silence on the State Department's exclusion of a delegation of three Soviet trade-union officials invited to the convention. Reportedly acting at the behest of the raving anti-communist George Meany, the U.S. government refused to grant visas to the Soviet officials, leaving them stranded across the border in nearby Vancouver. When Mandel rose to put a motion before the convention calling for action in defense of the Soviet delegation (see box) instead of token telegrams beseeching Meany to change his ways, the CPers cowered in their seats. It was the Militant Caucus, not the craven Stalinists, which while denouncing bureaucratic repression in the USSR forthrightly called for the defense of the Soviet workers' expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

The press coverage given to the Militant Caucus reflects the increasing recognition both inside and outside the union that these militants represent the real class-struggle opposition to the ILWU bureaucrats. The *Seattle Post Intelligencer* (20 April) wrote:

> "Its ironic that this labor leader [Bridges], who once had to battle in the courts to avoid deportation as a communist finds himself at this last convention heckled by a small 'Militant Caucus' of his union that accuses him of having gone over to management and proclaims 'The struggle against class collaboration poses the need for a new leadership that is pledged to the independent struggle of the working class and a complete break with the capitalists, their government and their political parties' "

As the ILWU confronts a deepening jobs crisis with a sellout leadership that lacks even the eroded authority that Bridges had, the union ranks face critical choices. The ILWU may be further ground down by employer attack and leadership betrayal. It may be broken up and absorbed into other unions which will prove no better. Or, it can adopt the program advocated by the Militant Caucus. The latter is the only way the union's membership can both fight to defend their livelihoods and, by virtue of the ILWU's strategic importance, lead all of West Coast labor on the road of class struggle. ■

FBI Criminals...

(continued from page 4)

will not be arrested on felony charges *although the agency is surely the most felonious outfit in the country.*

Capitalism needs its secret police and everybody knows it. Marxists least of all have illusions that the capitalist state will arrest and jail its most needed secret weapon in the war against the working class and its allies. It is absurd to imagine that one hand of the bourgeois state will do anything beyond the slightest slap to the other. The idea that the Justice Department will come bustling across Pennsylvania Avenue to assail the J. Edgar Hoover fortress is a liberal utopian fantasy. Only the victorious proletarian revolution will bring justice to the FBI/CIA.

But Marxists do say "put the criminals in jail." Kearney is certainly guilty. Although he is a "little fish" while large sharks swim nearby in warmer FBI waters, that is no reason for a criminal like Kearney to get off. Furthermore we approve of the additional exposures that may be involved in court prosecutions of Kearney. It is not simply a propaganda slogan when FBI big-guns complain that "morale is shot." It is a good thing that agents, given their assignments to burgle offices, steal mail, forge letters and much worse, must wonder if they too may become objects of token "clean-up" prosecutions.

Most dangerous, however, is the general counteroffensive of the so-called "intelligence community". The FBI neanderthals don't even bother to clean up their image. For them it is the style of "the late director": jingoism, moralism and a naked attempt to assert the power of the secret police on the steps of the federal court. While it is clear that jailing Kearney or a few other FBI agents will make no great difference in the functioning of this outlaw state terror organization, it is nevertheless vitally important that such bonapartist tactics are not victorious.

Jail the FBI criminals! ■

Transit Strike...

(continued from page 3)

and wage freezes inflicted on municipal workers and restore the cuts in services suffered by the city's workers and poor.

Spread the Strike!

Two years ago Ned LeDonne was elected Local 234 president as a "trade union militant." But neither his discredited militancy nor the parochialism of Driving Force can provide a winning strategy for transit workers. Unless a sharp change in the relationship of forces is recorded, the war of attrition between the city bosses and the union will increasingly favor Rizzo & Co.

Despite the subway, bus and trolley strike thousands of commuters pour into the city by public transportation every day. The two suburban divisions of the SEPTA system, Frontier and Red Arrow, continue to operate without a peep being heard from LeDonne. Red Arrow workers have been without a contract since April 1.

In addition, the city's Yellow cab drivers, working without a contract since March 30, have authorized their union executive board to call a strike. And on April 2, members of four Conrail craft unions, incensed at the layoff of 1,200 union members, obeyed a court order and dropped plans for a strike that would have shut down commuter lines in the area. The potential power of a joint Philadelphia-area transportation strike by all these unions is tremendous. Such a joint strike would not only turn the tide in the bitter transit strike, opening the door to victory instead of slow defeat through dissipation of the transit workers' militancy; it would also be instrumental in securing the demands of the Conrail workers, taxi drivers and employees of SEPTA's suburban divisions. A victory by transit workers, achieved by this massive labor response, could be the opening blow in a counteroffensive of the city's unions and poor to the austerity program of Boss Rizzo and his Democratic and Republican party allies.

All of SEPTA must be shut down, along with local suburban rail lines and taxi! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Issue at ILWU Convention

Fight for Jobs!

SEATTLE, April 30 The 22nd biennial convention and Longshore Caucus of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) ended today after two weeks of often bitter debate. The major question facing the union how to stop the employers' deep-going job-slashing offensive was left unanswered by the incumbent ILWU bureaucracy, both the retiring International officers and the front-running replacement slate.

The convention was not simply a gala sendoff for ILWU founder and president Harry Bridges and International secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt, and an arena for rival slates of bureaucrats jockeying for the vacated top positions. The economic disintegration of two of the union's three divisions including longshore, which has historically been the backbone of the ILWU greatly concerned most delegates. The drastic extent of job losses in San Francisco longshore, which are already spreading throughout the union, was brought home to delegates from all the ports. Even the most apathetic were forced to recognize that the union's continued existence over the next few years is at stake.

Despite the massive problems facing the membership, the ILWU still is a reservoir of the most militant traditions of the American working class. There is determination among the membership not to surrender their hard-won gains without a fight. Debate at the convention was generally serious, and the proposals of class-struggle oppositionists were widely discussed. If the delegates were not willing to accept them, it was acknowledged by the union bureaucrats, Stalinists and the bourgeois press alike that the positions advocated by these unionists were becoming the visible oppositional pole.

Luis Carballar

Harry Bridges, outgoing ILWU president, addresses convention.

Bridges is leaving office after 40 years as ILWU chief. He built a militant reputation based on the 1934 San Francisco general strike which established the union, his long fight against deportation on charges of being a "communist" and his liberal use of radical verbiage. But Bridges departs with the heart-felt praise of management officials who value the labor peace he imposed on the West Coast waterfront. Bridges' notorious "M & M" (mechanization and modernization) contracts allowed the elimination of over half of all West Coast longshoremen's jobs, in exchange for a Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) that now is also being slashed. Even more massive unemployment threatens the ILWU in Hawaii, where sugar and pineapple firms are moving to low-wage areas in southeast Asia

The crippling class collaboration of Bridges and his would-be successors did not go unopposed at the convention. Though the bourgeois media focused on Bridges' retirement, it was forced to take note of a class-struggle opposition led by Bob Mandel, delegate from warehouse Local 6 and a spokesman for the Militant Caucus (MC), and fraternal delegates Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, co-editors of the "Longshore Militant" in Local 10. The *New York Times* (24 April) reported:

> "In its challenges to majority policy statements, a small but vocal group of union members served notice that the waterfront still harbored workers as radical as Mr. Bridges was when he led the historic three-day general strike in San Francisco in 1934 that established his leadership and the union's basic strength."

Strike for Jobs!

Minority reports by Mandel were a blistering attack on the policies of the ILWU leadership. Though shortened by bureaucratic harassment, the reports put forward a fighting program to restore the strength of the ILWU, forcing many delegates to respond to these demands in the continuing debates over the union's strategy. Mandel's minority report on longshore called centrally for dumping the present contract and bringing the entire ILWU, along with other maritime unions, out on a Coast-wide strike to win a shorter workshift at no loss in pay. Mandel also attacked the maneuvering by Bridges and the S.F. Local 10 leadership to declare San Francisco a "low work opportunity port," which would open the door to forced transfers of longshoremen to other ports. And he hit the "steadyman" clause which has undercut the union's dispatching of jobs from the hiring hall.

In his warehouse report Mandel denounced the wretched betrayal of the continuing Handyman strike (now in its ninth month). Even though a striker was run down and killed by a scab truck crashing the picket line last August, the ILWU tops called neither sympathy strikes nor mass picket lines, instead ordering union members in other warehouses to continue to handle scab Handyman goods. Mandel's attack on the leadership's no-win policies caused Local 6 president Curtis McClain to answer that the union was too weak to take on the parent company of the small Stockton outlet!

In a convention dominated by bureaucrats and local officials, the minority report on longshore nevertheless got about 30 votes from the 451 delegates.

The fight for jobs was also sharply posed when the Seattle longshore local's proposal for a six-hour day at eight-hours pay came before the convention. Stan Gow pointed out that two major

continued on page 10

Sadlowski Refuses to Call For Strike Action

Steel Ranks Against Abel's Contract

There is a bitter taste in the mouths of American steel workers in the wake of the sellout agreement for basic steel signed by retiring United Steelworkers of America (USWA) chief I.W. Abel. USWA members are almost universally disgruntled by a minimal wage increase of 80 cents over three years; extension of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) through the next contract period as well; commitment to extend the productivity agreements; and maintenance of the Consent Decree, which insures both a discriminatory seniority system and government intervention in union affairs. The empty package was capped by a fraudulent "job security" clause which provides (under certain conditions!) an extra year of supplementary unemployment benefits to workers with 20 years seniority, who are very rarely laid off.

Not surprisingly, this contract has provoked cries of anguish from the USWA ranks. Although the membership does not have the right to ratify bargaining agreements, numerous locals have passed motions condemning the contract. Unfortunately, however, the most pervasive attitude among steel workers is, "The contract stinks, but what can you do about it?" Even at those union meetings where the contract was overwhelmingly rejected, attendance was fairly light. At Lorain, Ohio, only 250 members out of 7,000 showed up to condemn the contract. At South Works in Chicago the attendance was little more than 100.

The attitude of resignation among most steel workers is not hard to understand. They are without leaders. It is relatively easy to find local union officials who are willing to publicly denounce the contract, but finding leaders who are prepared to do something about it is quite another matter. None of the local resolutions which condemned the contract called for strike action to overturn it.

District 31 of the USWA, which encompasses Chicago-Gary, is a case in point This is the base of the Sadlowski movement, Ed Sadlowski having been the outgoing district director. The new district director is Jim Balanoff, a strong supporter of the defeated challenger to Abel's handpicked successor, Lloyd McBride. At the Basic Steel Industry

continued on page 5

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 157 13 May 1977

ULSTER LOYALISM IN CRISIS

Bob Hamilton/News Letter [Belfast]

8,000 Belfast shipyard workers voted against communalist general strike.

Reactionary Orange Nationalist Strike Fizzles

MAY 10—As the Protestant general strike in Northern Ireland wobbles into its second uncertain week, support in major workplaces appears minimal. The faint possibility of its success hinges on the action of several hundred workers at a single power station which produces two-thirds of the province's electricity. Unlike 1974, when a similar communalist general strike brought Ulster to a standstill, this time the reactionary political strike seems doomed to failure in the face of a sharp split in Ulster "loyalism."

The Protestant politicians and paramilitary groups whose Ulster Unionist Action Council (UUAC) launched the strike are in the anomalous position of insurrecting against the British state to which they have persistently pledged allegiance. While his supporters waved Union Jacks and chanted "No surrender!" bible-thumping bigot and ultra-rightist MP [Member of Parliament] Ian Paisley flung down the gauntlet of disaffected loyalism: "If Mr. Mason [British secretary of state for Northern Ireland] decides that Ulster is ungovernable and steps up withdrawal, then I tell him that we—the Protestants—are prepared to rule Ulster" (*News Letter* [Belfast], 30 April).

Connelly/Belfast

Ian Paisley picketing before Parliament in Belfast last week.

The Orange nationalist strikers are demanding total suppression of the Provisional IRA and return to the Stormont provincial parliament abolished by Westminster at the beginning of "direct rule" from London in 1972. Already inveterate optimists among the parliamentary parties are prophesying that a defeat for the Protestant strike would open the way to renewed "power sharing" with "moderate" Republicans. But just as the Paisleyites have been unable to mobilize a solid base to reimpose untrammeled Orange ascendancy, so the "moderates" will be unable to force the Catholic population to submit to the British yoke and Protestant rule which are inherently inimical to its interests.

The successive defeat of every measure proposed by the "respectable" politicians demonstrates the impossibility of resolving the Ulster conflict within the framework of capitalism short of a communalist bloodbath. Set at each others' throats by poverty and closely intermingled so that a territorial separation could only be achieved through massive forced population transfers, the working people of both communities cannot be united on simple economist or "democratic" grounds. It is only through a common working-class mobilization against the sectarian terror, combatting both Orange (Ulster Protestant) and Green (Irish Catholic) nationalism, that an equitable and truly democratic solution to the Northern Ireland conflict can be achieved.

Shipyard Workers Say No to Sectarian Strike

The overwhelmingly Protestant workforce at the huge Harland and Wolff shipyard in East Belfast handed the UUAC its first major setback. On April 29, 8,000 shipyard workers voted almost to a man against supporting the strike call (see picture above). Such bastions of the "Protestant ascendancy" as the Orange Order, the Official Unionist Party and the Protestant clergy denounced the strike. James Molyneaux, leader of the coalition of Unionist MP's at Westminster, condemned it as a "putsch" and declared:

continued on page 2

Civil Libertarians Aid Racist Terrorists

Why the ACLU Defends Fascists ...6

Ulster...

(continued from page 1)

"It is no longer an issue of security, but who is for or against the union [with Britain]" (*Daily Telegraph* [London], 5 May). He also expelled Paisley and his Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) from the already shaky parliamentary coalition.

The strike had an uneven impact on its first day, May 3. In Catholic-majority areas like Derry it was simply ignored. In Protestant rural areas, it was largely effective, and numerous shops and small factories were shut down. The key port city of Larne, where the 15,000-strong paramilitary Ulster Defense Association (UDA) concentrated much of its strongarm activity, was closed by a dockers' walkout. In Belfast's main industrial facilities, absenteeism was high, but a majority of workers reported despite a spate of bombings, transportation sabotage and UDA barricades.

On Wednesday, the shipyard and other major industrial establishments (ICI, Courtaulds, Goodyear, General Electric, Grundig and others) reported a 70 percent or higher turnout, larger than on Tuesday. Several hundred strike enforcers clashed with the police in East Belfast as the forces of official repression attempted to dismantle an oil-drum barricade that was blocking traffic. The cops retreated under a barrage of bottles and stones. The following day, support for the strike reportedly declined further, but violent clashes continued in the Belfast area, where a number of arrests were made, and the port of Larne remained closed.

The vital Ballylumford power station outside of Larne has become the main battleground in the strike. In May 1974 a concerted slowdown by Ballylumford workers cut electricity to a trickle and was the major breakthrough in the two-week general strike which toppled the Catholic/Protestant "power-sharing" provincial executive. This time the power workers have been more cautious. On the eve of the strike, an assembly of manual workers passed a motion reading: "Until such time as the rest of industry in Northern Ireland shows support for the strike we will carry out normal duties."

On Wednesday a third of the 600 manual workers met and voted to support the strike's aims without deciding on any specific action. This buoyed the Action Council's hopes, and more squads of UDA thugs were dispatched to the area. Technicians and engineers, however, dissociated themselves from the vote, and several prominent Unionist politicians visited the plant to urge the men to stay on the job. On Friday, another meeting was held, and by a vote of 286 to 171 the workers decided against participation. On Saturday, police and British soldiers threw a cordon around the station.

The 1974 General Strike

Unless a sudden shift in sentiment among the power station workers throws them behind this reactionary strike, it will soon dissipate. The lack of widespread support is in marked contrast to the 1974 Protestant general strike which it hoped to duplicate. Although the paramilitary Orange gangs certainly played a role in forcing many workers to passively acquiesce in that strike, support among key sectors of the workforce was evident from the beginning. At the very beginning of that strike, power workers walked off in sympathy. The Ulster Workers Council (UWC), which in alliance with the UDA spearheaded the fight against the power-sharing executive, included a number of shop stewards at the shipyard and power plants. With a mass base in the factories and Protestant communities, the UWC strike dramatically demonstrated (albeit in support of reactionary sectarian ends) the social power of the working class, shutting down industry and organizing distribution of food, gasoline and vital services.

Most importantly, the 1974 battle had a clear target around which the mass of the Protestant population and its communal leaders could rally—the 1973 Sunningdale agreement engineered by the Tory secretary for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw. Sunningdale had two dimensions: a provincial executive in which the Catholic-based Social Democratic Labor Party (SDLP) would be guaranteed a number of cabinet posts and an associated Council of Ireland in which the Northern executive and the government of the Republic of Ireland would regularly consult and presumably find a basis (through joint British/Irish economic pressure) to force reunification of the island.

The agreement split the Official Unionist Party apart, and its leader Brian Faulkner, a staunch Orangeman, found himself denounced for selling out to the Catholic-clerical dominated Southern state. A faction of the Official Unionists led by Harry West allied itself with Paisley's DUP and the Ulster Vanguard grouping led by William Craig to block the agreement. They were, in turn, backed up by the UDA and other armed Protestant groups (who traded sectarian atrocities with the IRA Provos) and the loyalist trade unionists of the UWC.

The hardline Unionist coalition demonstrated its strength by winning 11 out of 12 Northern Ireland seats in the British Parliament in the February 1974 general elections. When in May the SDLP and Faulkner's supporters in the Northern Ireland Assembly voted to support the Council of Ireland "in principle," the UWC launched its strike. Two weeks later, the power-sharing executive fell, and the province reverted to direct British rule.

UDI?

With the exception of Paisley and a handful of other politicians, the "respectable" Unionists who gave open or tacit support to the 1974 strike—West, Craig, the Orange Order—called on Protestant workers to oppose this one. While the reasons are steeped in the complexities of Ulster's constantly shifting political alignments, one central fact stands out. From the pro-strike UDA gunmen to the anti-strike Official Unionists (now led by Molyneaux), the Protestants recognize that the logic of this strike leads in the direction of a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). With an eye on the South (where British investments are now greater than in Ulster) and on the seething Catholic population in the North, the Labour government dares not accede to the Paisleyite demand for a return to the pre-1972 Stormont parliament, which would bring back the gerrymander, the hated B-Special auxiliary police and all the trappings of full-blown Orange ascendancy.

Nor can London foist another Council of Ireland and/or institutionalized power-sharing on the Protestant majority against their will. Instead, British prime minister Callaghan has typically opted for another temporizing policy: a middle road of "administrative devolution," i.e., a regional authority but no local legislative body. He has sweetened the deal with a promise of more seats for Northern Ireland at Westminster and pleads for some form of window-dressing cooperation between the SDLP and the Unionists.

The Orange leaders are capable and quite willing to close ranks against any particularly objectionable British policy. But only the paramilitary groups and a handful of political desperados like Paisley (who genuinely lust for "Papist" blood) are willing to force the issue in a manner that could directly threaten the union if there is any alternative.

The UUAC claims a certain democratic mandate for its position, since the return of Stormont was demanded by a majority of elected members of the constitutional convention which dissolved in early 1976, unwilling to deliver a new power-sharing agreement. But faced with a choice between continued direct rule and active resistance to Britain, most of the politicians backed away from the convention report. Concurrently, the paramilitary groups began to seriously debate the prospect of Ulster independence. This divergence is now being seen in the Unionist split over the current Orange nationalist strike.

The Left Wing of Unionism

While the Ulster Protestants have been a distinct community, they have not asserted a separate national identity but have instead defined themselves largely negatively, in contradistinction to the Irish Catholics. The creation of an Orange nation is a narrow possibility based on the cohesiveness of the million Protestants in the North and their willingness to use any means to avoid submersion in the island's Catholic majority. Historically, the characteristic expression of the Ulstermen has been Unionism.

But the plebeian base of Unionism has been in turmoil for over seven years (since the civil rights marches), and the rise of groups like the UDA and UWC indicates class tensions between the Protestant workers and their traditional leaders. In the absence of a revolutionary party, these tensions have been channeled into sectarian mobilizations.

While the bulk of the Irish and British socialist left has embraced (under various guises) Irish Catholic nationalism, one peculiar group, the British and Irish Communist Organisation (B&ICO) has gained a certain notoriety as "left" apologists for Unionism. During the 1974 Protestant strike, by its own account the B&ICO was mainly concerned with improving the sectarian strike's public image, downplaying opposition to power sharing and emphasizing Protestant opposition to forcible reunification under the Council of Ireland. With UWC approval its front group, the Workers Association, distributed daily strike bulletins in Belfast's Orange strongholds.

The B&ICO functioned not only as enthusiastic press agents but to some extent as a left-wing braintrust for the UWC and the Protestant paramilitaries. In an effort to ingratiate themselves, these so-called communists commemorated the reactionary Ulster leaders who (backed by the Tories and the British officer corps) threatened the pre-World War I Liberal government with military insurrection if it proceeded with plans for a united Ireland under "home rule": "What the Ulster Workers' Council has done during recent weeks is to give to the community the same quality of democratic purposeful leadership that Carson and Craig did in 1912-14" ("The Ulster General Strike," May 1974).

The B&ICO began as a Maoist tendency based in the South and held up to 1969 a more-or-less conventional Stalinist/left Republican position that the island had to pass through a bourgeois-democratic revolution leading to an independent, united Ireland under capitalism. But the experience of the civil rights movement (which increasingly mixed in Republicanism with defense of the democratic rights of northern Catholics) convinced the B&ICO of a salient fact of Irish/Ulster politics, which most of the left cheerleaders for the IRA seek to ignore: that the Protestants will resist unification with the southern Republic in which the church of Rome holds a privileged position.

However, going beyond recognition that support for Green nationalism cut the civil rights movement off from the Protestant working class, the B&ICO gave free rein to a penchant for iconoclastic theorizing and came up with a "two nation" theory that soon placed it squarely in the Unionist camp. Hewing firmly to the Stalinist "two-stage" schema, in which the immediate program is tailing after bourgeois nationalists, these "creative Marxists" simply switched bourgeoisies.

Trying to clamp its "two nations" theory on a considerably more ambiguous social reality, the B&ICO held that: 1) a distinct "Ulster Protestant nation" emerged on the basis of the industrial revolution in the North, defeat of the non-sectarian United Irishmen uprising in 1798, and economic conflicts between the export-oriented Northern capitalists and the weak, protectionist bourgeois forces of the Catholic "home rule" movement; and 2) this Protestant "national bourgeoisie" chose to exercise its right of self-determination not by forging its own state power, but by remaining within the multinational British state.

This analysis functions not only to shield British imperialism's oppressive role in Northern Ireland but to tail plebeian "loyalist" currents like the UWC. Mother England was the source of progress, holds the B&ICO, and the enterprising Ulstermen were at all periods far more progressive than the rural, priest-ridden Catholics. The root of all evil on the island, it maintains, is to be found in Irish nationalist irredentism, and the Provisional IRA is the sole cause of "the troubles" in the North:

> "Discrimination against Catholics in the North was a consequence of the national conflict in Ireland, and of the struggle of Catholic nationalism to disrupt or overthrow the Northern state. The ending of discrimination (which has already *legally* ended) can only come about in conjunction with an ending of the Catholic nationalist campaign to disrupt the state."
>
> —"On the Democratic Validity of the Northern Ireland State," May 1971

Worse yet, the B&ICO shamelessly endorses every measure of official repression (including internment!) directed against the Provos:

> "The Provisionals are waging a war to overthrow the democratically expressed will of the vast majority of people and detach them from the state of their choice. The army is here to assert the will of the people and keep Ulster within the U.K.... the army is playing a democratic role."
>
> —*Workers Weekly*, 18 September 1976

In its attempt to find a "democratic solution" within the confines of the Stalinist "two-stage" schema—i.e., under capitalism—the B&ICO can only choose between the Green card and the Orange card. It no more has an answer for the working people of Ireland, north and south, than do the Dublin and London governments. Although its choice of Unionism aligns it with more reactionary political forces, its policy is the symmetrical opposite of those fake leftists who embrace Irish Catholic

Public Forums

Spain: Powderkeg of Revolution

Speaker:
SAMUEL LEWIS
Spartacus Youth League National Committee
Workers Vanguard staff writer

Thursday, May 12 — 7:30 p.m.
Memorial Union
(room to be posted)
University of Wisconsin
MADISON

Friday, May 13 — 7:30 p.m.
3rd Floor Sun Parlor
Ida Noyes Hall
59th and Woodlawn
University of Chicago
CHICAGO

Saturday, May 14 — 8:00 p.m.
International Student Center—
Morning Room
33 St. George Street
TORONTO

Tuesday, May 17 — 12:30 p.m.
State Hall Room 131
Wayne State University
DETROIT

nationalism, i.e., Republicanism.

Its sickening faith in British imperial democracy is merely a desperate attempt to patch up its crazy-quilt Stalinist Kautskyite theory in the face of communal butchery. Catholics and Protestants alike, the B&ICO asserts, can transcend sectarian divisions by becoming British. What a far cry this is from the Marxist understanding of the necessity to organize the Protestant and Catholic workers on a *class* basis!

Life on the British dole is certainly more attractive than life under "Rome Rule" to the Ulsterman. Northern Catholics, however, understandably wince at the sight of the Union Jack and rage at the discriminatory treatment they suffer under Orange domination. The checkerboard intermingling of these peoples in the North precludes the ordinary bourgeois-democratic solution to the national question: establishment of a politically independent nation-state. But this does not mean that there are no immediate demands which Marxists can raise to unite the working people. On the contrary it is necessary to energetically demand British troops out of Northern Ireland, oppose forced reunification and call for non-sectarian workers militias to combat indiscriminate terror.

The answer to the Ulster question will not be found on the terrain of bourgeois parliamentary horsetrading (power-sharing, administrative devolution, Council of Ireland, etc.) but only in the revolutionary mobilization of the workers, Green and Orange, led by a Trotskyist party, which smashes British imperialism and overturns bourgeois rule. A democratic solution to the Catholic-Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland can only come about with the creation of an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. ■

Tania Beats the Rap

MAY 10—The world's richest informer, "Patty" Hearst, walked out of a Los Angeles courtroom today, free. Nine felony charges were dropped and she was placed on probation for five years, convicted of "armed robbery" and "assault with deadly weapons." Explaining why he did not order imprisonment for Hearst, Judge Talbot Callister said he thought she had "already suffered," and "I don't think there is a heart in America that isn't full of compassion for her parents" (New York *Daily News*, 10 May). No? There ought to be quite a few.

First, there is Wendy Yoshimura, who helped the millionheiress when "Patty" was "Tania," the fugitive and "urban guerrilla." Repaying those who gave her refuge, Ms. Hearst has since gone on to become known as "Squealy," telling everything she knew (and no doubt much she didn't) to the FBI, courts and cops. Yoshimura was then framed up with the aid of "Patty-Tania-Squealy."

But while Patricia Hearst is an admitted criminal and was for a time part of the SLA killer cult of indiscriminate terrorists, Wendy Yoshimura was the "guilty" one from the point of view of the capitalist state. For Yoshimura is "guilty" of protesting against U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam. Framed up from start to finish she has already been given 15 years; now the state is trying to send her up for life by retrying her on the charges which "hung" the jury originally. Justice demands that all charges against Wendy Yoshimura be dropped immediately.

Or how much compassion would William and Emily Harris be likely to have for the ex-companion who squealed on them? Given indeterminate sentences for the same activities Hearst

Time

Patty/Tania

admitted doing, they may never get out of jail.

And if Judge Callister is so concerned for the feelings of parents, he might hold some "compassion" for the five SLAers who were burned alive by the L.A. cops.

Patricia Hearst is the only SLA member to escape death or a barbaric indeterminate sentence in prison. The reason is somewhat embarrassing to the bourgeoisie which pretends to "equal justice before the law." Last month a *New York Times Magazine* (3 April) article speculated that her future was uncertain because "the Government wants her to serve further time in jail as proof her case isn't an example of special justice for the rich."

While Wendy Yoshimura's father couldn't pay his daughter's bail, Daddy Hearst paid $1.5 million for "Patty" and another $600 a day for guards so she could "come home" on November 19 to Nob Hill in San Francisco. There, "Patty" made herself comfortably at home, lunching with friends at the most expensive restaurants in San Francisco, driving around in the family's $24,000 Mercedes, playing with her $4,000 guard dog, taking trips to her grandfather's castle at San Simeon and painting her toenails. But most of all she "sang."

Unlike Wendy Yoshimura and Susan Saxe, who have refused to turn informer and have been vindictively punished for their honor; unlike Gary Tyler, who is serving a life sentence in a clear racist frame-up; unlike the Harrises, unlike the hundreds of thousands of nameless, faceless defendants who are dragged through the capitalist courts, Patricia Hearst got the full accord of democratic rights—her family purchased them. Now brainwashed, rinsed and wrung dry by the SLA and family psychologists until there seems to be barely any brain at all, "Patty" will remain a symbol of bourgeois class "justice" and how to buy it. ■

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1,400 Anti-Nuclear Demonstrators Arrested

Free Seabrook Protesters!

They waited politely to be arrested—all 1,414 of them. As they were herded into the trucks and buses that would take them to five National Guard armories, the prisoners talked proudly of their massive demonstration against nuclear technology. They compared it to the days of the civil rights and antiwar movements; some declared that "the movement" had begun again in Seabrook, New Hampshire.

It was the largest act of "civil disobedience" since the 1960's. Two thousand people occupied the site of a proposed nuclear power plant on May 1, and most have been in government detention centers ever since.

Were it not for the callous retaliatory savagery of the bourgeois state, this "ecology" protest by residues of the old New Left—with their "No Nukes" and "Save the Whales" placards, their granola and their "affinity groups"—would be insignificant in class political terms. For Seabrook, despite its organizers' nostalgia, was not Selma, and it was not Kent State. Unlike the New Left—a petty-bourgeois movement which was, however, directed against imperialist war and racism—the "Clamshell Alliance" takes as its target modern industrial society.

As the New Left decomposed, its most organic products went "back to nature." Having rejected the only social force capable of reordering society on a rational basis—the proletariat—they declared war on "bigness" in the name of preserving the ecosphere. It is not entirely accidental that the Seabrook demonstration occurred at a time of extreme social quiescence among the American working class. And similarly indicative of the present climate of sanctimonious "human rights" moralism is the despicable conduct of New Hampshire's conservative governor, who in the name of "law and order" arrogantly ran roughshod over the democratic rights of these innocuous protesters.

While the demonstrators expected mass arrests, the harsh conditions of their imprisonment and the heavy bail and sentences ordered by Governor Thomson were shocking. Prisoners had to wait up to 15 hours in cramped buses, without food or water, while the arrests were processed. Bail was set as high as $500 in some cases for the charge of criminal trespass, a misdemeanor. In protest against this treatment, the demonstrators have largely refused to post bond.

The New Hampshire attorney general called the protest "one of the most well-planned acts of criminal activity" in the nation's history, and Thomson's courts have begun sending people to jail. Seventeen were sentenced in District Court to 15 days at hard labor, to begin immediately—a break with normal practice, whereby defendants have the right of appeal and a Superior Court jury trial before serving any sentence.

Those still awaiting trial are crowded together in armories and jails, where they have not been provided with clean clothes, and where communicable diseases are a real danger. The Clamshell

UPI

Clamshell Alliance members being held in New Hampshire armory last week.

Alliance has reported cases of measles, ringworm, streptococcus infection, fever, vaginitis, food poisoning and diarrhea. Lawyers for the demonstrators are bringing suit against the state for cruel and unusual punishment.

Thomson in his zeal is spending an estimated $50,000 a day in state monies. He has broadcast an appeal to "corporations, labor unions and rank-and-file citizens" for funds to pay for jailing the demonstrators, claiming that unless New Hampshire stopped them, other states would be "invaded by a mob."

Outraged over nuclear technology rather than U.S. imperialism, the Clamshell Alliance has nonetheless become the innocent victims of an egregious act of wanton and vindictive state repression. The police round-up and court vendetta are truly an outrage. It is an insult to the working class for Thomson to ask the trade unions to help defray the costs of this mass imprisonment. It is not the Clamshell Alliance "trespassors" but the State of New Hampshire which is criminally trampling on democratic rights. We demand: Drop the charges! Stop the Kangaroo Court proceedings! Release the Seabrook 1,414! ■

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Vancouver

National Front, Tories Score Gains

IMG Tails Liberal/Labour Coalition in London Elections

LONDON—In recently concluded municipal elections conducted throughout Britain, the British Labour Party (BLP) was resoundingly defeated. In the elections in Scotland, held on May 3, only seven out of 53 councils changed hands, but Labour lost 120 seats, while the Tories picked up 35 and the Scots Nationalists gained 100. The balloting in England and Wales, held May 5, was even more disastrous for the BLP. Conservatives captured eleven councils from Labour and became the majority in seven more where other parties had held the balance of power. Tory leaders are now boasting that nine out of ten Britons live under a Conservative county council.

The erosion of support for the BLP clearly reflects the perception of its traditional working-class base that the Labour government's policies are directly responsible for their immiseration. Under Labour's "Social Contract," unemployment is at its highest level since World War II. Inflation is proceeding at an annual rate of 15 percent, with food prices up 22 percent, far outdistancing the increase in wages. Large numbers of militants accordingly boycotted the municipal elections and recent parliamentary by-elections, while the more backward masses switched to the Tories and even the fascist National Front.

London Elections

As a result even those constituencies normally considered safe for the BLP have begun to fall. Among the losses suffered by Labour in the municipal elections was the Greater London

Socialist Worker

Denis Healey

Council (GLC), which over the decades has been a Labour stronghold and last had a Conservative majority in 1970. But the Labour-controlled GLC has collaborated fully with its fellow social democrats in the cabinet in administering the Social Contract: large cuts in health care, education, housing and municipal employment have been carried out, while residential property taxes have soared and public transport fares have doubled. In the London elections Labour lost 29 seats to the Tories; it now has only 28 seats, compared to 68 for the Conservatives. The National Front—whose campaign was directed at channelling the frustrations of petty-bourgeois rate-payers and backward workers into hostility towards the non-white immigrants and the trade unions—got 117,000 votes, or 5 percent, and beat out the Liberals for third place in 32 out of 92 seats.

The stance of Marxists in the municipal elections should have been to refuse even critical support to the Labour Party. It is a valid tactic for revolutionists to extend critical support to mass reformist workers parties as a means to expose their pro-capitalist leaderships and split away their mass base. However, the BLP's coalition with the bourgeois Liberal Party makes it obvious that a vote for Labour is not even a deformed expression of working-class independence. Even in by-elections to parliament last autumn, prior to the formation of this coalition, *WV* called for a policy of conditional non-support to BLP candidates, noting that unless a candidate had stood on a record of support to struggles of the workers to break the Social Contract, a vote for him was an expression of confidence in Callaghan's vicious anti-working-class policies.

The central task of Marxists must be to break the British masses from their illusions in the Labour Party. In the absence of the ability to run one's own candidates, Leninists would seek to find candidates from the workers movement who ran on a programme sufficiently to the left of and counterposed to the BLP that a vote for them could be a vote against the betrayals of Labourism. However, neither of the left groupings that ran candidates in the London elections the Communist Party (CP) and the International Marxist Group (IMG)—met this criterion.

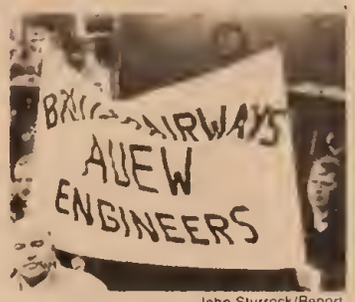
The Communist Party has pursued its traditional stance of tail-ending the left wing of the Labour Party, which is today deeply mired in the Social Contract. Claiming to be pursuing a campaign in the trade unions to end wage controls, CP delegates were influential at the recent Scottish Trades Union Congress (TUC) in supporting a resolution, narrowly defeated, which opposed any interference in collective bargaining. TUC leaders are under pressure from the ranks not to renew wage restraints when Phase Two is replaced by Phase Three this summer, and the CP is hopeful of pushing the bureaucrats to ask for a few more crumbs when negotiations with the government are resumed. Significantly, the CP did not demand that these talks be broken off. Rather than seeking to "advise" the bureaucrats on how to sell out the ranks, militants would have demanded an end to the Phase Three negotiations.

Far from pursuing a course of militant struggle against the Social Contract, the CP has been engaged in active strikebreaking. Recent strikes at Heathrow Airport and among Leyland toolroom workers and Port Talbot electricians have all threatened Phase Two guidelines. In each case the CP has echoed the national trade-union leaderships by denouncing them as "splittist" and demanding that the strikers return to work. At a conference in Birmingham April 3 called by the Communist Party-dominated Leyland Joint Shop Stewards Committee, CP member and conference chairman Derek Robinson reasserted opposition to "breakaway movements" and condemned the Leyland toolmakers repeatedly.

Andrew Wiard/Report

IMG contingent confronts cops at recent London demonstration against National Front.

In fact, CP stewards had the dubious distinction of co-signing with management a back-to-work letter in March clearly intended as a means of breaking the strike. And despite the presence of the convener for the Port Talbot electricians, who urged support for this strike, a motion of solidarity was ruled out of order. Instead, the Communist Party rammed through its resolution



John Sturrock/Report

Striking Heathrow engineers in recent London march.

calling for "working-class unity," supporting import controls and further paring down a projected call for a token one-day general strike April 20 into a miserable "day of action" and "lobbying of parliament." A mere 3,000 marchers subsequently turned up for a dispirited demonstration on this day.

The only one of the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Britain that contested the GLC elections was the centrist International Marxist Group, whose three candidates received a total of 1,569 votes, or about 1 percent of the total cast in those constituencies. It opposed the current policies of the Labour government, but failed to point out the role of the BLP as the historic prop of British capitalism within the workers movement. Instead, it called for undefined opposition to the policies of the Callaghan/Denis Healey cabinet, thus leaving the door open to a bloc with the "Labour left" and assorted CPers should Labour be tossed out of office or a resurgence of trade-union struggle push the BLP left-wingers into "opposition."

Nowhere did the IMG, in its election material, oppose in principle the Labour Party's bloc with the bourgeois Liberals (barely even taking note in the pages of *Red Weekly* of this return to the hated legacy of Ramsay MacDonalds coalitionism), let alone draw the necessary conclusion that workers should withhold their support from the BLP. The IMG called on workers to vote Labour in the 88 seats it was not contesting and even criticised the CP for standing candidates who would "serve to split the Labour vote"! (The IMG made a point of running only in "safe" Labour districts in order to emphasise the tame character of its "opposition" to the BLP.) As a model of how Labour "should" have functioned, it pointed to the Clay Cross Labour councillors, who in 1973 refused to cooperate in implementing the Tories' Housing Act.

The fact that there was a Conservative government in 1973 and not a Labour government was ignored by the IMG. It is precisely the function of the Labour Party to act as a pressure valve for the workers movement. Out of office it masquerades as a "socialist" opposition, but in office it rams capitalist policies down the throats of the workers.

The IMG electoral programme did not fundamentally break from reformism. It opposed the Social Contract, but what it called for was not very different from the usual paper manifestoes of out-of-office Labourism: full employment, more housing, more schools, more hospitals, nationalisation of bankrupt firms, equal rights for women and opposition to racism. In keeping with the reformist/legalist tone of its programme, the IMG proposed to "fight" racism by calling on "the GLC and local councils to ban fascists from using council properties—and from holding positions of public responsibility." Only in a small fund-appeal box tucked away at the end of the four-page IMG "Socialist Manifesto" was there even a passing, ritualistic reference to the need for "workers councils and other organs of direct democracy," and the barest insinuation that something more than left reformism is necessary.

The IMG programme is capped by a vague call for "organising the broadest possible socialist opposition to Labour's policies." At the present conjuncture, all wings of the Labour Party are compromised by their support for the Social Contract. But should Labour return to opposition or the British workers decisively challenge the Calla-

ghan/Healey austerity programme, the minimalist IMG programme could very easily be embraced by at least a section of the Labour Party leadership. This is historically the method by which the BLP has sought to head off opposition from its mass base. The IMG campaign is implicitly a call for a bloc with the "Labour lefts" on the basis of their "traditional" programme. It is not a counterposition of Trotskyism to Labourism and social democracy and only prepares the ground for redirecting militant workers into the Labour Party.

The IMG Moves Rightward

The Pabloist IMG itself has flip-flopped on the Labour Party question. Emerging from ten years of deep entry in the Labour Party in the mid-1960's, its initiating cadres actively promulgated the New Left view that the BLP was fossilised and "irrelevant" to the class struggle. As recently as the "winter crisis" of 1973-74 the IMG leadership held that it could simply go around, instead of defeating, the established leadership of the working class (the Labour Party and the TUC tops) through the expedient of calling for the creation of phantom "councils of action" in the pages of *Red Weekly*. Following the drying up of the New Left, the IMG has flip-flopped from ignoring the obstacle posed by Labour's hegemony over the working class to tacit acceptance of it, attempting to find a place for itself among the "loyal lefts" of British social democracy.

Too small to approach the Labour lefts directly, it has sought to achieve this by forming unprincipled blocs with other "far left" parties designed to pressure the larger reformist organisations. This has now become standard practice of those sections of the "United" Secretariat led by the centrist majority under Ernest Mandel. In France and Italy the Pabloists formed electoral blocs with other ostensible Trotskyists, Mao-oids and syndicalists which in effect called for a more "left" version of the popular front than that favoured by the social democrats and Stalinists. In Spain it went so far as to co-sign the Barcelona communiqué of 30 January—together with eleven other parties, including the monarchist Spanish Carlists (!)—lamenting the killing of three cops and calling on the Francoist regime to reform itself.

In Britain the IMG has been pursuing a "unity offensive" aimed at amalgamating the various ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies to the left of the fossilised "Militant" grouping. An important part of the IMG's campaign has been the publication of a series of pseudo-theoretical articles which ludicrously argue that the Bolshevik party was built along the lines of an all-inclusive swamp and which seek to portray Lenin as an arch-conciliator who opposed splits on principle! In line with their swamp-building "offensive," the IMG has also recently announced (*Red Weekly*, 21 April) that they are launching a new "non-sectarian polemical" paper on 9 June to be entitled *Socialist Challenge* which will "advocate and fight for the unity of the revolutionary left." At a public meeting in London last February, Brian Grogan, national secretary of the IMG, promised seats on the editorial board as well as regular column space to opponent tendencies who were willing to participate in this daring new experiment in Menshevism.

The main target of the IMG's "unity offensive" is the considerably larger Socialist Workers Party (SWP), formerly the International Socialists (I.S.). The SWP/I.S. is a reformist syndicalist tendency which the IMG until recently characterised as "centrist." However, in the interests of "unity" the IMG has now given the SWP/I.S. a clean bill of health and certified them "revolutionary socialists." The IMG's main formal political difference with the state capitalists of Tony Cliff's SWP/I.S. is the latter's anti-communist position on the Russian question. The SWP/I.S., whose leadership originated in a split from the Trotskyist movement in 1950 over Cliff's refusal to defend North Korea in the Korean War, to this day refuses to stand for military defence of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism. However, the IMG has relegated this key question to the status of a "secondary" question which is "not posed at this time."

The IMG has recently enjoyed some limited success in picking up support from one-time SWP/I.S. fellow-travelers who have been "turned-off" by the latter's recent sectarian "party building" turn. In recent months IMG-dominated blocs have out-polled SWP/I.S.-supported groups in both the National Union of Students and the National Union of Teachers. Most significantly, in the Stetchford by-election, where both the IMG and the SWP/I.S. stood candidates, the IMG out-polled prominent SWPer Paul Foot by a margin of three-to-two.

The SWP/I.S.' relatively poor showing in Stetchford was the occasion for the IMG to publish an open letter from Tariq Ali to Paul Foot in which he advises "Paul" that running against the IMG was "an act of gross irresponsibility and a misuse of your prestige which extends far beyond the world of left-wing politics." He goes on to remind Paul "how we all used to laugh at [Gerry] Healy's pretensions in the 60's" and warns the SWP of the dangers of trying to go it alone. He continues: "What you must understand is this, Paul. There are thousands of militants all over the country [the Mandelites' fabled "new mass vanguard"] who will *not* support any far left group because of the divisions and splits, and splits within splits, that characterise us *as a whole*" (*Red Weekly*, 6 April).

Despite the IMG's undoubtedly sincere and thorough-going neo-Menshevism, its manoeuvres with the SWP are doomed to failure. Although the IMG and the SWP share a common opportunist appetite to "be where the action is," they capitulate to pressures from different and often counterposed milieus. The SWP is fundamentally workerist while the IMG characteristically tails petty-bourgeois radicalism. It would be difficult, for example, to imagine even the currently rightward-moving IMG countenancing the SWP's recent exclusion of Gay Liberation and Working Women's Charter banners from its "Right to Work March." The best that the IMG can hope for from its "unity offensive" is to pick up a few of the smaller pseudo-Trotskyist organisations (the International-Communist League, the Chartists, etc.), most of whom have no good political reasons for remaining outside the IMG in the first place.

Fundamentally alien to the IMG is any conception of the role of the vanguard party. For these Pabloist renegades from Trotskyism, Leninism equals sectarianism. Rotten blocs replace principled political regroupment; tailing militant-talking reformists, especially CPers, is a substitute for constructing a class-struggle opposition in the unions. It is not enough to criticise the current policies of the BLP—in the present conjuncture that is cheap talk, indeed. The truth must be told to the British left and trade-union movement: that the Labour Party will never achieve socialism, that it cannot be reformed and that in its stead must be counterposed a Leninist/Trotskyist combat party that will split the mass base of the BLP away from its reformist misleaders ■

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Sit-In, Demos Demand:

Remember Kent State Massacre!

J. Darnell

Ohio National Guard firing on students in May 1970.

KENT, Ohio, May 5—Over 2,000 people rallied and marched at Kent State University yesterday in memory of the martyrdom of four antiwar students shot down in cold blood by National Guardsmen on 4 May 1970. Unlike previous commemorations, this year's activities resulted in a genuine political confrontation between Kent State students and the administration. University plans to erect a gymnasium on the site of the 1970 killings and the continued ROTC training and military recruitment on campus fueled militant student protest, resulting in a 250-person occupation of the administration building.

The Rockwell Hall sit-in confronted the university board of trustees with demands that the gymnasium site be changed, dorms be named in honor of the slain students and the university bargain in good faith with the Kent State faculty union. During the continuous mass meeting in the occupied building, students expressed their outrage over administration attempts to bury the memory of the four Kent State students who were savagely gunned down while opposing the imperialist invasion of Cambodia (as were two black students at Jackson State in Mississippi).

Despite the attempts of university president Glenn Olds and board of trustees chairman George Janick to "talk to the students," the sit-in continued as students drew up a list of demands to present to the upcoming meeting of the board of trustees. Olds responded by ordering police to block entry into the building and giving the demonstrators until 4 a.m. to leave.

Although some students vacillated, the majority were receptive to SYL supporters who fought against giving in to the administration and proposed that a steering committee be formed to prepare for subsequent actions. The SYL insisted that there be no behind-the-scenes "dialogue" with the administration. Instead, Kent State students, faculty and campus workers must demand that ROTC be driven from the school and that the university implement the students' demands.

Only after the election of a steering committee and the organization of a mass meeting to plan for the May 12 board of trustees meeting did the students leave the building. Throughout the demonstration only the SYL was able to draw the lessons of May 4 and put forward a consistent program of militant actions to stop the administration plans. Significantly, the SYL was also alone in linking the commemoration of the May 4 killings—which occurred during an anti-ROTC demonstration—to the demands of the 1970 demonstration, for an end to the continued presence on campus of imperialism's future officer corps.

ROTC Off Campus! Jail the Killers of the Kent State Students!

WV Photo

Kent State students marching on the administration building May 4 on the anniversary of killings by Ohio National Guard.

Civil Libertarians Aid Racist Terrorists

Why the ACLU Defends Fascists

It should have been an open and shut case. Last November, black Marines at Camp Pendleton defended themselves against the night-riding terror of the Ku Klux Klan. The KKK had carried on a months-long campaign of open provocation, while the Marine brass looked on. Finally, after numerous Klan gang beatings and vandalism and intimidation (posters urging "Kill Niggers" were prominently displayed and Klansmen brandished their knives—"nigger stickers," they called them), a group of blacks attempted to forestall an assault planned by these racist thugs.

Then the Marine brass went into action...and arrested the black Marines. Fourteen were charged with assault and conspiracy to commit assault, and those who pleaded not guilty spent three months in the brig pending trial. No charges were lodged against the Klansmen, ten of whom were simply transferred to other Marine posts (see "No Defense of Camp Pendleton Fascists!", *WV* No. 147, 4 March).

So it should have been simple. The blacks were being victimized for defending themselves against racist violence. Any organization with an interest in defending basic democratic rights would have defended the blacks, who face 20 years in jail. Indeed, numerous demonstrations have been called in their support. But for the civil libertarians of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the case is a cauldron of boiling controversy. For the ACLU entered the case on the side of the Klan.

The ACLU's San Diego chapter, in fact, decided to represent not only the transferred Klansmen but also the national Klan organization in a suit for financial compensation—in effect raising money for the Klan. The San Diego civil libertarians invoked the ACLU's traditions in arguing that the Klan's First Amendment rights had been violated by the Marine Corps. This position, unfortunately, is fully in line with the ACLU's stated principles and political history.

Such abstract defense of "constitutional guarantees" protecting fascist mobilizations is in perfect harmony with classless civil-libertarian ideology. But the ACLU is also subject to the pressure of the real world as refracted through bourgeois liberal ideology, and rushing to the aid of the white-hooded Klansmen was more than some ACLU members could bear. The ACLU's defense of the Klan's "right" to maraud, burn crosses and terrorize ethnic minorities prompted a rash of objections, emergency meetings and protest resignations in many of its southern California chapters. Seven ACLU attorneys openly repudiated the San Diego chapter by entering the case on behalf of the victimized black Marines—placing the ACLU on both sides of the legal battle! Black members of the board of the Southern California ACLU termed the decision to defend the Klan "an affront to all black people" and called upon the organization to repudiate the San Diego decision.

The civil libertarians continue to sink ever deeper in their legalist quagmire, with lengthy briefs expounding the First Amendment (free speech) rights of the Klan vs. the Fourteenth Amendment ("equal protection") rights of the blacks. ACLU national board member George Slaff put forward the traditional position for support of the Klan with a touching simplicity and characteristic social opaqueness: "I have always held First Amendment advocacy to be a prime duty of anyone interested in preserving our liberties and our freedom" (*Open Forum*, February 1977).

But the issue was too big to be totally submerged in constitutionalist cretinism. The ACLU's fundamental legalism has once again bumped into social reality, with an impact which resounded throughout the organization. And the "great debate" was carried to the public. In early April ACLU national executive director Arych Neier, speaking in New York City in favor of defending free speech for fascists, debated New Left mouthpiece William Kunstler, a member of the ACLU national advisory board. Granting in advance the civil-libertarian premise that fascists' "free speech" should be defended, Kunstler could only argue lamely that Camp Pendleton was "not a civil liberties issue" and that in his personal legal practice he would not take the Klan's case.

Roger Baldwin — Civil Liberties

It was a sorry show. Kunstler, who represents a current of liberal anti-racism, was trapped by civil-libertarian "logic." He was genially baited by Neier, who had merely to insist that "the same standards should be applied to members of the Klan as are applied to everybody else." Kunstler correctly described the confrontation between the Klan and black people as a "conflict, a very deadly one...which undermines every fundamental right of black people." But unable to take a stand against the defense of the Klan in principle, Kunstler was reduced to proposing that he apply one criterion for those he "liked" and another for those he didn't. He cautioned the ACLU that, when defending fascists, "You should not do it in full regalia, you should do it on the narrowest grounds possible." Neier made Kunstler's recoil from defense of the Klan look like mush-minded, self-contradictory political cowardice.

It was not until the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee took the floor in the discussion period that the civil-libertarian philosophy was effectively challenged and the audience—many of whom did not want to defend Klan terror—could see that both liberal currents were bankrupt in terms of protecting the rights and lives of black people. The SL spokesman explained that the existence of the Klan is a threat to "every fundamental right of black people." These are terrorist organizations, the last-ditch defense of bourgeois class rule when it has become manifestly unable to maintain the dictatorship of capital in the "same old way." Abstract civil libertarianism—which defines itself as consistent defense of the Bill of Rights—can provide no answer to the fascist menace, which arises from the decay of the bourgeois order. High-minded "tolerance" for the fascists' "constitutional rights" only serves to allow them to spread their venomous filth and night-riding terror.

PDC staff counsel Valerie West put forward a class-struggle approach to the defense of democratic rights, sharply counterposed to Kunstler's reliance upon the bourgeois state as a "neutral arbiter." It is only the mobilization of the labor movement, she said, that can defend against fascist provocations and protect the democratic rights of the working people.

The ACLU was not really discussing the defense of democratic rights, but the proper role of civil libertarianism. It was those who spoke for class defense who were the defenders of democratic rights in the real world and those who spoke for civil libertarianism who would deny those rights to workers and blacks by providing a legal cover to the fascists. The San Diego ACLU's action is a reaffirmation of the ACLU's long-standing willingness to provide legal aid to those who are mobilizing to deprive blacks and others of their democratic rights.

The Class Nature of the State

Although the Camp Pendleton controversy is bitter and widespread, all the main legal combatants accept the civil libertarian framework. In a recent editorial, the *New York Times* (18 April) supports the ACLU decision to defend the Klan as "a fair test of the principles of the Civil Liberties Union." The editorial chastises the critics of the San Diego policy, singling out in particular the "harsh words" of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG).

If the NLG's words have been "harsh," the basic attitude of these petty-bourgeois radicals toward civil-liberatarian ideology remains decidedly saccharine. The Guild voted to defend the arrested black Marines, and it is much to the NLG's credit that a number of its lawyers have provided some much needed legal aid. But in the latest issue of *Guild Notes* (April-May 1977), NLG president Bill Goodman refuses to renounce in principle the defense of fascists. Like Kunstler, Goodman defines the central question as how hard one ought to work in their defense:

> "Support for one side, the progressive side, should be wholehearted and provided in the spirit of comradeship. Support for the other side, the reactionary side, may be appropriate at times. On a specific and limited civil liberties issue, it may be correct for the ACLU and other forces to lend some legal support.... However, support should be miserly and stingy—limited to the most proscribed of circumstances and focused upon the narrowest of issues. "The Pendleton Klan situation does not meet these criteria . "

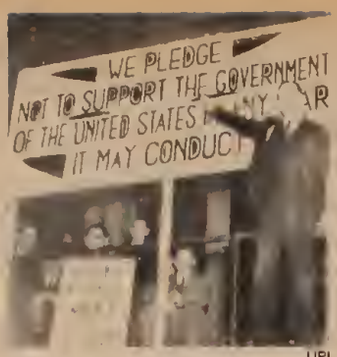
So Kunstler wants to defend the Klan "on the narrowest grounds possible"; Goodman wants support to be "miserly and stingy."

Why are the NLG and Kunstler unable to simply renounce the defense of fascists on principle? It is not merely that Goodman regards any political principle as "sectarian" purism, nor simply that he cannot tell a fascist from a right-wing bourgeois parliamentarian. The NLG's problem is fundamental: adherence to civil libertarianism, reflecting the class perspective of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Goodman's obeisance to civil-libertarian ideology derives from the NLG's political purpose: not anti-sectarian defense in the interests of the workers movement but the attempt to create a political bloc with the "progressive bourgeoisie" over the latter's presumed commitment to the defense of democratic rights. Historically, both the ACLU and the NLG have been important arenas of Stalinist class collaboration with the capitalist liberals.

The "progressive" defense milieu takes as its natural orientation the attempt to "fight fascism" through "unity" of all "democratic forces." In the words of ACLU founder Roger Baldwin (1934): "It is to the interest of the Civil Liberties Union...to aid in promoting united action among all the forces combatting fascism." Like all such popular-frontist schemas, the political basis of the "unity" is the nominally class-neutral ideology of the liberal bourgeoisie. The creation of the NLG expressed the appetite to recreate the same popular-frontist "unity" which collapsed spectacularly when the ACLU turned on its former CP allies in an orgy of rabid anti-Communist witchhunting.

Martin Dies (left) in 1940. As chairman of HUAC he led congressional witchhunt.



UPI

Roger Baldwin speaking at 1935 antiwar rally.

Because the refusal to define what is defensible in class terms is the acid test of civil-libertarian ideology, the willingness on principle to defend fascists becomes the concrete question whereby the reformist in the defense milieu demonstrates his fundamental commitment to the ideology of the bourgeois order. When the ex-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) aggressively took up the slogan of "free speech" for fascists, this was an important demonstration of bourgeois "respectability" in the service of consolidated reformist appetite. In its vehement stance on behalf of fascists' "rights," the social-democratic SWP again demonstrated the hard line—ultimately drawn in blood—between civil libertarianism and class-struggle defense.

There is only one approach to the defense of democratic rights that can be counterposed to civil libertarianism: the proletarian class defense of democratic rights as a weapon of working-class struggle. At the heart of such a defense is the Marxist attitude toward the capitalist state as an instrument of class oppression. The NLG's waffling on the defense of fascists is of a piece with its refusal to defend the independence of the trade unions against the bourgeois state; in both cases the class character of the capitalist courts must be denied.

Just as the NLG accepts the courts as an impartial arbiter for internal union disputes (claiming the courts can be used "tactically" to redress injustice), so also it cannot break with liberal reliance on the state as a class-neutral force which can be pressured into championing the democratic rights of the "progressives"—in the name of consistent abstract "democracy"—as it does the "rights" of the fascists. In this, the NLG functions as the left face of civil libertarianism.

In modern class society the bourgeois perspective of civil libertarianism and the class-struggle defense of democratic rights are counterposed. The bourgeoisie's proclamations of civil liberty guaranteed by law reflected its progressive historical mission at a particular period of history. The abstract promise of civil liberty was a relative advance over feudal society's outmoded system of ossified hereditary privilege. But the bourgeois order, based on capitalist exploitation of the working class, can no more fulfill its promise of liberty than it can achieve the other slogans of the great French bourgeois revolution, equality and fraternity. In the last analysis the function of bourgeois law is to guarantee the capitalists' right to exploit the working class through their ownership of the means of production.

In its decay, capitalism cannot advance the cause of democratic rights. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie is on the offensive against those rights for the vast majority. Only the working class and its vanguard can carry on a real struggle for democratic rights. But for the working class, democratic rights are not frozen in a document; they must be fought for, extended and defended against the bourgeoisie's attempts to limit them (and, at crucial junctures, to abolish them, unleashing for this purpose the fascist shock troops whom the civil libertarians defend in the name of classless "democracy"). The separation of the struggle for democratic rights from the struggle between classes exists in the arguments of civil libertarians, but not in life and history.

The role of civil libertarianism as an ideology in the epoch of capitalist decay is to present the illusion that the bourgeois state can still embody a progressive function, that it can be class-neutral. The class-conscious proletarians fight for democratic rights, but not as civil libertarians. Their axis is to protect and increase the proletariat's class independence and capacity to struggle against all forms of social oppression. In this they must wage a battle against the ideology and organizations of civil libertarianism, which aims to tie the working class to the class enemy and its state.

The Historical Record

The Camp Pendleton furor sharply highlighted the counterposition between civil libertarianism and class-struggle defense. On 23 February the

ILD mounted a class defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Chicano Law Students Association of UCLA wrote to ACLU director Ramona Ripston that the ACLU position:

> "...came as a surprise to us in light of ACLU's fine and distinguished record of civil rights advocacy.... Your current involvement in behalf of the KKK at Pendleton stands out in a stark contradiction to that fine record."

But the ACLU's defense of the Klan should come as no surprise. It is consistent with civil-libertarian principle and the ACLU's organizational record. It is also understandable that there is significant discomfort in liberal defense circles with this well-rationalized objective defense of marauding racism. In the framework of its unshakeable commitment to civil-libertarian ideology, the ACLU has frequently displayed a susceptibility to such pressures. From inception, the ACLU has been not only a legal defender of abstract constitutional doctrine, but also has been influenced by popular social currents among the liberal bourgeoisie.

When the ACLU was founded in 1920, it reflected a liberal anarcho-pacifist opposition to World War I. In its early years the ACLU was involved almost exclusively in work on behalf of socialists, anarchists and labor militants. Furthermore, much of its leadership, including founder Roger Baldwin, was swept up in the initial excitement with which certain sections of the American liberal intelligentsia greeted the Russian Revolution. Accordingly, the ACLU at that time openly identified itself with the struggles of the working masses, stating in its first annual report (1920-21):

> "Today the organized movements of labor and of the farmers are waging the chief fight for civil liberty throughout the United States.... It is these forces which the American Civil Liberties Union serves in their efforts for civil liberty."

The left-wing verbiage and claim to defend the working class in the 1920's and 1930's is illustrative of the character of the ACLU. As the expression of a purist trend in bourgeois liberal thought, the ACLU can only exist in a political cloud-cuckoo-land of abstract principle.

There are moments in the class struggle when the question of social justice is brought to the fore in ways that make it impossible even for the civil libertarian to avoid social reality. The Russian Revolution was such an instance. There was little political room

continued on page 8

The Purge of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, 1940

ACLU: Guilt by Association

In April 1976 the American Civil Liberties Union decided it had made a mistake 36 years before, when it stripped Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—a leading spokesman of the Communist Party (CP)—of her ACLU directorship. Thus these paragons of civil libertarianism joined others similarly infected with the bicentennial pardoning spirit.

Last year Alabama Governor George Wallace pardoned the last living "Scottsboro boys" defendant, framed up in 1931. Gerald Ford pardoned Iva Toguri d'Aquino ("Tokyo Rose") after some 30 years of persecution. And the U.S. Senate finally restored Eugene Debs' citizenship—posthumously, of course. The Spanish working class, veteran of numerous partial and begrudging amnesty proclamations, has a phrase for such belated attempts to cover up past injustice: *indulto insulto* (insulting pardon). Only the timely pardon of war criminal and Watergater Richard Nixon had any real benefit for the recipient.

In the spate of post-Watergate, post-Vietnam attempts to cover over "stains" on the American image, the ACLU's 1940 anti-Communist purge is no doubt embarrassing, so Flynn is being rehabilitated now. But the ACLU can't get off the hook so easily. The shameful 1940 expulsion, which shatters their supposedly sacred principles, is too instructive to be forgotten.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (right) was active in defense of Warren K. Billings (second from right) and Tom Mooney against "Red Scare" frame-up.

Within the limitations of Stalinist sectarianism, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was more of a veteran fighter in the defense of democratic rights than were her prosecutors. As she pointed out at her ACLU executive board hearing, she was jailed many times for her activities in defense of those rights—unlike her ACLU accusers. Those activities began in the Spokane, Washington, IWW free speech fight when she was 19 years old.

Flynn, a founding member of the ACLU, had been prominent in the CP's International Labor Defense and its precursor, the Workers Defense Union. In the 1920's she was drawn into the orbit of the Communist Party. She publicly announced her CP membership in 1937 and remained a loyal Stalinist until her death in 1964.

At her 1940 kangaroo court hearing, the ACLU could not charge her with a single act inconsistent with her role as a board member—a post to which she had been re-elected only a short time before the purge. The trial was a political test of opinion by an organization that claimed to oppose loyalty oaths on principle. The charge, leveled by Dorothy Bromley, was simply that Flynn's CP membership disqualified her from her leadership position. Behind it all was the hand of long-time ACLU head Roger Baldwin, who wrote to Bromley that she "was the one to do it." The "evidence," presented by Roger Riis and playwright Elmer Rice, was articles Flynn had written for the CP's *Worker* and *New Masses*. She was convicted by a slim majority.

The Flynn trial is important not simply as Exhibit A of liberal back-stabbing, red-baiting and consummate hypocrisy. It is also a political landmark along the road of Stalinist class collaboration with the U.S. liberal bourgeoisie, a popular-front relationship whose course almost never did run smooth.

For this coziness with the liberals, the CP had adopted the program of the New Deal, becoming the tag-tail of the Democratic Party. However, its short-lived stand against upcoming inter-

continued on page 11

ACLU ...

(continued from page 7)

for liberals to attempt to posit some idealist legal democratic justice outside the bounds of economic and social justice while the proletariat of Russia was changing history, inspiring the international proletariat with its example (and stimulating the bourgeoisie to step up repression against the left at home). So a small but important current of bourgeois opinion attempted to identify with the Russian Revolution. The statements of Baldwin and the early documents of the ACLU reflect the enormous influence of the Russian Revolution upon this current of liberalism:

> "We realize that these standards of civil liberty cannot be attained as abstract principles or as constitutional guarantees. Economic and political power is necessary to assert and maintain all 'rights'."

As late as 1934, founder Roger Baldwin proclaimed a class sympathy and felt obliged to justify the ACLU's defense of "reactionaries" as a basis for the defense of "working class liberties." Baldwin's words, in a Stalinist magazine of the mid-1930's, may sound strange to those familiar only with the "class-neutral" rhetoric of the more modern ACLU:

> "I . take a class position. It is anti-capitalist and pro-revolutionary ... If I aid the reactionaries to get free speech now and then, if I go outside the class struggle to fight against censorship, it is only because those liberties help create a more hospitable atmosphere for working class liberties. The class struggle is the central conflict in the world, all others are incidental. When that power of the working class is once achieved, I am for maintaining it by any means whatever. Dictatorship is the obvious means in a world of enemies at home and abroad. .. If American workers, with no real liberty save to change masters or, rarely, to escape from the working class, could understand their class interests, Soviet 'workers' democracy would be their goal. And if American champions of civil liberty could all think in terms of economic liberty as the goal of their labors, they too would accept 'workers' democracy as far superior to what the capitalist world offers to any but a small minority."
>
> —*Soviet Russia Today*, September 1934

But there is no "class position" "outside the class struggle." And despite all the left talk spewed forth under the impact of the Russian Revolution, it is precisely the defense of fascists that defines the civil-libertarian and separates him from the defense of democratic rights practiced by class-struggle militants. As early as 1925 the ACLU reaffirmed its fidelity to classless civil-libertarianism—and did so in explicit counterposition to the Communists, stating in a letter to the Workers Party:

> "...you ask us to . take a position that we are interested only in civil rights for the working class as a means to power. .. We are for free speech for everybody as the sole guarantee of orderly progress."

ACLU: Lawyers for Fascism

The ACLU originated in a period in which sedition laws and criminal anarchy legislation victimized the left and labor movement while the Klan had considerable influence in many state and local governments in the South and Midwest. While the ACLU in principle insisted on the fascists' "right" to organize, it was glaringly obvious what the results of that organization were. A 1921 pamphlet by ACLU co-chairman Albert DeSilver detailed Klan lynchings, kidnappings, floggings and threats, concluding: "Its life cannot and should not be a happy one. The modern Ku Klux Klan does not deserve to live and it had much better die."

A 1931 ACLU pamphlet distinguished only empirically between "extremists" of the right and of the left and argued for the left in the name of even-handed justice:

> *"Not a single act of 'violence' has ever been proved against a member of the I.W.W. or Communist Party in the last decade in connection with any of the political or industrial activities of those organizations. .*
>
> "Hundreds of Negroes, Catholics, aliens and others opposed by the Ku Klux Klan have been mobbed, tarred and feathered and beaten during the last ten years.... And yet not a single person committing or inciting these violent acts against strikers, Negroes or radicals has ever been punished.
>
> "It is plain, therefore, that those who defend majority prejudices or property rights may not only advocate but practice violence against their enemies without fear of prosecution, while they call for the police and prosecution against mere radical doctrines. The history of the last twelve years has shown that those who advocate violence in maintaining the existing order may do so with impunity while those whose program suggests violent changes in the remote future are punished."
>
> "The Right to Advocate Violence," 1931 [emphasis in original]

Unable to solidarize in class terms with the left against the ultra-right, the ACLU argued that it was all right for individuals to support leftist causes in their "political" incarnation but defense work should be kept "non-political" and "even-handed."

The ACLU continued its contradictory practice of attacking the fascists in its propaganda while defending them in court into the 1930's. But once Hitler had come to power in Germany and the ACLU found itself compelled by its principles to defend increasing Nazi activity, the ACLU began to have trouble with many of its members. In 1934, at the same time that Baldwin was claiming his "pro-revolutionary" "class position," and the Nazis were crushing the workers movement in Germany, the ACLU published a pamphlet asking the question: "Shall We Defend Free Speech for Nazis in America?" They answered, "Yes." But the pamphlet was forced to note the contradictions that made men and women with a wider social vision than civil-libertarians more than a bit uncomfortable with the defense of Nazis:

> "Some of our members have sharply criticized the Union for championing the right of German-American Nazis to hold meetings and to conduct their propaganda. These critics, moved by their own feelings, have excepted the Nazis from their general tolerance of all other propaganda, arguing that the Nazis in Germany suppress all civil liberties, and would do so here if they had the chance. .."

But the ACLU would not be deterred from its course by mere social and political class realities. Its top leaders chose to express their opposition to fascism through the American edition of the Stalinist Popular Front, while protecting the "non-partisan" reputation of the ACLU. In 1939 the ACLU defended "free speech" for the German American Bund. The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party led a mass working-class mobilization against a Bund rally in Madison Square Garden, at which Bund Führer Fritz Kuhn praised the cops who were protecting the rally and declaimed. "History is not written in ink, but in blood! It will take more than words to answer our program! We are preparing with the only language international Communist Jewry understands!" (*Socialist Appeal*, 24 February 1939). The rally was defended not only by 1,800 armed cops; later it was defended by the ACLU legal staff.

'Save Union' Move Gains More Locals

Socialist Appeal

50,000 ANTI-NAZIS ANSWER S.W.P. CALL

AT THE GARDEN PICKET LINE

1,780 LaGuardia Cops Protect Nazis from Workers' Wrath in Brutal Attack on Demonstrators

OAKLAND CIO HITS STALINISTS FOR FINE ACTION IN ARRESTS

NAZIS CHEER NEW YORK COPS FOR CLUBBING OF PICKET LINES

LOYALISTS READY TO MAKE PEACE IF NO REPRISALS

All Races, Creeds Join Picket Line

ARREST BEATS FOR PICKETING

LOCAL NEW YORK RALLIES WORKERS

S.W.P. Protests Police Brutality

Trotskyists led massive demonstration against fascists outside Madison Square Garden rally in 1939.

The Trotskyists were scathing in their criticism:

> "The American Civil Liberties Union rushed into print to insist that the right of free speech be extended to the Hitlerites.... Apparently exhausted by its noble efforts in behalf of the Nazis, [the ACLU] didn't utter a peep about the democratic rights of free speech, assembly and picketing being denied the 50,000 anti-Fascists who came to protest the Nazi rally."
>
> —*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939

The ACLU's defense of fascism has continued without interruption. In the 1960's the organization went more "activist" in its defense of draft evaders, antiwar protesters and civil rights demonstrators—as well as the Minutemen shooting at the protesters, Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell, the Klan and the American Nazi Party. ACLU clients in the early 1970's have included, along with the Klan, the National Renaissance Party, the White Power Movement, the Fighting American Nationalists, the National States Rights Party, the National Socialist White People's Party, the Christian Crusade, and My Lai mass murderer Lt. William Calley.

It is a significant gauge of the importance the ACLU places on this work, as well as a measure of its professed concern for the democratic rights of the oppressed, to recall that when the Japanese-Americans were rounded up and taken to concentration camps during World War II, the ACLU did nothing (though some individuals and chapters in California did enter the case). Perhaps most indicative, the ACLU does not consider this atrocity a betrayal of its stated principles. In fact, Baldwin defined as the ACLU's single lapse of principle during the war... its failure to defend some fascists during this same period! As for the Japanese-Americans, the ACLU considers their agony "a sad story of war-time hysteria" which the ACLU "could do little to mitigate" (Introduction, *ACLU Annual Reports*, Volume I, 1970).

ACLU Anti-Communism

The ACLU's history is intimately bound up with the history of Stalinism. The cataclysmic Russian Revolution, demonstrating the might of the revolutionary working class, impressed many liberals and prompted at least lip service to the liberating power of class struggle. The usurpation of political power by the Stalinist bureaucracy and its consolidation against the revolutionary Left Opposition impressed the liberal fellow-travelers with admiration for the pragmatic "practical" Stalin, whom they saw as building "Socialism in One Country" and whose advocacy of "peaceful coexistence" filled them with joyous visions of serving the "progressive country" and their own ruling class simultaneously. More than a few ACLU "democrats" apologized for Stalin's bureaucratic purges in the name of "progress" and looked forward to smooth class collaboration with their capitalist masters at home.

With the break-up of the popular front, the civil-libertarians rushed to retrench, claiming to represent a "pure" democracy codified and symbolized by the U.S. constitution. The Stalin-Hitler pact was a watershed. What had been an apparently formal equation of "extremists of the left and right" became after 1939 a weapon in a vicious anti-Communist crusade that would leave the ACLU just another liberal red-baiting milieu, as it is today.

By 1939 the American bourgeoisie was already well on the road to consolidating public opinion behind its preparations for the second imperialist world war. The witchhunting House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), under Martin Dies, had begun its sinister investigations foreshadowing the post-war "cold war" purges and inquisitions of McCarthy. The ACLU was threatened with investigation by Dies, who accused it of being a Communist front group. Although the ACLU national leadership had included CP members almost since its inception, the tension between the Stalinists and the liberals (including virulently anti-Communist social democrats like Norman Thomas) had been building for some time. The threat of Dies' investigation and the Hitler-Stalin pact which isolated the CP from the "progressives" combined neatly to create the incentive necessary for driving the Communists out.

The ACLU had been getting steadily uneasier with "totalitarianism" in the USSR (though during the popular-frontist heyday Baldwin and others had been happy to defend Stalinism). Baldwin, who in 1934-35 had called "Communism the goal," found the pact with Hitler to be the "clinching evidence" that "ended any slight hopes [in the Soviet Union] that I retained." In 1953 he completed the apologia: "...since then, I have been a consistent opponent of the Soviet dictatorship, of Communism, and of all cooperation with Communists..." (quoted in the *New Yorker*, 18 July 1953).

Baldwin maneuvered passage of an "anti-totalitarian" loyalty test for ACLU officials in February 1940,

stating that it was a response to "the direction of the Communist international movement since the Soviet-Nazi pact...." (Only months earlier, in the pamphlet, "Why We Defend Free Speech for Nazis, Fascists and Communists," the organization had piously proclaimed: "The Union does not engage in political controversy.... It is wholly unconcerned with movements abroad or foreign governments.")

The ACLU also made use of its record of defending fascist organizations to beat back the taint of sympathy to Communism. Thus in 1939 the ACLU issued a pamphlet called "Everybody's Rights," consisting of favorable newspaper editorial excerpts concerning ACLU work on behalf of fascists and corporations. When this record of building up defense of rightists was deemed insufficient, the red purge began.

Norman Thomas stepped up his five-year guerrilla war against Harry Ward, who was finally forced out. CP member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the ACLU board of directors, refused to step down and was dragged through a civil-libertarian version of the star chamber by her colleagues in May 1940 (see accompanying article).

That the ACLU liberals would be willing to turn on their CP allies if put under sufficient pressure was always clear. In 1934 Baldwin wrote to William Green and claimed:

> "There does not happen to be a single member of the Communist Party on our Board of Directors or our National Committee, though there are two or three Communist sympathizers.... At no time in the Union's history have there been more than two or three Communists identified with our controlling committees."

The witchhunting spirit appears to have been sharply escalated by about 1937 when Harold Ickes told the ACLU annual meeting:

> "...we speak of fascism as if it were something different from communism, but from the point of view of democracy the two are fundamentally the same thing."

And in 1938 the ACLU reprinted a statement by Arthur Garfield Hays to a federal court hearing: "We of the Civil Liberties Union have been condemning Soviet Russia from the beginning because of the denial of fundamental rights like free speech, free press, free assembly."

But it was in February 1940 that the anti-Communists translated their pious "philosophy" into a purge. At the February 5 ACLU annual meeting, the National Committee in no uncertain terms read the CP out of the ACLU's "governing committees":

> "While the American Civil Liberties Union does not make any test of opinion on political or economic questions a condition of membership, and makes no distinction in defending the right to hold or utter any opinions, the personnel of its governing committees and staff is properly subject to the test of consistency in the defense of civil liberties in all aspects and all places.
>
> "That consistency is inevitably compromised by persons who champion civil liberties in the United States and yet who justify or tolerate the denial of civil liberties by dictatorships abroad....
>
> "The Board of Directors and the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union therefore hold it inappropriate for any person to serve on the governing committees of the Union or on its staff, who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations indicates his support of such a principle.
>
> "Within this category we include organizations in the United States supporting the totalitarian governments of the Soviet Union and of the Fascist and Nazi countries (such as the Communist Party, the German-American Bund and others); as well as native organizations with obvious anti-democratic objectives or practices."

The ACLU's explanation was that its concern over "Communist participation was intensified after the Nazi-Soviet pact when it became evident that Communist support of democracy had undergone a sharp change."

Murray Kempton has said he hopes the history of the ACLU in the 1950's "would never be honestly written." There is much to be accounted for. The ACLU can be held responsible for approving the Internal Security Act's ban on Communists as immigrants, for currying favor with the FBI and never denouncing the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations. According to the ACLU, the CP was only half a "genuine" political party with the rights of others; the half that was "part of the Soviet conspiracy" made special regulation justifiable. Finally, the ACLU deemed it a legitimate basis for firing when workers invoked the Fifth Amendment.

As a leading edge of the anti-red hysteria, ACLU executive director Patrick Murphy Malin boasted in 1957 that his "organization was cheered by the CP's reduction to a 'puny crew'"; he was glad the ACLU could be such "a big help to the police job necessary to internal security." Not all ACLU members were so cheered by their group's joining the witchhunt. In 1952 the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) was formed for the purpose of defending the Stalinists who were ignored or attacked by the ACLU. Unlike the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), formed in 1936 as a popular-frontist milieu for the CP, the ECLC attempted to hold onto the first principles of the ACLU and, while more willing to defend the Communists, also voted overwhelmingly to defend the fascist George Lincoln Rockwell. Rather than defining itself in terms of the NLG's aim of becoming an "effective social force," it was fundamentally legalist in approach.

American Nazi Party head George Lincoln Rockwell (center) leading 1966 "White Power" march in Chicago.

For Class-Struggle Defense!

Socialists and civil libertarians sometimes find themselves on the same picket lines, or more often on the same side of a court battle. Socialists welcome the assistance of such organizations and individuals when they apply their professed democratic aims on behalf of victimized class-struggle militants and working people. The ACLU's honorable involvement in the legal defense of the Trotskyists prosecuted in 1941 under the Smith Act benefited the entire labor movement and the cause of the defense of democratic rights. At the same time, the Trotskyists could not amalgamate their defense policies with those of the ACLU. The Trotskyists initiated the Civil Rights Defense Committee (CRDC) as a political defense arm. The ACLU continued legal assistance to the Smith Act victims after they were jailed.

There was a principled basis for collaboration between the Trotskyists' political self-defense efforts and the civil-libertarian work of the ACLU. However the two organizations had different purposes and differing strategies flowing from their political aims. When the ACLU petitioned the court for the pardon of the Trotskyist prisoners on narrow legal grounds, James Cannon wrote from prison to warn that the propaganda campaign "is not *in any way* to be based upon the petition, but upon the merits of the case as CRDC has already explained them. *Our press must not even mention the petition.* It has absolutely nothing to do with the issue. Our press has its own line and needs no ACLU angles" *(Letters From Prison)*.

The ACLU "angles" were exclusively legalist. While the revolutionaries were prepared to use every allowable legal means in their own defense, and in defense of all class-war defendants, they understood that their case would not ultimately be won in the courtroom. The socialists' line was to bring the power of the working class to bear upon the trial. The Trotskyists understood that it was "Socialism on Trial" and made their legal defense a part of the overall political defense.

The difference of "angle" between revolutionary socialists and civil libertarians very often appears as simply a difference between a legal-centered strategy and a strategy of mass mobilizations: law vs. politics. But this difference is generated by a most irreconcilable political difference of class perspective as well as a directly counterposed understanding of the capitalist state.

The civil libertarian classically takes the state as a neutral instrument. Often, he admits that there is a social struggle between classes but argues that the state, particularly the courts, stands above that struggle and mediates it. He sees the most direct ideological expressions of class rule as "extremes" threatening liberal class-neutrality. The abstract rationalism of the civil libertarian has its historic source in the faith of the bourgeoisie in its own state to provide justice. Class-struggle defense, on the other hand, in the words of the early International Labor Defense, "puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts" (*Labor Defender*, January 1927).

Lifting the "justice" of the bourgeois courts from the terrain of social struggle, the civil libertarian represents a worldview that is not merely myopic, but false to the core. The idea of such a class-neutral floating state stands more and more exposed as it is demonstrated that the courts are a weapon in the class struggle. The hotter that struggle gets, the more obvious it is to masses of workers for whom the show of class neutrality is enacted. With cops who break strikes and courts that bring down strikebreaking injunctions and frame up "radical agitators," the myth of the class-neutral state explodes in the fury of the class struggle. Even in more quiescent times, the civil-libertarian edifice is easily shown to be built on sand, its eternal assumptions based upon the most superficial and variable trappings of the state power. Thus within the legalist context, the U.S. Supreme Court—considered by 1960's liberal activists the spearhead of a monumental advance toward democracy and justice—is now the vanguard of bourgeois reaction, attacking and reversing the token gains of the preceding decade. Those who call upon the capitalist state to "democratize" trade unions, "outlaw" fascists, "protect" minorities, etc. are sowing the most criminally dangerous illusions.

The entire history of the ACLU shows the improbability of civil libertarianism becoming an important force in defense of democratic rights. Either its stated commitment to abstract constitutional "rights" can be used by the bourgeoisie to buttress the status quo or the organization is reduced to playing no role in important historical battles. The leading figures in the ACLU have and have always had, despite occasional protestations to the contrary, broader political loyalties than defending the Bill of Rights. ACLU activists are generally committed to one degree or another to the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Democratic Party. That is why when the Bill of Rights comes into conflict with the overwhelming sentiment of the liberal bourgeoisie (e.g., during World War II and the McCarthy period), the civil libertarians of the ACLU violate their purported principles.

It is not merely accidental that an organization like the ACLU is unique to the U.S. And it is not only the U.S.' two-hundred-year constitutionalist history that explains it. The ACLU is in no small way the product of a political vacuum: the absence of a political working class. Where the working class has a history of independent activity it is the organizations of the proletariat which carry out the struggle for democratic rights. Revolutionary socialists and not civil libertarians are the historically indicated leaders in that struggle.

It is precisely in times of sharp class struggle that the civil libertarian either picks a side or simply absents himself, hoping the bourgeoisie can get things under control again so he can begin again to process all the back-logged cases. Because he has faith in the bourgeoisie's commitment to "democracy," he is unable to take effective action. Fascism as a mass action movement is precisely the product of the bourgeoisie's instability in ruling by "normal" parliamentary means intersecting the proletariat's inability to then seize state power. In such a crisis the civil libertarians play a negligible role. They cannot stop a fascist movement. Only the power of mass working-class organizations can do that. What the civil libertarians are able to do is to provide legal aid for such fascist action groups when they are small and have not yet attracted a mass base, while spreading dangerous illusions that this is the way in which abstract "democracy" is defended. This is what the ACLU is doing today, in the name of legal defense principles.

Class-struggle defense organizations recognize the fascists for what they are and oppose the legal defense of these genocidal terrorist groups, whose sole purpose is to become the reserve thugs of the capitalist class to smash the workers' organizations. The ACLU is not only wrong when it posits a neutral, rational state governing "above the battle" of the class struggle. It is dangerous—all the more so when defending fascists.

Both the civil libertarian and the fascist represent currents of capitalist rule. The former offers the disarming, bloodless and utterly false doctrine of a class-neutral state; the other provides the shock troops for a crisis-ridden class when it can no longer rely on legal parliamentarily sanctioned methods to crush the left, labor and black movements. When the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat meet in final conflict, there will be only a few civil libertarians, and they—along with their more social-democratic friends—will be screaming for a "democracy" of the bourgeoisie. Their most important role will be then as now to offer some protection to bourgeois rule. But unlike today, the proletariat led by its vanguard party will draw the class line, sweep away the entire repressive bourgeois state apparatus and institute workers democracy. ■

Fraser...

(continued from page 12)

foreman who had provoked the strike, without winning a local contract and without a membership vote on the "settlement." Instead, retaliatory disciplines were handed out to the entire shop committee!

Fraser's backstabbing orders at Indianapolis were entirely in keeping with his previous record. As head of the UAW's skilled trades department, he has played a key role in repressing the union's restive tradesmen. Last year ratification of the contract by skilled workers at Ford was secured only by arbitrarily altering the traditional method of vote-tallying. In 1973, Fraser shoved another sell-out contract down Ford tradesmen's throats after they voted it down once, not even permitting a second vote on the renegotiated agreement.

WV Photo

UAW pickets during June 1974 walk-out at Dodge Truck plant in Warren.

Jetterson Ave., Detroit Forge, Mack Ave., Dodge Truck

But Fraser's real glory days came in the hot summer preceding the 1973 negotiations when wildcats exploded in one Detroit Chrysler plant after another. First came the Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant, where two black workers locked themselves in a power cage and shut off the electricity to win removal of a racist supervisor. With many workers defending the sit-down action, management agreed to dismiss the supervisor and grant full amnesty to the strikers. The leaders of the wildcat were carried from the plant on the shoulders of exultant workers. Fraser initially joked about the incident: "This is the first plant hijacking in my experience.... They get an 'A' for ingenuity." But within a few weeks, speaking as head of the union's Chrysler department, he was denouncing the company for "giving in" to the militant strikers!

Next came Detroit Forge on August 8. After months of twelve-hour days and seven-day weeks, and following serious injuries to two workers as a result of horrendous working conditions in the plant, Forge workers wildcatted. Demanding the reinstatement of previously fired workers, settlement of a long backlog of grievances and no reprisals, the strikers elected a strike committee and hired attorneys to fight court injunctions obtained by the company. Fraser again stepped in, ordering the workers back to their jobs pending "negotiations." In the end they won no concessions from management and the International refused to authorize a strike.

Three weeks after the Jefferson sit-down, workers at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant adopted the same tactic. When a left-wing white worker was fired for participation in an earlier "unauthorized work stoppage," the victimized militant sat down on the line and was joined by several dozen supporters. Chrysler management emptied the plant, and the next day riot-equipped city cops marched in to arrest the protesters. Fraser panicked at the spectre of a "red revolt" in Detroit auto and organized a 1,000-man goon squad of officials from area plants in order to aid the cops in breaking the strike.

Later, in the fall of 1974, another wildcat exploded at the Dodge Truck plant near Detroit. When a left-wing shop steward and several other metal shop workers were fired for allegedly leading a "sick-out," the entire plant walked out in solidarity. During the week-long strike, Dodge Truck workers faced an unholy alliance of union officials, management, cops and judges. When strikers took over the Local 140 hall to hold meetings, the UAW regional director called in 30 squad cars of local police to evict them. And in order to break the mass picket lines, Local officials (with Fraser's backing) called on a local judge who "held court" standing in the back of a Chrysler pick-up, ordering the arrest of the strikers with a bullhorn.

Doug Fraser is thus eminently well-prepared to enforce the pro-company contracts, cumbersome grievance procedures and no-strike clauses he and his cohorts have engineered. It is with good reason that auto company executives have warm praise for his "abilities."

Re-Attiliation with the AFL-CIO

With Fraser's coronation in the bag, one of the few pieces of "other business" which might cause a slight stir at the convention is the question of UAW re-affiliation with George Meany's AFL-CIO. This issue has been batted about Solidarity House for some time and last winter Woodcock and UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey met with Meany and his probable successor, Lane Kirkland, to discuss terms.

While Woodcock, Fraser and a majority of the IEB favor re-affiliation, Mazey adamantly opposes it, claiming that the differences with Meany that caused Reuther to pull the UAW out of the federation in 1968 still exist. Rather than push the issue to a conclusion and possibly provide a political football in the convention elections, the International decided to recommend a special one-day convention on re-affiliation next September. A motion to this effect will be voted on at L.A.

Those bureaucratic forces who oppose rejoining the AFL-CIO do not have a program of militant class struggle counterposed to the reactionary Meany-ite brand of pro-capitalist, anti-communist labor fakery. Instead, they are looking for a cheap issue with which to cloak themselves in the mantle of Reutherite "progressives." This is particularly true in the case of the fake-oppositional United National Caucus (UNC). At a meeting called by the UNC in Detroit last week, this moribund reformist conglomeration of out-bureaucrats and social-democratic leftists announced plans to make an issue out of re-affiliation at the convention.

Echoing Mazey's appeal to old-time Reutherism, UNC leader Pete Kelly claimed in an interview with *WV* last week that there were "important differences" between the UAW and AFL-CIO, although he could not specify what they were. Yet on none of the significant issues facing the labor movement does the UAW stand qualitatively to the left of the AFL-CIO. Meany is a cold-warrior defense budget booster, usually aligned in Congress with the sabre-rattling Democratic "senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson. Woodcock, the Vietnam "dove," lobbies for the B-1 bomber in order to get more defense jobs. Meany is a virulent champion of protectionist import quotas; Woodcock advocates quotas to stem the tide of foreign cars. Although Meany is notoriously insensitive to the needs of blacks and other oppressed minorities, he at least came out weakly for school integration through busing in Boston. UAW leaders, including Fraser, *opposed* the court-ordered Detroit busing plan in 1975.

As the Spartacist League noted at the time of Reuther's break with Meany, this separation reflected nothing more than the minor differences between "liberals" and "moderates" within the framework of Democratic Party politics. A real class-struggle leadership would have remained within the federation to fight Meany's reactionary grip and break the labor movement from the capitalist parties. But Reuther, the former head of the CIO, grew tired of waiting for Meany to die so that he could take over the federation, and pulled out in order to gain more freedom to maneuver with his own operation. The fraudulence of Reuther's claim to be a "progressive" alternative to Meany was quickly shown by his hook-up with Frank Fitzsimmons and the Teamsters in the ill-fated "Alliance for Labor Action."

Without the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement, unity between the UAW and AFL-CIO will mean little. But in the absence of new restrictions on democratic rights or a lowering of the class struggle as a result of the merger, Marxists support the maximum degree of labor unity. We support the UAW's re-affiliation with the AFL-CIO, not least in order to expose the myth of Reutherite "progressivism."

Defend Victimized Militants!

One of the issues which should provide a basis for militant opposition to the Woodcock/Fraser policies is defense of a long list of victimized UAW members. Harassed and fired by the companies, union militants are often abandoned by the International and local UAW bureaucracies. Currently prominent are the cases of Detroit-area dissidents Steve Smith and Jordan Sims. Smith, a prominent supporter of Autoworkers United to Fight (AWUF), was the leader of the Dodge Truck strikers, and his NLRB case for reinstatement was recently turned down by the Labor Board. Sims, co-chairman of the UNC and a sometime critic of Woodcock, was fired from Eldon Gear and Axle Plant and later ousted by the International from the presidency of Local 961 on flimsy charges.

In an anti-union action which gives the bureaucracy ammunition to use against oppositionists, Smith took the UAW as well as the company to court. Sims appealed his case to the union's Public Review Board (PRB)—a panel of professors, clergymen and other "impartial outsiders"—which predictably upheld the International and barred Sims from holding or running for any union office. Appealing to the capitalist courts against the union is an indefensible anti-labor action; the PRB, on the other hand, is a hand-picked servant of the bureaucracy whose "impartiality" is a fraud, which cuts off the right of appeal to the UAW convention and whose very existence is a step away from membership control of the union and should be abolished. Nevertheless, both Sims and Smith should be defended against the machinations of the International.

Another, particularly egregious, case of company/union victimization of militants is that of ten members of Local 15 who were fired last summer after a walkout at GM's Fleetwood plant in Detroit. The strike had been called by the shop committee to defend Local president Rufus Coleman and the shop chairman from company discipline. But after having initiated the walkout, the Local 15 officers panicked under International pressure and helped break the strike, leaving ten fired and over 400 penalized. The newspaper of the International Socialists (I.S.), *Workers' Power*, a longtime supporter of the UNC, recently announced that two of the fired workers have been elected convention delegate. It failed to mention, however, that the selfsame Coleman who helped sabotage the strike in his defense was formerly touted by the I.S.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

The UAW tops should have no trouble dealing with tame "oppositionists" of the UNC stripe. Aside from opposing re-affiliation, its other main gimmick at present is a call to elect the UAW president by referendum vote. The experience of unions such as the United Steelworkers which already have referendum election procedures demonstrates that this supposed cure-all for bureaucratism has the *opposite* effect, increasing the power of the incumbent leadership which alone is in a position to reach the entire membership as atomized individuals. In any case, the phony democratism of the UNC is exposed by its support for the patently anti-

Workers Vanguard

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157

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democratic, craft-unionist, splitting position of giving skilled workers a veto over UAW contracts.

None of the other reformist "opposition" currents in the union can be expected to provide anything better. The Maoist October League (OL) is planning an anti-leadership demonstration on the opening day of the convention. But the OL's current "left turn" in trade-union work, after a consistent history of supporting every bureaucrat on the make, is more rhetorical than real. Its bootlicking loyalty to every twist and turn of the Peking line prevents the OL from breaking with Stalinist reformism. In addition, the Maoists' vicious anti-Sovietism foreshadows a new round of betrayals and drives them ever closer to the anti-communist bureaucrats who run the American labor movement.

The Revolutionary Communist Party-backed "Auto Workers United to Fight," which claims to have had a few delegates elected, combines mindless "unite and fight" rhetoric with New Leftist "jam the unions" adventurism. The more staid "Auto Workers Action Caucus," supported by the pro-Moscow Communist Party, namely supported Woodcock at the last convention and may well cast their vote or two for Fraser at this one. The Solidarity House crew will have little difficulty dealing with these fake-radicals whose programs serve only to divert the rank and file.

But the International cannot make the discontent among the ranks disappear with a wave of the wand and appointment of a new president. There have been a large number of local contracts rejected since last fall's national bargaining, causing about one local strike every two weeks. Before the International stepped in, the Indianapolis and Fremont strikes showed the willingness of the membership to fight when given the slightest opening. Emerging from a cautious mood induced by the huge layoffs of 1974-75, the historically militant UAW ranks will not forever endure the speed-up, overtime and harassment which are making life in the plants reminiscent of pre-union sweatshop days of the 1930's.

Some of the resolutions submitted to this convention point a way out of the union's current impasse. Motions sponsored by the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) of Local 1364 repudiate the class collaboration of the Reutherite regime; demand the unlimited right to strike over all grievances without International authorization, and advocate an industry-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to make jobs for all. They also oppose union-busting preferential hiring and firing schemes, instead demanding union action to fight racial and sexual discrimination, through strikes for more jobs, union control of hiring and upgrading, and company-paid maternity benefits and 24-hour child care. Finally, the CMUAW resolutions demand a break with the capitalist parties in order to form a workers party, to fight for a workers government.

From Local 6 in Chicago come several resolutions, initiated by the Labor Struggle Caucus, demanding an end to government intervention in the unions; calling for international working-class solidarity against protectionism, for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, and for union defense guards against racist terror. One Local 6 resolution calls for the UAW to put teeth into its occasional paper support for anti-apartheid protests by undertaking solidarity actions, including strikes, to force the more than 70 U.S. corporations with UAW contracts who have operations in South Africa to recognize unions of their black and mixed-race employees there.

The class-struggle program outlined by these motions is a foundation on which UAW militants can and must build. Unfortunately, there is little chance that such resolutions will even be considered at this bureaucratically run convention. The membership will only be given a real choice when an industry-wide class-struggle opposition is constructed in the UAW. This awaits the linking up of authoritative militant caucuses in key locals, tested by their ability to respond to and provide leadership in the class battles which lie ahead. ■

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PDC Protests Witchhunt Conviction of West German Anarchists

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt
Bonn, West Germany

The two-year show trial proceedings against the Red Army Faction (which the bourgeois media call the "Baader-Meinhof gang") is over, but the reactionary vendetta in West Germany continues. The capitalist kangaroo court has sentenced Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe to life imprisonment, having previously sent two of their comrades (Ulrike Meinhof and Holger Meins) to martyrs' deaths.

The defendants are accused of attacking symbols of murderous imperialism, which is no crime in the eyes of the working class. On the contrary: it is your witchhunting government with its vicious attacks on the most basic democratic rights of the defendants, its nationwide blacklisting of radicals, its harboring of Nazi war criminals, which stands convicted as the real terrorists.

We demand that all charges against Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe and the other victims of West Germany's bourgeois class terror be dropped and that they be freed immediately.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York City, NY 10013

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn...

(continued from page 7)

imperialist war (dictated by the exigencies of Russian foreign policy following the 1939 Stalin-Hitler pact) briefly broke the bloc and deprived the Stalinists of any usefulness for the liberals. Flynn dutifully did her share, with social-patriotic appeals such as "American Mothers: Keep Our Boys Out of Imperialism's War."

But after Hitler's invasion of the USSR, the CP hastened to ingratiate itself once more with the "democratic" bourgeoisie as it broke strikes and signed no-strike pledges on behalf of the "anti-fascist" popular front.

The CP's 1939-40 antiwar line caused a fissure in the popular-front alliance, which in the post-war period gave way to an avalance of anti-Communist hysteria. It was this first rupture which formed the context of the 1940 Flynn expulsion. Flynn's trial was an important "loyalty oath" by the self-styled democrats of the ACLU, placing the organization in the forefront of war hysteria.

Many of the issues associated with the "cold war" witchhunts are foreshadowed in this 1940 hearing. It is one of the self-serving myths of liberalism that the post-war witchhunt was the product of Joe McCarthy. In fact, it was more a liberal invention. Ironically, even before the Americans for Democratic Action started its "housecleaning," before Harry Truman instituted loyalty oaths for government employment, it was the ACLU—the self-proclaimed guardian of the individual's right to hold unpopular opinions—which set the tone, style and political content of McCarthyism: guilt by association.

In this small dramatic scene are found some of the stock characters associated with the later witchhunts. There is Martin Dies of the infamous House Committee on Un-American Activities making a tacit agreement with ACLU co-counsel Arthur Garfield Hays; and Morris Ernst, the ACLU board member who was J. Edgar Hoover's personal attorney. There are the anti-Communist liberals trying to sanitize their organization "by any means necessary"—an anti-Communist "housecleaning" in exchange for which the big-time witchhunters agreed to exempt the ACLU from their tender mercies. And there is the CP victim, sometimes courageous, betrayed by liberal "friends," isolated from labor support in part by the class collaborationism of Stalinism.

Much of Flynn's testimony (eventually published in book form by Corliss Lamont, an ACLU board member present at the hearing) was indeed courageous, but some was downright slippery. She forthrightly refused to deny or downplay her CP membership, but some of her rather disingenuous statements are reminiscent of much of the testimony at the subsequent "cold war" witchhunts—with the important difference that those who recanted or equivocated under the hammer blows of the McCarthyite repression were facing imminent personal tragedy: loss of their jobs, persecution of their families, the vague threat of legal proceedings. At the ACLU hearing in 1940, Flynn was facing nothing worse than the loss of her ACLU membership. Perhaps it was her years of practice in Stalinist front-groupism which induced exchanges such as the following:

> "*Mr. Hays:* Has the [Communist] Party here ever rejected any policy which has been determined by the Third International?
> "*Miss Flynn:* I would have to look that up. I have only been a member of the Communist Party for three years.
> "*Mr. Hays:* Has it, in the last three years?
> "*Miss Flynn:* I don't know that, either....
> "*Mr. Hays:* I want to know to what extent members of the Communist Party are subject to orders by the Communist Party.
> "*Miss Flynn:* Well, do you want me to tell you from my experience?
> "*Mr. Hays:* Yes, surely.
> "*Miss Flynn:* As a member?
> "*Mr. Hays:* Yes.
> "*Miss Flynn:* I have yet to receive any order from the Communist Party."

In the trial are paraded the viciousness of the liberal red-baiters and the helplessness of the Stalinists, under attack from the liberals whose "democratic" pretensions they have buttressed for years. Years of peddling Stalinism as some kind of linear extension of bourgeois democracy and the "Bill of Rights" had left Flynn in an unenviable position before her ACLU prosecutors. Stalinist sectarian defense work and front-groupist manipulations had eroded and destroyed the united-front defense traditions of the 1920's, leaving little to counterpose to ACLU-style libertarianism.

The only effective reply Flynn could muster was her demonstration that she was a more consistent liberal and civil-libertarian than the majority of the ACLU board:

> "Communists have been among the most loyal and devoted defenders of civil liberties in America, as were our predecessors, the left-wing groups of the old Socialist Party and the I.W.W. The records of the A.C.L.U. abound with our names, as those who were arrested, beaten, jailed, tried, and served sentences for free speech, free press and free assemblage.
> "Is there any member of this Board whose record as a consistent militant fighter for these rights can outweigh the records of Wm. Z. Foster and myself, since the free speech fight in Spokane, Wash., in 1910, which was not our first arrests? Has any of this Board a better record against war-time invasion of civil liberties and their defense for 20 years than Earl Browder? How often has Mrs. Bromley, Mr. Riis, or Mr. Rice been in jail for free speech?
> "Is this Board to retain its original character, where all the groups engaged in struggle were represented from Christian Pacifist to I.W.W. and Irish Republican or is it to be 'above the battle,' detached observers, subscribing to abstract civil liberties, graciously willing to defend the bold bad reds, but not to associate with them?"

But as the ACLU—always a weathervane of liberal public opinion—rushed to disavow the taint of "Commie" connections, no defense could protect her. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Changing of the Guard at UAW Convention

Doug Fraser's Record of Broken Strikes

Jefferson Ave., Detroit Forge, Mack Ave., Dodge Truck...

AP

UAW president-to-be Douglas Fraser talking to workers outside Chrysler's Lynch Road Forge after he broke five-day wildcat at the plant in August 1973.

The 25th Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW), being held in Los Angeles May 15-20, is billed as a giant celebration of the changing of the guard at Solidarity House. Leonard Woodcock is retiring after seven years at the UAW helm and will be succeeded by the unanimous choice of the International Executive Board (IEB), Doug Fraser. Their man, says the Administration Caucus, has a record of proven experience. Doug Fraser has a record, alright, and plenty of experience... in negotiating speed-up contracts, accepting massive layoffs, victimizing union militants and breaking hard-fought strikes.

Like Woodcock, Fraser is a longtime member of the bureaucratic "team" installed by former UAW president Walter Reuther which has run the union with an iron hand for the last 30 years. So while the "socially concerned" leaders are patting themselves on the back, it is a sure bet that the real problems of the 1.4 million-strong UAW membership will be swept under the rug. The grueling overtime facing auto production workers; the escalating management abuse of union representatives; the 300,000 UAW membership loss over the last five years, and the problems of organizing "runaway" shops in the South—not to mention vital tasks of international labor solidarity—have all been ruled "out of order."

Just to make sure that any dissidents present have little opportunity to be heard, the convention's agenda has been packed with a list of bourgeois politicians and assorted luminaries even more wearisome than normal. The first three days of the confab are solidly filled with speechmaking, much of it testimonials by prominent Democrats to Woodcock's four decades of class collaboration as a UAW bureaucrat. Jimmy Carter, having just authored an energy program that threatens thousands of auto workers' jobs, will be on hand to thank the International officialdom for their early support in last year's election, and may announce the much-rumored appointment of Woodcock as U.S. envoy to Peking.

Teddy Kennedy and U.S. solicitor general Wade McCree are scheduled, as is Jerry Brown, California's "tighten your belt" governor, and L.A.'s mayor and long-time cop, Tom Bradley. Coretta King has been invited to add a civil rights touch. Although her husband was assassinated while supporting striking Memphis garbagemen, she will probably avoid mention of the recent Atlanta sanitation strike which Martin Luther King, Sr., helped crush.

Those delegates still awake by the fourth day will finally get around to the main "business" of the convention: election of Fraser as next UAW president, and reelecting all the incumbent International officers. Only after the baton has been passed will the floor be open for "other business," but this will amount to nothing more than a few perfunctory resolutions reported out by stacked committees. All issues dealing with working conditions, contracts, etc., will be put off to the *1979* special bargaining convention.

A Man With a Record

As Woodcock steps down amid choruses of praise from the companies for his "labor statesmanship," the big business press is already lauding the "achievements" and "responsible leadership" of Doug Fraser. Achievements for the Big Three or those whose labor they exploit? Responsibility to the bosses or the workers? Let's take a look at his record.

Fraser's roots in the union go back to the turbulent 1930's. Born in Scotland, he was the son of a union activist who became a Norman Thomas socialist after immigrating to the U.S. Both Doug Fraser and his father were involved in the early attempts to organize a union in auto. After the 1938 sit-down strike at Chrysler's Desoto plant (which his father helped lead), Fraser rose quickly in the UAW, becoming president of Local 227 at the age of 25.

Like many auto militants of that period, Fraser flirted with left-wing politics in the 1940's. But after becoming an International representative, his interests turned to the "stabilization" of the union which Walter Reuther was imposing after taking office in 1946. Working closely with Reuther in the 104-day strike against Chrysler in 1950, Fraser became his administrative assistant for the next nine years. He then became a regional co-director and finally vice president.

When Reuther was killed in a plane crash in 1970, Fraser came within one vote on the IEB of capturing the presidency, but lost out to Woodcock. Biding his time, Fraser administered his union departments and the Michigan unit of the UAW's political arm, the Community Action Program, with the cardinal aim of proving his dependability to run the union in the service of the corporations and their parties.

Fraser does bring to office extensive experience in one crucial area: breaking strikes. The latest item in his record was entered just a few weeks ago when he flew into Indianapolis to order 3,200 wildcatting workers at a Chrysler electrical equipment plant back to their jobs. This left 23 officers of Local 1226 fired and 44 militants saddled with 15- to 30-day disciplinary layoffs. Two days later, International representatives convinced Local 1364 leaders at the Fremont, California General Motors plant to end a four-day walkout without obtaining the removal of an abusive

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 158 20 May 1977

Zaire: The Phony War

MAY 16—The supposed invasion of southern Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) may go down in the history books as the all-time classic "war that wasn't." More than any previous armed conflict, the "war" in Shaba province (formerly Katanga) resembles the movie "The Mouse That Roared." In the film, "war" is declared in order to be lost, so that a bankrupt duchy can be bailed out by "reconstruction" aid. In Zaire's real-life version, phantom battles are "won" or "lost" in government news handouts for the purpose of pressuring negotiations in Washington or Paris for increased imperialist aid.

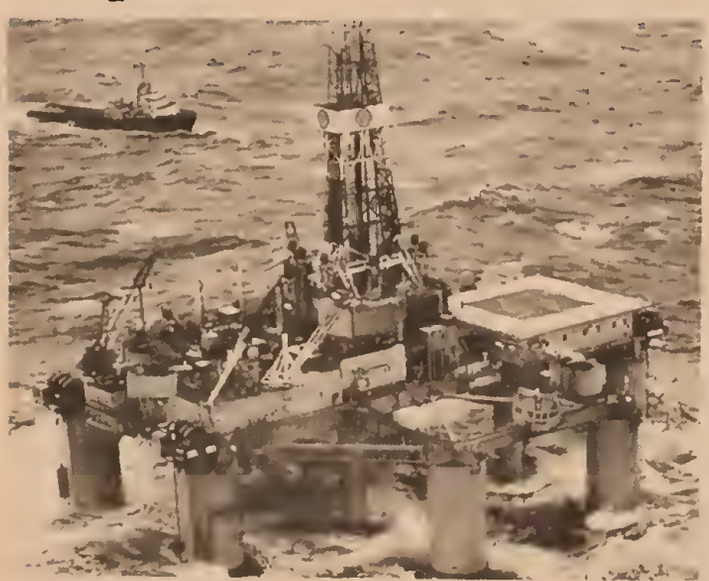
Although Western journalists hungry for a story flocked to Kinshasa, Zaire's capital, no one could ever find a front line. For weeks there was no indication whatever of invading troops, proof of alleged Angolan logistical aid and Russian weaponry, and not a single shred of evidence supporting the con-

continued on page 4

Moroccan troops disembarking from French transports in Zaire. Der Spiegel

Saudi Oil and German Reactors

Imperialist Aims Behind Carter's "Energy Crisis"



Oil rig in the North Sea.

On April 18 Jimmy Carter unveiled his program to deal with the so-called "energy crisis." "The cornerstone of our policy," he said, "is to reduce demand through conservation." In keeping with his "moral" style, the U.S. president gave the citizenry a mock tongue-lashing, inveighing in puritanical tones that "ours is the most wasteful nation on earth." Having turned the temperature in government offices down to 65 degrees during the depths of last winter's cold snap (and declaring prohibition on hard liquor at the White House), Carter is pontificating like a latter-day version of Cotton Mather and Carrie Nation lecturing their flocks on the sins of loose living.

However, as in the case of his anti-communist crusade for "human rights," at the base of Carter's "moral" energy policy lie strategic imperialist goals. As he put it:

> "Further delay can affect our strength and our power as a nation.
> "Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the President and the Congress to govern this nation. This difficult effort will be the 'moral equivalent of war' . ."

The analogy is appropriate, for behind both his domestic energy plan and U.S opposition to West European plutonium-based nuclear technology is the reality of exacerbated inter-imperialist rivalries.

Of course, Carter's opposition to plutonium-fueled reactors allegedly aims at curbing the danger of nuclear terrorists, while fuel cost rises are supposed to cure a nation addicted to gas-guzzling monster cars and electric toothbrushes. But it is easily apparent that the rhetoric disguises a drive to reassert American dominance within the Western "nuclear club" (by tightening its near monopoly on the supply of reactor fuel) and to assure that the Pentagon will not be subjected to pressure from OPEC oil exporters in the event of another Near East war (by lessening U.S. dependence on foreign energy sources).

Sacrifices for the Workers, Superprofits for the "Seven Sisters"

Echoing Richard Nixon's ill-fated "Project Independence," Carter's domestic energy proposals pursue the chimera of energy autarky in three ways. They encourage conversion to coal and fission power, force oil and gas conservation through steep price increases and taxes and provide the energy trusts with "profit incentives" to develop domestic reserves. In other words, the plan offers the carrot to the monopolies—and the

continued on page 8

Oppose AFL-CIO Economic Chauvinism

Protectionist Drive Threatens Trade War

PAGE 6

AFSCME Sabotages Atlanta Sanitation Strike

Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson has succeeded in smashing the strike of the city's predominantly black municipal workers. For the courageous strikers who had resisted a month-long assault of mass firings, anti-picketing injunctions and arrests, the final blow came from their own "leaders." On April 27 the International office of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) withdrew its support of the strike.

This stab in the back came the day after strikers had sustained ten arrests in a sit-in at the Mayor's office and, that evening, overwhelmingly voted down the recommendation of both the Local 1644 and International tops to end the strike and accept a humiliating defeat. Abandoned by the International, with their Local officials urging a return to work, their ranks cut to 300 by workers who had already accepted Jackson's "offer" to rehire them, the strikers finally threw in the towel April 28 and began to return to work.

Jackson was out to break the strike and the union from the start. He refused to consider any union demands, which centered on a 50-cent per hour pay hike. He fired every striker on the fifth day of the walkout and began hiring hundreds of scabs, including strikers who were intimidated into going back to work. A court injunction limited picketing, and arrests were made both on the picket line and in a club-wielding cop charge that broke up the sit-in at Jackson's office.

Not content with having crushed the strike, the liberal black mayor wants the last pound of flesh. He delayed rehiring the strikers on the grounds that AFSCME's charge that he had broken the strike prevented the use of federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) funds to rehire strikers, since CETA monies are not supposed to be used for strikebreaking. Yet Jackson had used CETA workers to do struck work throughout the strike!

Their regular jobs filled by scabs, many returning strikers are being put on temporary CETA jobs and are being placed at entry-level wage scales, entailing up to *30 percent* pay cuts. Local 1644 staff coordinator Ray Reliford told *WV* last week that of some 75 workers still not rehired about 50 who live outside Atlanta are ineligible for CETA fundings and may never get their jobs back. In addition strikers have been stripped of all but 30 days of accumulated sick leave which, in some cases, amounts to five or six months' pay.

UPI

Atlanta cops arrest AFSCME picket outside Mayor Jackson's office during sanitationmen's strike.

Workers Power

City employees demonstrating against mayor during recent AFSCME strike.

The city has also refused to rehire those arrested during the strike who have court cases pending. AFSCME area director Leamon Hood told *WV* that while three of those arrested in the sit-in had their charges dropped—when no cops could be found to witness that they had done anything!—additional charges have been heaped on the other workers and union officials arrested, including Hood himself.

The strike of Atlanta's poorest-paid and 80 percent black city workers was undermined from the beginning by the illusions that had been engendered in Jackson by the AFSCME leadership. Leamon Hood admitted to *WV* that "we didn't expect that kind of anti-union tactic [mass firings] to be administered by this administration." AFSCME had supported Jackson in his 1973 election as a "progressive" black mayor. But just like his predecessor Sam Massell, who received AFSCME's support in 1969 only to try to break the last city workers strike in 1970, Jackson proved as anti-labor as any Dixiecrat.

Used to relying on liberal Democrats and civil-rights leaders for "support," AFSCME leaders sat dumbfounded when an alliance of businessmen, black church leaders and civil-rights groups lined up behind Jackson's union busting. Martin Luther King, Sr. led the "fire 'em!" chorus. Several AFSCME spokesmen told *WV* that the union pleaded with Coretta King to come out in support of the strike; she refused.

When asked how the strike could have been won, AFSCME International spokesman Don McClure claimed, "It couldn't have been won"! "The only way you can win it would be to have the newspapers give an honest accounting of both sides." If that were the key to success, obviously there would be no AFSCME at all, or any union movement to speak of. The lesson of the Atlanta strike is rather that the workers can rely only on their own strength and not on "sympathetic" bourgeois politicians or their agents within the ranks of labor.

The only alternative to the rout suffered by the union, which surely will embolden anti-labor forces throughout the South, would have been a complete break with the Democrats and militant defense of the picket lines. AFSCME should have called on the rest of Atlanta labor to come out in support of its strike and urged the city's (largely black and low-paid) workforce to bolster the picket lines as the spearhead of a militant union organizing campaign. Waiting for a "better" Democrat to bail them out, bemoaning the absence of "fair" media coverage, the AFSCME leaders were impotent and the strike was crushed.

The rebuilding of Atlanta AFSCME, and progress for labor organizing throughout the South, demands leaders committed to a break with the labor-hating Democrats. Maynard Jackson has proved once again that black honchos in the Democratic Party are no less the foes of black and working people than their white counterparts. ■

Letter

Anti-Arab Racism

Jerusalem, Israel
21 April 1977

The Editor of the "Workers Vanguard"

Dear Friend,

I want to express my pleasure and satisfaction with your article "Crisis in the Zionist Bunker", of your 15 April issue. It was a very accurate article.

I want however [to] add two points:

The first is a minor one: Under the "Allon Plan" *only* "Samaria and Judea" and *not* Gaza Strip will be placed under King Hussein's rule. More than that his "rule" will under this plan be effective only in *civilian* matters, such as education etc. The "security supervision" and specifically the "right" to arrest people, will under this plan remain firmly in hand of the Israeli government. This is what is meant by the phrase so often invoked by the Israeli government, but never explained by the corrupt USA press, "The Jordan river should be the security border of Israel". The word "security" means in Israel both *internal* and military security. Annexation (as colony, not as part of the state) was announced by the military governor to the Gaza town municipal council already in February. I enclose their telegram of protest (of course many others were sent to various recipients).

The second point is much more important, in my opinion: that the situation you so correctly describe, first from its economic aspect, secondly starting from the fact that Israel is brimming over with the most sophisticated American weapons, while the Arab states are weaker militarily than in 1973, all this invites and *presages war*; a war in which the bankrupt Israeli leadership will try to attack the Arab states like in 1967 (or like in 1956 with the USA playing the part France and England played then). This is a very strong possibility in my opinion, and the wave of anti-Arab racism so strongly propagated in the USA from 1973-4, is *designed* to prevent, during the first weeks of such a struggle at least, any popular or worker's effective opposition to such a war. It is, I think, very significant that the various bourgeois "civil rights" and "anti-racist" groups, including specially the hypocritical church groups, who have falsely pretended to be against anti-Black racism, did not raise one little finger against the anti-Arab racism, of the most crude and Nazi-like sort, prevalent now for some years in the USA. Such things do not come by "chance", they are organized and commanded from above for a set end.

Finally, I hope that you will be able in the future to show *how* the Palestinian workers are being divided from the Jewish workers by the Zionistic racism and discrimination prevalent here. For only by knowing the disease we can fight against it. I enclose one of my older publications, whose first article deals with the racism in the construction trade.

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

P.S. I do hope that you are reading my material sent out regularly to you. I certainly read your paper from cover to cover and benefit from this!

Israel Shahak is a professor of organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights. He is one of the most prominent and outspoken critics of Zionism in Israel and the foremost spokesman in defending victims of Zionist persecution.

Dr. Shahak has carefully documented the racialist and anti-democratic character of Zionism, especially regarding the oppression and disenfranchisement of the Arabs living in Israel and the occupied territories. His publications include the Shahak Papers, *which concern the expropriation and wholesale destruction of Arab villages immediately after Israeli independence, and* The Non-Jew in the Jewish State.

As a young boy, Dr. Shahak was a victim of the Bergen-Belsen Nazi concentration camp. He came to Palestine after World War II, living most of his life in Israel, and became an active anti-Zionist under the impact of the 1967 war.

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TDU/PROD Aid Federal Pension Fund Grab

Hands Off the Teamsters!

After more than a year of intensive government investigation and under threat of federal prosecution, International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Frank Fitzsimmons and IBT vice president Roy Williams, along with two management representatives, were forced to resign April 30 as trustees of the Teamsters' massive Central States, Southeast and Southwest Pension Fund.

Under terms of the agreement with a Labor and Justice Department task force and the Internal Revenue Service, the trustees stepped down in exchange for restoring the fund's tax-exempt status. The IRS revocation threatened bankruptcy for the fund and the loss of pensions for several hundred thousand Teamsters. The government also agreed to end its investigation of the management of fund assets, although it retains the right to prosecute for past infractions.

More importantly, the trustees of the fund were forced to hand control of the assets and investments of the fund over to outside firms; remaining trustees will have authority over only benefit payouts and eligibility. The Crocker National Bank of California and the Dallas-based Lomas and Nettleton Financial Corporation will now have total control of future investments. Jess Hay, Lomas and Nettleton's chief executive, just happens to be chairman of the Democratic Party's national finances, raised $300,000 for Jimmy Carter last year and stands to reap a nice commission off pension fund deals.

The federal government action in ripping control of the pension fund from the Teamsters is an outrageous encroachment on the independence of the unions. It represents one of the greatest government invasions of union affairs since the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act was passed in 1959. And the current furor over the pension fund may be just the beginning of a new legislative assault on the labor movement.

Senate and House leaders are calling for an intensified Labor Department crackdown and new Congressional hearings to "explore" the Teamsters further. Scandalously, these labor-baiters are receiving active support from reformist "opposition" groups in the union, such as the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), who are acting as accomplices of the government attack. Their cries for "help" from the government are providing crucial publicity for the capitalist sortie into the union.

The fund, widely known as the Central States Pension Fund, has over $1.4 billion in assets, covers 450,000 Teamsters in 33 states and is by far the largest of some 200 Teamster pension funds. It is, in fact, the largest pension fund in the U.S. and a major lender. It is also unique because of the hitherto high degree of union control of the fund.

Jimmy Hoffa established the fund in 1955, and virtually no loan could be made without the approval of either Hoffa or his right-hand man and financial consultant, Allen Dorfman. Widely reported to be one of the Teamsters' main links to organized crime, Dorfman went to jail in 1971 for accepting kickbacks on pension fund loans. Innumerable press accounts have reported millions passed to well-known Mafia leaders, friends of Teamster officials and even trucking employers.

Some of the better-known investments were in Las Vegas casinos and southern California resorts, most notably the La Costa Country Club, a reputed hang-out for Teamster and underworld figures. Some *75 to 90 percent* of the fund's investments were in speculative real estate.

There is no question that the Teamster leadership's gross misuse of the fund's assets has been at the expense of the membership. Fund executive director Daniel J. Shannon recently told a Congressional committee that the fund does not have enough assets to meet its commitments, and the government estimates that $400 to $700 million may have "disappeared." Shannon's aides say that in the future full benefits will be obtainable only after 30 years' seniority instead of the 20 presently required.

Until last year, the fund did not even keep records, names or addresses on the Teamsters it covered! Through a maze of complex and stringent requirements, Teamsters are required to prove their own eligibility. In an industry with thousands of employers, frequent bankruptcies and mergers, Teamsters often work for many different firms. Retrieving records is a staggering task; often even a short break in service years ago may result in a union member being disqualified.

Two Decades of Government Intervention

Grand juries, congressional committees, Labor Department and FBI spies have been prying into Teamster affairs for over 20 years. They have not "cleaned up" the union so far, nor will they do so now, for this is not their purpose. Under the fraudulent banner of "fighting corruption," the federal government is out to bridle the largest (2.2 million members) and potentially most powerful union in the U.S.

Robert Kennedy went on a decade-long vendetta to "get Hoffa," which even Chief Justice Earl Warren characterized as an "affront to the quality and fairness of Federal law enforcement." After a long string of acquittals and hung juries, Jimmy Hoffa was sent to jail in 1967. What disturbed the government was not so much Hoffa's dipping into the till as the enormous power he wielded as the authoritative and popular chief of the Teamsters.

Jimmy Hoffa

Hoffa had reached out from the Teamsters' Midwest stronghold to organize the Southwest and southern states, at a time when no other unions could make headway in the South. From the Minneapolis Trotskyists who pioneered the organizing of long-distance trucking, Hoffa had learned and utilized the tactic of "hot cargoing" non-union cartage. By 1964 Hoffa had signed the first nationwide master freight agreement and had the power to tie up the country. That same year, the government finally managed to get a conviction.

The notorious McClellan hearings focused overwhelmingly on the Teamsters and produced the Landrum-Griffin Act, a sledgehammer against all unions. In addition to authorizing sweeping government and court powers to investigate and alter union finances, elections and other internal affairs, the act struck at the hot-cargo tactic, declaring illegal provisions in Teamster contracts which gave workers the right to refuse to handle struck goods. Breaking union power, not "cleaning up the labor movement," was the real aim of government intervention.

The Nixon Connection

The Nixon administration helped prove that the government is not interested in honest union officials, just pliant ones. Frank Fitzsimmons avoided the legal hassles that had plagued Hoffa by maintaining close ties with the White House. "Fitz" was personal friends with Nixon, attorney-general John Mitchell and his successor, Richard Kleindienst, who, it was later revealed, got a $125,000 kickback for arranging a pension fund loan to an insurance company while he was deputy attorney-general. The law offices of presidential assistant Chuck Colson received the Teamsters' $200,000-a-year business when Colson left the White House during the Watergate scandal.

Despite Nixon's ignominious fall, things might have gone along quietly for Fitzsimmons. But the "disappearance" and certain murder of Hoffa in 1975 sparked renewed demands for federal investigation of the union. Hoffa's drive to re-enter the IBT leadership and reports that he was ready to blow the whistle on Teamster ties to organized crime created powerful enemies. Suspicion now centers on Anthony "Tony Jack" Giacalone, a reputed Detroit Mafia leader, Tony Provenzano, a Teamster vice president from New Jersey, and three of "Tony Pro's" boys, two of whom are Teamster business agents. A grand jury in Detroit has also subpoenaed Fitzsimmons' personal and union records in an effort to determine his whereabouts shortly before and after Hoffa's disappearance.

With the heat on, attention once again turned to the pension fund. Empowered by the 1974 Employee Retirement Income Security Act, Labor Department agents marched into the Chicago headquarters of the fund in January 1976 and demanded all the books. Last fall, the Ford administration conducted the first shake-up, forcing the resignation of all the trustees except the four who just stepped down. Carter's labor secretary, F. Ray Marshall, took over personal control of the continuing probe when he assumed office and pushed through the final purge.

Reformists Cheer On Government Control

With an avalanche of adverse publicity descending on him, Fitzsimmons called 2,000 Teamster leaders to Washington, D.C., on April 6 for a morale-boosting pep rally. But the meeting was a public relations fiasco. With the press excluded, dissidents from PROD and the TDU protesting outside the meeting walked away with all the publicity. Marching with such slogans as "Dump Fitz" and "Expel the Crooks," these reformists are backing the efforts of the capitalist state to further subordinate the union. Both PROD and the TDU parade as "democratic" and "honest" conduits for government meddling in the union.

We have no sympathy with Fitzsimmons and his shady cronies, who have imposed one sellout contract after another on the Teamster ranks in addition to trying to milk the pension

continued on page 9

UPI

TDU demonstrators in Washington chime in with government/press attack on Teamsters union. Class-conscious unionists demand bosses' state out of the labor movement. Only union ranks can clean out the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Zaire...

(continued from page 1)

tention by Zairean strongman Mobutu Sese Seko that the whole business was a Cuban-led invasion.

On the other side, when the identity of the rebels was finally established, they turned out to be curious candidates for the role of "Marxist revolutionaries." Their leader, "General" (why not) Mbumba, was a former Katangan gendarme under the secessionist regime of Belgian puppet Moïse Tshombé, and later an anti-guerrilla commando leader for the Portuguese army in Angola!

Perhaps the only fact to emerge with any clarity is that Mobutu, who has proclaimed himself "the Guide" of Zaire, has scored a diplomatic success. By adroit stage-managing of news and pleas for a foreign bail-out, the self-aggrandizing dictator has garnered a wealth of military materiel from France, Belgium, the United States and China. In mid-April, France airlifted 1,500 Moroccan soldiers to stand guard duty over "recaptured" mud-hut villages under the supervision of French and Belgian "military instructors."

Also on the scene are Egyptian pilots and even a "Ugandan suicide striking force." Mobutu has won virtually unanimous endorsement from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for "defense of the territorial integrity" of Zaire, although there is no evidence that the insurgents intend to dismember the country. Meanwhile, from anxious international creditors he has reportedly milked additional millions to cover interest payments on a staggering external debt of nearly $3 billion.

On the imperialist side there was initial embarrassment over coming to the rescue of such a blatantly repressive "free world" regime. At a press conference last month, U.S. president Carter was asked how he could defend the Mobutu dictatorship as "a defender of human rights." Carter replied:

> "I've never defined Zaire as a defender of human rights. I know that there are some problems in Zaire with human rights, as there are here and many other countries. But our friendship and aid historically for Zaire has not been predicated on their perfection in the dealing with human rights."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 April

Certainly not! And Carter was well-advised not to advertise the Mobutu government's "defense of human rights," for U.S. hands are far from clean. The Central Intelligence Agency has been funneling large sums to their corrupt "number one man in Africa" since the early 1960's, even before he seized power in an army coup d'état. It was revealed last year that the CIA expended great efforts in an attempt to poison Congolese premier Patrice Lumumba (although disingenuously claiming non-involvement in his 1961 assassination). And in 1965, CIA-dispatched Cuban exile mercenaries flew air cover and supplies for Mobutu's forces against left-wing rebels.

Baille News Flim-Flam

The story of the "war" in southern Zaire to date has been manufactured in the government offices in Kinshasa, the ebb and flow of the "fighting" closely synchronized with the activities of Mobutu's lobbyists abroad. This can be seen by a simple glance at the parade of headlines in the *New York Times*. The chain of events was set off by a Kinshasa announcement of the "invasion" on March 10. The *Times* reproduced this as good coin:

> "ZAIRE SAYS ANGOLA 'MERCENARIES' CROSS BORDER, SEIZE THREE CITIES" (11 March)

Mobutu Sese Seko FLNC

The following day, to emphasize the battlereadiness of the rag-tag Zairean army, the official news agency reported that two of the "cities" were "recaptured." But lest Western capitals breathe a sigh of relief and forget about their ally, it announced that the goal of the "invaders" was the copper mining center of Kolwezi.

The State Department took the bait, and within days we read:

> "U.S. FLIES SUPPLIES TO ZAIRE TO ASSIST IN HALTING INVASION" (16 March)

A million dollars in field equipment, fuel, C-rations, parachutes, etc. was being rushed to the scene. To forestall criticisms from Congressional liberals, the secretary of state chimed in:

> "VANCE SAYS INVADERS IN ZAIRE THREATEN VITAL COPPER MINING" (17 March)

State Department aides reported that 67 percent of the "free world" cobalt production, a third of the industrial diamonds and 7 percent of the copper supply hung in the balance. Belgium was reported to be sending up to 30 planeloads of infantry weapons and ammunition to close the breach.

But what is a mere million? Still not enough for Mobutu, so he hit the panic button with a "leaked report":

> "ZAIRE COPPER CITY REPORTED TAKEN BUT THE GOVERNMENT SAYS NOT YET" (18 March)

Yet you can't keep those plucky Zairean troops down:

> "ZAIRE FLYING TROOPS TO BATTLE AREA IN BID TO REPULSE INVADERS" (19 March)

French military advisors arriving in Zaire. Apesteguy/Sipa

And, of course, the sequel:

> "ZAIRE AGAIN APPEALS FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE" (22 March)

So it went. A few weeks later Washington coughed up an additional $13 million in military equipment ("non-lethal," assured the State Department pressroom). France supplied 14 Mirage jets, and Zairean officials announced that the aircraft were immediately pressed into service and bombed "rebel positions." Each new infusion of materiel brought instant "victories," which, however, proved short-lived and were followed by more "urgent requests" fired off to Paris, Brussels and Washington.

Comic Opera

While Mobutu was drawing up his shopping lists, the conflict remained as murky as ever, with ambiguities and absurdities on every side. A dispatch from *New York Times* correspondent Michael Kaufman termed Zairean government information "conflicting and wrong"; reports began to filter through of incredible corruption and disintegration in the army. Towns "lost" were abandoned without a shot fired, often accompanied by mass desertion by soldiers who had not been paid in months; battles "won" turned out to be re-entry into those same villages, now bereft of population and sometimes bombed Vietnam-style.

Mobutu's initial response was to clamp censorship on all newspaper accounts leaving the country. But then, quickly shifting gears, "the Guide" allowed handfuls of reporters to make brief and carefully supervised visits to "the front." Soldiers would snap to attention for photographers, then relapse into lethargy. Guns were fired to supply the sounds of battle. To divert attention from the sorry state of his army (the former Shaba commander was reported to have pocketed $274,000 intended for troop pay), Mobutu sought to make folk heroes out of a company of several hundred pygmies, part of Zairean forces attempting to retake the former district army headquarters of Mutshasa. The imperialist press had a field day, featuring reports of four-foot-high soldiers stalking through ten-foot-high elephant grass, drilling with blow guns and bows and arrows.

Meanwhile, in Washington it was revealed that Mobutu wanted his newly acquired C-130 filled with $50,000 worth of Coca-Cola. (After all, Idi Amin has his C-130 filled up with Jaguars and fancy furniture on periodic shopping trips to London.) A State Department spokesman commented that the troops had to drink something, and the water was probably bad. Coca-Cola had nothing to say, except that they were glad it wasn't Pepsi. For good measure, a *New York Times* (13 April) editorial, entitled "Zaire Made Clear," managed to get the name of the tribe of the Shaba rebels wrong (they are Lundas, not Lubas). *Newsweek* (25 April) reported that Zairean pilots were dropping their bombs from 4,000 feet, an impossibly high altitude, and hitting giant termite hills instead of rebel supply trains. Altogether it appears that well under 100 people have died in this comic opera "war."

Left Suckers...and Charlatans

While Washington has been regurgitating the line spun out by Mobutu's press agents, much of the left has been doing the same with interviews supplied by his opponents, the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC). The semi-Maoist *Guardian* (6 April), leading purveyors of "Third Worldist" bombast in the U.S., proclaims:

> "The latest developments in Zaire confirm once again that the storm

The Times [London]

Zaire government troops rest after being flown in to Kolwezi in Shaba province.

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center of the people's struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism has shifted dramatically over the past couple of years to Africa."

Interestingly, despite the "storm center" hovering over Shaba province, two weeks earlier the *Guardian* had written that: "Insufficient evidence exists at this point to say whether the exiled Katanganese are now a progressive force...." But it only took a couple of FLNC communiqués calling Mobutu a "fascist" and making occasional references to "socialist ideology" for the *Guardian* to conclude that the former Katangan gendarmes had been "radicalized" by their alliance with the MPLA in Angola after 1974.

If the aging New Left "Third Worlders" of the *Guardian* are taken in by the rhetoric of these former mercenaries of the Portuguese army, the reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) thinks it has spotted another Vietnam in the making. In the 28 March *Intercontinental Press* SWP leader Joseph Hansen writes, in an article entitled "Zaire—Beginning of Another Vietnam?":

> "...the downfall of the dictator [Mobutu] could have an explosive effect, unleashing forces that could not be repressed or contained....
> "Carter's decision to take steps toward shoring up the Mobutu regime are reminiscent of those taken by Kennedy at the beginning of involvement in Vietnam."

The SWP's *Militant* (1 April), in turn, carried a front-page headline, "U.S. War Danger in Africa."

Evidently as a result of its unending search for a "single-issue" gimmick to replace the anti-Vietnam war movement, the SWP has lost all sense of proportion. Already last year, when the *Militant* proclaimed Angola a new Vietnam, we pointed out that the United States had no strategic interests or commitments in central Africa comparable to those which motivated its bitter-end intervention in Indochina. To presume that 500-to-5,000 ex-Katangan mercenaries could trigger such a reaction from the leading imperialist power is simply absurd.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party, as could be expected, has concentrated on reprinting statements by the Angolan government denying direct involvement in the Zaire fighting. But the most cynical and incredulous of all are the Peking-loyal Maoists. They received their instructions when a 19 March dispatch of the Hsinhua News Agency took up Mobutu's anti-Soviet diatribes:

> "The recent armed invasion of the Republic of Zaire by several thousand mercenaries from Angola shows that it is a premeditated and planned aggression engineered by the Soviet social-imperialists, another major step of the latter to intensify their infiltration and expansion in Africa."

According to the CP's *Daily World* (28 April), China has also supplied some 30 tons of war supplies to grease Mobutu's palm, just as it came to the aid of the CIA-financed, South African-led FNLA/UNITA forces last year in Angola. In an interview in the 29 April *Jeune Afrique*, Mobutu confirmed that he has received "supplies and different materials" from Peking.

American Maoist groups, particularly the slavishly pro-Peking October League (OL), parrot the same line. The OL's *Call* (9 May) announced: "The evidence of Soviet Cuban masterminding of the Zaire invasion is extensive.... Two Katangans captured last week by the Zaire army admitted that they had been trained by Cubans." Some evidence! The article goes on to cite Soviet T-54 and T-55 tanks "rolling through Shaba" and "Spanish-language documents...found on the battlefield" as well as "white soldiers...observed fighting with the black Katangans" and "6,000 boxes of Soviet-made arms and ammunition" allegedly captured by Mobutu's forces.

Such ludicrous reports illustrate the lengths to which the Maoists will be forced to go as the mindless mouthpieces of the Peking bureaucrats. There is no evidence for any of these "facts" except Mobutu's own press releases. This article, and similar Maoist diatribes against "Soviet social-imperialist aggression in Zaire," is nothing but a shameless apology for U.S. and French imperialist intervention in support of the murderous Mobutu regime.

In contrast to these professional cheerleaders for bourgeois nationalists, revolutionary Trotskyists hold that, "No basis exists for Marxists or the working class to take sides in the Zaire conflict" ("Cuba in Africa," *WV* No. 153, 15 April). At the same time we sharply oppose U.S./French/Belgian efforts to shore up the Mobutu regime and further entrench imperialist interests in central Africa. No military or "economic" aid to Zaire—no imperialist-led troops or advisors for the butcher Mobutu!

While the Maoists view such reactionary neo-colonial dictatorships as the vanguard of the struggle against Soviet "fascism"; while "Third World" enthusiasts hail former colonial mercenaries as the revolutionaries of the hour, and social-democratic reformists look for yet another alliance with the liberals on a "U.S. out of..." program—Marxists point to the vital role of the proletarian concentration in the copper belt of southern Zaire and Zambia. Only by mobilizing this force behind a Trotskyist party—linking it to the five-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa—can imperialist toadies like Mobutu be swept away and replaced with a workers and peasants government which will end tribalist conflict and imperialist oppression, establishing a socialist federation of southern Africa. ■

Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi

Something stinks in *News Line*, daily garbage organ of the British Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP)—and it's not simply that it continues these political bandits' unsavory record of sectarianism, Stalinist gangsterism and egregious opportunism. Ever since *News Line*'s inception on 1 May 1976, it has been a mouthpiece for the megalomaniacal ravings and "people's democracy" pretensions of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi of Libya. Month after month articles in *News Line* have lauded the dictator in weirdly shameless fashion, hailing his "agricultural revolution," his support to the "Arab Revolution," detailing his every attack on the "high treason" of Egypt's Anwar Sadat, and so forth.

Thus a brief article in the 26 February *News Line* hailed the London publication of the Libyan strongman's Green Book as "an uncompromising rejection of parliamentary democracy in favour of 'the authority of the people'." Two Labour MP's who pushed the book were taken to task for giving it "a patronizing send-off"; their praise of the Green Book as "challenging, stimulating, moral" is evidently insufficiently fulsome for the WRP's taste. Qaddafi's Healyite press agents complain that his "writings and his drive towards people's democracy hardly received the attention they deserve."

The WRP has in the last year been making up for that with a vengeance. Over 20 articles on Libya have appeared in *News Line*, not to mention a considerable increase in "special reports" from Tripoli and attacks on Sadat's Egypt. *News Line*'s castigation of Egypt, described as "near bankruptcy," for its repression of leftists is completely in accord with Qaddafi's feud with Sadat—and contrasts sharply with the Healyites' silence on repression in Libya.

An article in the 14 October 1976 *News Line*, for instance, discussed a BBC television interview with Qaddafi and dismissed the interviewer's inquiry into political prisoners in Libya as one of the bourgeois media's "stock-in-trade questions." *News Line* smugly added, "Gaddafi was unmoved, saying that they were 'enemies of the revolution'." The Healyites praised the program for having "broken at least part of the Gaddafi enigma and answered some of the US State Department and Zionist lies," but complained that the interview was not shown on prime time:

> "Miss Kewley's profile rightly belonged in the BBC's prestige slot, 'Panorama'. "It is a measure of the censorship on television that it was squeezed into the 'religious programmes' department where it could not do justice to the subject of Islam or its leading advocate."

What is perhaps most curious is that *Workers Press*, the previous Healyite daily—which folded in February 1976 with the presumption of "lack of funds"—paid little or no attention to Qaddafi and his so-called "Revolutionland." In the six months prior to its collapse, we could locate only one article in *Workers Press* dealing specifically with Libya, and this was implicitly critical of Qaddafi, reporting a protest by Libyan students in London against the police slaughter of "at least 16 students" at a demonstration at Libya's Benghazi University (*Workers Press*, 14 January 1976).

On 8 September 1976 *News Line* carried a centerfold spread on Tripoli's "anniversary celebration" of Qaddafi's military coup. Boasting huge photos and snide comments about the bourgeois press' lack of coverage of the glorious event, *News Line*'s spread on "Libya's Day" was a sharp departure from the silence of *Workers Press* the year before. Something has changed, and it wasn't the Qaddafi regime.

"Revolutionland"

We are more than happy to give Qaddafi's policies "the attention they deserve." Qaddafi is fanatical in his devotion to the Koran, which sanctifies the feudal enslavement of women and prescribes legal punishments such as cutting off the tongues of liars and the hands of thieves. At least 700 political prisoners have been reported held in Libyan jails. Regarding one trial of 17 prisoners (acquitted in 1974) against whom Qaddafi personally intervened to impose new sentences of life imprisonment and death, Amnesty International recently noted: "The accused were allegedly Marxists, Trotskyists, and members of the Islamic Liberation Party" (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 April 1977).Qaddafi's 1973 "cultural revolution" laid out his "Five Principles," including:

> "We must purge all the sick people who talk of Communism, atheism, who make propaganda for the Western countries and advocate capitalism. We shall put them in prison."

And:

> "We live by the Koran, God's book. We will reject any idea that is not based on it. Therefore we enter into a cultural revolution to refute and destroy all misleading books which have made youth sick and insane."
> —*New York Times*, 22 May 1973

Qaddafi's idea of "refutation" is simple: he ordered "the burning of books that

continued on page 11

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Healyite News Line (8 September 1977) hails "Libya's Day."

Oppose AFL-CIO Economic Chauvinism

Protectionist Drive Threatens Trade War

New York garment workers rally last month joined industry clamor for tighter protectionist curbs on imports.

Neal Boenzi/NY Times

The world capitalist economy has by no means fully recovered from the 1974-75 depression. In every major capitalist country unemployment is substantially higher than in 1973, and the rate of fixed capital investment stands below that of the 1972-73 boom. The major capitalist powers have responded to the weak recovery from 1974-75 by two significant changes in policy. One is a drive for fiscal austerity, seeking to transfer resources from government-provided social services to private capital accumulation. The other is an increasing trend toward trade protectionism.

Although the London economic summit of May 7-8 declared "the need to maintain our political commitment to an open and nondiscriminatory world trading system" (*New York Times*, 9 May), in reality protectionist measures, particularly against Japan, have recently proliferated. Furthermore, the London summit communiqué contains the usual escape clause upholding "the right of individual countries under existing international agreements to avoid significant market disruption." "Market disruption" is a euphemism for increased import competition; "avoiding" it means tariffs and import quotas.

Last August the Ford administration forced Japan to "voluntarily" restrain exports of specialty steel and then imposed quotas on European suppliers. This February the European Common Market slapped a 20 percent duty on Japanese ball bearings, claiming that the Japanese were dumping, i.e., selling exported goods at lower prices than in the domestic market. Two months later the U.S. Customs Court, in what could be a landmark decision, ruled that rebates of excise taxes for Japanese television sets were a hidden export subsidy. The immediate effect will be an additional 15 percent duty on Japanese TV equipment. If this ruling is applied generally, it will mean major tariff increases on almost all American imports, no doubt provoking foreign retaliation.

While the statesmen prefer to cloak the threat of trade war in diplomatic euphemisms, the business press has not been blind to what is happening. This past month, two of the most prestigious business-oriented journals in the English-speaking world—the London *Economist* and *Business Week*—have run feature articles on the rising tide of protectionism. As the *Economist* (23 April) article stated:

> "There is a strong whiff of protectionism in the air, and the ground is increasingly littered with tariff and non-tariff barriers. A grim number of countries now want to check imports to protect domestic industry and fend off yet higher unemployment....
> "The protectionist pack grew in number and strength during the 1974-75 recession. Now it is in full cry."

The main target of both U.S. and Common Market protectionism is Japan. Independent of American action, the Common Market has negotiated "voluntary" "orderly marketing" agreements with Japan covering carbon steel, television sets, calculators and shipbuilding. As a leading Japanese securities analyst bluntly put it: "Orderly marketing simply means, 'Cut exports'" (*Business Week*, 9 May). European protectionism against Japan fosters American action and vice versa. When the Common Market limits Japanese exports of a particular product, Japan, Inc. naturally seeks to sell more in the U.S.; this, of course, strengthens protectionist forces in the U.S., and so on.

Despite previous measures taken against it, Japan's international competitive superiority remains overwhelming. In 1976 Japan's exports to the U.S. increased by 41 percent and to the Common Market by 27 percent; her imports from the U.S. and Common Market increased by 1.6 and 3.5 percent respectively (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 4 February)!

Neal Boenzi/New York Times

Garment workers at April protectionist rally in New York.

The American and West European bourgeoisies will not tolerate this kind of trade imbalance. Carter's Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Richard Cooper, sounded a veiled threat to Japan: "If Japan takes a policy to run a surplus, it imposes serious adjustment costs on other countries" (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 January). Feeling the heat at the London summit, Japan's prime minister Takeo Fukuda, likened the present protectionist climate to that of the Great Depression.

What accounts for Japan's extraordinary competitive superiority? According to official spokesmen, it is capitalist virtue itself. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (4 March) quotes an anonymous trade official: "We work harder than the Europeans, we are more efficient, and still they blame us for all their troubles."

This is disingenuous. Japan, Inc. is no pillar of capitalist work ethic, free market virtue. To begin with, Japan strictly protects its own agriculture, one area where the U.S. and West Europe both enjoy a marked competitive advantage. When Walter Mondale visited Japan in early February, he made a point that it was the only country in the world which banned most American citrus fruit, claiming it constituted a health hazard because of chemical fungicides.

Japan has the most effective industrial monopolies in the world. Importing and distributing firms are closely linked to manufacturing and the banks through great monopolistic complexes, some, like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, stemming from the nineteenth-century *zaibatsu*. Japan's trading companies normally mark up imports far more than comparable domestic products. Thus Japanese industry protects itself from foreign competition without recourse to direct government tariffs or quotas.

The paternalistic system of lifetime employment in Japan's major firms is an important source of labor peace and social stability. Therefore, faced with falling export demand, Japanese firms tend to cut prices rather than cut back production. The accusation that Japanese industry dumps—sells in foreign markets cheaper than in its more protected home market—is true though undnubtedly exaggerated. In contrast to protectionism, pricing exports below domestic products is not against the interests of the international working class. For proletarian socialists measures to counter dumping are no more justifiable or supportable than any other form of protectionism.

U.S. Imperialism: From Free Trade to Protectionism

Just as mid-nineteenth-century Britain's overwhelming industrial superiority made it the leading advocate of free trade at the time, so after World War II the U.S. imposed free trade on its war-damaged allies and the defeated Axis powers. Entering the war from a highly depressed economic condition, the U.S. was able to combine a vast armaments program with extensive capital renewal. In the late 1940's it was the war-damaged and more backward European economies which resisted made-in-America free trade. The free-trade aspect of the post-war American imperialist order was embodied in the 1948 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), whose preamble looks toward "the substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and to the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international commerce."

The first break from this liberal trade policy came in the early 1960's over textiles/apparel. Textiles and particularly apparel are relatively labor-intensive industries using simple technologies. Under a rational international division of labor, advanced countries would import much of their clothing and other textile products from backward countries. Japan itself imports a substantial share of its textiles/apparel from China, South Korea and other backward Asian states.

Under pressure from an unholy alliance of AFL-CIO unions and violently anti-labor Southern textile magnates (like Robert Stevens), the Kennedy administration in 1962 forced through the so-called Long Term Agreement in cotton textiles, a detailed market-sharing scheme. The main targets were Japan and its Far Eastern economic satellites like South Korea and Taiwan. In 1973 the cotton agreement was extended to all fibers and is now known as the Multifiber Agreement (MFA). AFL-CIO unions regard the MFA, which allows a 6 percent annual growth in imports, as too liberal and are actively campaigning to make it far more restrictive.

The main industrial force behind American protectionism is steel. Unlike textiles/apparel, steel is a capital-intensive, technologically dynamic industry. There is no rational reason why foreign steel-mill products should take an ever increasing share of the American market. The uncompetitiveness of the U.S. steel industry results from monopolistic pricing and lack of investment in new technology since the mid-1950's. In 1956 imports accounted for only 1.7 percent of domestic steel consumption, but by 1968 imports

represented 16.7 percent (Thomas B. Curtis and John Robert Vastine, Jr., *The Kennedy Round and the Future of American Trade* [1971]).

In 1968 the Nixon administration negotiated the first of its famous "voluntary" agreements with Japanese and European steel producers. The 1968 agreement was a compromise which left the U.S. steel industry dissatisfied; it wanted a detailed inter-government market-sharing treaty. In 1972 the steel agreement was renegotiated and made more restrictive; the allowed annual rate of growth was cut from 5 to 2.5 percent. However, since the 1968 and 1972 agreements were stipulated in tonnage, foreign suppliers naturally concentrated on the more expensive special (stainless and tool) steels. So the U.S. industry started to scream that it needed protection for these products. Last August the Ford administration obliged with import quotas on special steel.

Divisions Within the American Ruling Class

Protectionism has produced a certain division between industrial vested interests, supported by the unions, and the more responsible representatives of American imperialism. The political leaders of the American ruling class realize that an all-out trade war with Japan, necessarily having repercussions in Europe, would fatally undermine the U.S.-led alliance against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Both the Nixon/Ford/Kissinger and Carter/Vance/Brzezinski administrations have resisted industry pressure for ever greater protectionist measures. Carter's chief trade negotiator, Robert Strauss, has stated, "there is no alternative to free trade" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 March).

Congress, which is more responsive to localized vested interests, has become increasingly protectionist. The 1972 Burke-Hartke bill, strongly supported by George Meany's AFL-CIO, was the most economically nationalist measure since the early 1930's. It called for import quotas on a broad range of products and also restrictions on the export of capital. The Nixon administration opposed Burke-Hartke and it was killed in committee.

However, the Trade Act of 1974 laid the basis for greater protectionism. The act created the International Trade Commission (ITC) whose function is "to determine whether an article is being imported into the United States in such increased quantities as to be a substantial cause of serious injury, or the threat thereof, to the domestic industry." Since its creation the ITC has been a protectionist body. Its ruling on special steels in 1976 forced Ford's hand; in the past few months the ITC has recommended that the television and shoe industry be subject to import controls.

The most extreme protectionist measure to date has come from the third branch of the American government—the courts. When the Treasury Department ruled that excise tax rebates for Japanese television sets were not an export subsidy, Zenith appealed to the U.S. Customs Court. On the basis of an obscure 1897 law, the court found in Zenith's favor; the Treasury Department is appealing.

The unexpected Customs Court decision caused quite a stir in the world of international commerce. Treasury Department chief Michael Blumenthal commented:

> "The decision, if allowed to stand, would have the most serious consequences for all trading relationships that have been built up since World War II. There is every likelihood that every domestic industry with import competition would come in with a request for countervailing duties on all kinds of things."
>
> *Business Week*, 25 April

The Customs Court ruling illegalizes an important element of post-war international trade policy, one explicitly stipulated in Section XVI of GATT. Clearly it should not have taken 30 years to discover this supposed legal contradiction. Increased protectionist sentiment is the real cause of the court ruling, and behind this lies the loss of the U.S.' previously unchallenged economic hegemony which had lasted since World War II.

Meany's AFL-CIO: Vanguard of Economic Chauvinism

The most important political force campaigning for extreme protectionism is the AFL-CIO. And the unions' campaign is based on grossly chauvinist demagogy and even appeals to anti-oriental racism. Writing in the *American Federationist* (January 1977), AFL-CIO economist Elizabeth R. Jeger declares protectionism to be the highest form of patriotism:

> "...we live in a world of managed economies, among friends and foes alike. We cannot continue to support a laissez-faire trade policy. The multinational corporations have amply demonstrated that they have a higher calling than the national interest of the United States. Therefore, the people of the United States must turn to their government to protect them in ways that only a government can."

Newsweek

USWA billboard is part of union's treacherous campaign for import quotas on steel.

The current vanguard of the AFL-CIO anti-import campaign is the Committee to Preserve American Color Television, consisting of five companies and 12 unions. Jacob S. Clayman, co-chairman of the committee and secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department stated: "I think there is growing awareness in Congress that somewhere soon the line has to be drawn or America's industrial base will erode rapidly, and God knows where that will take us" (UPI, 14 April). Clayman's television committee and similar protectionist lobbies are an increasingly important form of political collaboration between the representatives of the workers and the capitalists who exploit them.

Import protectionism is not limited to the neanderthal Meanyite yahoos. The United Auto Workers (UAW), the closest thing to a social-democratic trade union in the U.S., is no less protectionist than the AFL-CIO. In early 1976 the Woodcock bureaucracy appealed to the ITC, claiming that all major foreign auto manufacturers were dumping in the U.S. market. The ITC ruled against the UAW at that time, but UAW chief Woodcock has continued to beat the protectionist drums.

The most blatantly anti-foreign and outright racist campaign comes from the textile/apparel unions, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). For years these unions have organized demonstrations appealing to the worst kind of "yellow peril" racism. For example, the ILGWU recently picketed department stores with its members masquerading as Chinese coolies.

The ACTWU adamantly refuses to call for a labor boycott of non-union products in its campaign to organize J.P. Stevens (see "Cowardly Legalism Disarms J.P. Stevens Workers," *WV* No. 154, 22 April), on the grounds that secondary boycotts are illegal. Yet much of the financial and other resources of the textile/apparel unions is used to pressure the government to boycott the products of Asian workers! This treacherous tactic attacks foreign workers, not the bosses, and fuels interimperialist rivalries that can ultimately lead to war.

Economic Nationalism Versus Socialist Internationalism

Many workers may believe that restricting imports is a means to job security and a floor under wages. While protectionist measures can provide some groups of workers a temporary advantage, the overall economic and political effect on the working class is disastrous.

Protectionism means inflation. Higher tariffs on television sets or quotas on shirts and shoes lead immediately and directly to higher prices for these items and to a fall in the living standards of all working people. The obvious contribution of imported consumables to the living standards of American workers represents the advantages of the international division of labor.

The creation of a *world* market is historically one of the most progressive aspects of capitalist development. This development lays the basis for rational global economic integration, which will come only with socialist economic planning. Conversely, the twentieth-century tendency toward trade protectionism and national economic autarky expresses the decay of capitalism and is an attack on the productive forces of society. The most extreme example of economic nationalism was Nazi Germany. The Nazis regarded foreign manufacturers much as they regarded "foreign" Jews—as an impurity in the German economic body.

In an article entitled "Nationalism and Economic Life" (1933), Trotsky pointed to the reactionary nature of fascism in economic as well as political life:

> "The policies of a closed economy imply the artificial constriction of those branches of industry that are capable of fertilizing successfully the economy and culture of other countries. They also imply an artificial planting of those industries that lack favorable conditions for growth on national soil. The fiction of economic self-sufficiency thus causes tremendous overhead expenditures in two directions. Added to this is inflation....
>
> "The progressive task of how to adapt the arena of economic and social relations to the new technology is turned upside down and is made to seem a problem of how to restrain and cut down productive forces so as to fit them to the old national arena and to the old social relations. On both sides of the Atlantic, no little mental energy is wasted on efforts to solve the fantastic problem of how to drive the crocodile back into the chicken egg. The ultra-modern economic nationalism is irrevocably doomed by its own reactionary character: it retards and lowers the productive forces of man."
>
> —*Writings, 1933-34*

The main reason we oppose protectionism is not that it is economically wasteful, although it is certainly that. The German Social Democrat August Bebel once said that anti-semitism was "the socialism of fools." By analogy, then, trade protectionism is the "economic planning of fools." Protectionism *diverts* the struggle for full employment and higher living standards from socialist collectivism to *competition* against foreign capital and labor in alliance with one's own bourgeoisie. The chauvinist, even racist nature of the AFL-CIO's anti-import campaign arises from the logic of protectionism itself.

It is an established historic fact that trade wars lead to total wars. The attempt to achieve commercial advantage through direct state intervention provokes counter-intervention by the affected state. Japan "got under" the British colonial tariff barrier when in 1941 Yamashita's 25th Army swept down the Malayan peninsula and took Singapore. The U.S. acquired a strong negotiating hand against German economic nationalism when Patton's Third Army crossed the Rhine in 1944.

The final tariff negotiators are generals. Those workers who campaign for tariffs and quotas against Japan today may find their sons fighting Japanese fellow workers by very different, bloodier methods tomorrow. Only socialist revolution on a world scale can prevent the outbreak of renewed interimperialist war and the barbarism which such a catastrophe would bring.

The working-class answer to unemployment and competitive wage-slashing is not protectionism. It is the expropriation of American capitalism and the establishment of a planned economy. An internationally planned socialist economy would not only secure permanent full employment but would do so with a greatly reduced work year and a far higher standard of living for working people throughout the world. ■

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"Energy Crisis"...

(continued from page 1)

stick to the working people.

For the "consumer," Carter has a tax penalty/rebate scheme which would discourage the purchase of large automobiles, a tax on "old" oil which would eventually raise its price to the current cost of foreign crude, tax credits on insulating housing and solar heating equipment as well as progressively severe gasoline taxes if consumption of petroleum fails to drop to satisfactory levels.

For the trusts, Carter's plan promises an incremental increase up to the full 1977 world price for oil produced by new wells, the control of interstate and intrastate natural gas sales at a price tied to that of world crude (20 percent above the current controlled price), simplification of nuclear plant licensing procedures, total decontrol of the price of gasoline and myriad tax incentives designed to promote conversion by utilities and industrial plants to coal.

The officially anticipated result of this program is an energy growth rate of less than 2 percent a year, an increase in annual coal production by 65 percent and a reduction of oil imports from 16 million barrels to 6 million barrels per day.

Motivating the administration national energy plan is the bourgeoisie's desire to avoid what Carter euphemistically calls "future embarrassments," referring to a repetition of the 1973-74 OPEC embargo. Over the last decade the possibilities for such "embarrassment" have increased dramatically, as U.S. petroleum imports have increased from 12 percent of total consumption to 46 percent in 1976.

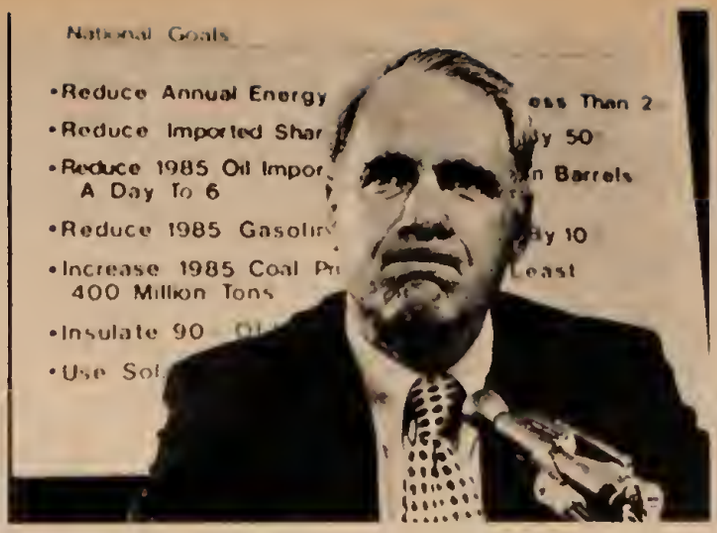
The push toward autarky, through a shift to increased use of coal and uranium, reveals significant fissures in the international imperialist order. As if to highlight this point, the Carter plan doubles the size of the U.S. "strategic stockpile" of oil to one billion barrels, a ten-month supply. It is also notable that with all the talk of conservation there is no provision in Carter's plan for improved mass transit. The government energy program resembles nothing so much as the sort of "austerity" measures ordered in wartime.

This should not come as a surprise, since the whole plan is the brainchild of energy secretary James Schlesinger, the former director of the CIA and Ford's secretary of defense until he was dumped for being too "hawkish." At Schlesinger's instigation, the Defense Department recently switched its retaliatory policy from inflicting "unacceptable" damage to achieving "a second strike capability which can do...["the enemy"], not significant or serious, but virtually irreparable damage as a modern nation and great power" (*New York Times*, 15 May). This "second strike capability" would in practice look curiously like capability for a preemptive first strike and is the basis for Pentagon plans for massive increases in weapons spending over the next few years.

The CIA "Study"

Clearly an austerity program which impinges on so sacred an American institution as the souped-up V-8 gas guzzler requires some high-powered salesmanship, particularly since all opinion polls indicate that most Americans do not even believe there is an "energy crisis."

Grabbing prime-time slots on nationwide television three times in a week, Carter did his best to glamorize sacrifice ("painful," to be sure, "but so is any meaningful sacrifice"). In the process he managed to plant his foot in his mouth more than once. On two occasions he predicted a favorable economic impact from his plan, a projection which Office of Management and Budget director Bert Lance (a Carter crony) retracted and private economists disputed.



James Schlesinger details energy plan.

In addition, Carter promised the return of windfall tax revenues raised by the program's implementation, a promise which was quickly withdrawn by Schlesinger. Even the "taciturn energy czar" was moved to philosophizing, while posing with a scowl in front of a poster calling for endless reductions and cutbacks. He exhorted Congress, "make no small plans. They have no magic to stir the hearts of men" (*New York Times*, 4 May).

But Carter's real selling card was not quotations from William James, nor Schlesinger's trump the authority of Winston Churchill. The administration's ace-in-the-hole was a "secret" Central Intelligence Agency study showing that the Soviet Union would be forced to import 3.5 to 4.5 million barrels of oil a day by 1985 and that 90 percent of world petroleum reserves would be depleted by the year 2000. Thus Carter put forward the spectre of the U.S. and USSR fighting it out for increasingly precious Saudi reserves.

There were more than a few problems with this CIA "study." As it turns out, the agency has been erroneously predicting declining Soviet petroleum output regularly since 1970. The "study" places Saudi Arabian reserves at half the Saudi government's own estimates, and its figures for world reserves were based on those of the oil companies. Even Schlesinger's staff conceded that the "study" was bunk.

Thus there was little substance to Carter's public relations campaign to "sell" his energy plan. But why should there be? According to the rules of the capitalist game, the real "pitch" must be directed at the corporations and their spokesmen in the labyrinth of Congressional committees which will process the legislation. They certainly will not be bamboozled by talk of "meaningful sacrifices," and no program to increase the profits of the oil trusts could hope to win enthusiastic public support.

In fact, with the faintest populist aura of eventual anti-trust action and extension of regulation to intrastate natural gas sales, the administration had counted upon an angry response from the unpopular oil companies to rally support for its proposals. With uncommon candor, the *New York Times* (25 April) noted that this would "divert public attention from the fact that the essence of the Carter plan was higher energy prices."

The oil giants chose a more "subtle" course. Rather than a broadside attack on the Carter plan, three energy company executives appeared on Meet the Press to support the program with "caveats." Of course, there were more caveats than support. In reality, the "seven sisters" called for a policy, codified in a Republican Party proposal, which calls for the removal of price controls, a five-year moratorium on clean-air laws and an increased commitment to breeder reactors.

Their fallback position has been to mount a major lobbying effort to increase the windfall already guaranteed under the Carter plan. This includes pressure on Congress to raise the controlled price of natural gas by an additional 15 percent over the administration figure, set aside environmental restrictions on strip mining and exclude imported cars from the fuel-efficiency rebates.

Behind the "Crisis"

The essence of Carter's national energy plan is conservation by cutting back demand through higher prices on the one hand and increased domestic supply through higher profits on the other. The purpose is strategic strengthening of U.S. imperialism, not "living within our means" or similar conservationist claptrap. And the "crisis" is a public relations gimmick to sell superprofits for the monopolies but the bitter pill of "sacrifice" for the millions.

CIA experts to the contrary, "total estimated world reserves" are a very elastic concept. As the conservative British *Economist* (23 April) put it, "World energy reserves are not running out in any long-run sense of that phrase. There is a lot of oil and gas in the ground which is thus far unpumped and unfound...." Under capitalism what determines available energy resources is above all whether or not corporations can profit by producing fuel. When prices go up, new reserves are miraculously "discovered."

Wilson/Newsweek

Sacramento nuclear power plant

A few examples tell the story. U.S. domestic oil production has fallen over the last few weeks to a 12-year low of only half of total consumption. Carter ascribes this to "our rapidly shrinking resources." It is nothing of the sort. The long-term dependence of the U.S. on OPEC oil is due to the fact that the same oil companies make more profits by extracting Near East petroleum than by drawing from Texas wells. In the short term there is most likely a deliberate cutting back of domestic production in anticipation of the promised higher prices. The natural gas shortage last winter, for example, was the result of refusal by the producers to sell at the regulated interstate rate.

In fact, the alleged shortage of oil would disappear overnight if it became profitable to extract the more than one trillion barrels estimated to be contained in North American shale and tar sands. But the oil companies last year dropped research into extraction techniques from shale because at current price levels they offer no profit.

Carter's proposals to switch to coal and nuclear power, therefore, are not a response to any kind of final depletion of fluid fossil fuels. Behind the plan is geopolitics pure and simple. As we pointed out previously:

> "In any case, what has the imperialist rulers more immediately worried is the prospect of a sudden drop of imported supplies, a very real prospect given the intense renewal of inter-imperialist rivalry.
>
> "Among the Western powers, the move to nuclear fission power arises out of economic competition and is ultimately part of a trend toward economic autarky on the road to a new imperialist war."
>
> —"Nuclear Energy and the Workers Movement," *WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977

These international rivalries have produced two Carter energy programs: one attempts to make the United States independent of OPEC by increasing reactor construction and domestic fuel production; the other attempts to make West Europe and Japan more dependent on the U.S. for uranium fuel supplies.

The West European bourgeoisies were even more acutely hit by the shock waves of the 1973-74 OPEC boycott, since the bulk of their oil comes from the Near East. This led to a drastic acceleration of plans for nuclear energy, predicated upon the development of breeder reactors which manufacture plutonium fuel. However, within recent weeks Carter has called for a halt in both the development of breeders and the deployment of reprocessing facilities. As a symbolic gesture he moved to defer construction of the Clinch River, Tennessee, breeder reactor.

Carter's stated objection is the danger of proliferation of atomic weapons to smaller countries should plutonium become too abundant. However, his NATO allies could not help but notice that a result of the deferral of breeder reactor and reprocessing plant construction would be to strengthen the U.S. position as the major supplier of nuclear fuels and the dominant force in the Western "nuclear club." In addition, the Europeans fear that with the abandonment of plutonium an increasing proportion of American-processed enriched uranium would be diverted from foreign sales to consumption by domestic light water reactors.

The Nuclear Tangle

These disputes over plutonium dominated both the recent London "economic summit conference" of imperialist chiefs and the ongoing Salzburg conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In London exchanges between West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt and U.S. president Carter were described as sharp. Schmidt had re-

sponded to Carter's opposition to plutonium with the announcement of a four-year West German energy research budget of $2.7 billion, more than half of it earmarked for breeder development. Accompanying this announcement was a statement that the Federal Republic intended to continue exports of both reactors and reprocessing facilities, despite U.S. opposition to a recent deal with Brazil.

Contributing to the tension was a naked display of U.S. muscle. Since last June all exports of enriched uranium from the United States had been frozen. Carter continued this freeze pending consideration of his plutonium proposals. As a result, eleven reactor stations in Europe, all dependent on American fuel, were threatened with closure. In a gesture to appease Schmidt and to give credibility to Carter's promise to supply enriched uranium to all countries accepting U.S. guidelines, the exports were unfrozen in time for the London summit. But the point had been made.

Not surprisingly, little progress toward an agreement on nuclear energy policy was achieved in London. West German capacity to produce nuclear technology exceeds its own domestic needs, mandating exports to keep the industry viable. France, also, has hoped to finance its advanced breeder program through exports. Thus a joint Soviet-British proposal to the "nuclear suppliers club" to ban sales of "sensitive" equipment unless purchasers agreed to constant inspection was rejected by France. Similarly, U.S. attempts to attract interest in non-plutonium alternatives, such as a thorium-based fuel cycle, were rejected, as West Europe is well ahead of the U.S. in the development of plutonium breeders and reluctant to junk these efforts.

Involved in all of these machinations are strategic considerations, often directly military in character. Among all countries the move to nuclear power flows in part from the desire to develop an atomic weapons capability. In the case of several smaller capitalist powers this is the primary motive. Thus Pakistan wants reprocessing plants from France for one reason—to counter India's development of an atomic bomb. The virtually inescapable consequence of the projected deployment of reactors by 60 countries will be widespread nuclear arms proliferation.

The workers movement is not indifferent to the prospect of every tinpot dictator brandishing a nuclear arsenal, but we point out that the imperialists, and in the first place the U.S., are the greatest nuclear terrorists of all. What a Schlesinger threatens to do to the Soviet Union, no Idi Amin could ever accomplish.

The ominous dynamic of nuclear proliferation is not restricted to petty rivalries among minor powers. Arms competition is beginning to be felt even within the heart of NATO. As C.L. Sulzberger observed in a *New York Times* (7 May) column:

> "The French are beginning to mutter that the Germans are edging toward a capability of atomic arms manufacture which would attain an edge over France and add to their already ascendant conventional forces, to say nothing of economic and financial advantages."

Guy Mendes

By switching back to coal Carter hopes to limit the need for imported energy.

Labor and the Left

Almost universally within the left and labor movement the fundamental imperialist aims of Carter's energy program have been ignored. Instead we are treated to a barrage of populist propaganda making the simple point that the oil giants will be making money hand over fist while the workers pay more for their gasoline.

Since Carter is seeking to find common ground with the energy trusts in higher prices for domestic production, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Leonard Woodcock figured he could exploit the patriotic theme by joining the auto companies in opposing tax rebates on purchases of fuel-efficient imported cars.

If UAW members are threatened with job losses by Carter's energy program, mine workers are threatened by a government-backed employer offensive to meet the prospect of a massive increase in coal production. This offensive will be aimed at breaking or hamstringing the union, which is both historically militant and the one sector of the American proletariat which has engaged in significant struggles since the 1974 economic downturn.

In an article in the 27 April *New York Times*, A.H. Raskin, a leading bourgeois commentator on union affairs, noted:

> "The prospect of a long coal strike at year's end is among the gravest threats to fulfillment of President Carter's energy program. White House officials are already pondering what action the Government might take to head off a stoppage that would impede the desired shift from oil to coal."

While the capitalists are plotting their strategy, however, the United Mine Workers (UMW) is in disarray, the leadership unable to organize the newly opened mines and Western strip mining. The UMW ranks must be prepared to wage a bitter fight this year if they are to avoid defeat at the hands of energy trusts temporarily backed by the entire ruling class.

As for the ostensibly socialist left, its response has been largely in workerist terms, seeing Carter's energy plan as simply the latest bosses' scheme to tighten the economic screws on labor. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for example, entitled its analysis of the administration program "Higher Fuel Prices Mean Fatter Profits" and proclaimed:

> "The real aim of the bipartisan energy campaign is to roll back environmental protection, to break union opposition, to speed up production, and to undercut safety standards."
>
> *Militant*, 6 May

The semi-Maoist *Guardian* similarly entitled its article "Energy Plan Fuels Prices, Profits," and the reformist content could easily have been switched with the *Militant* article.

The direct economic impact of Carter's energy plan, its threats to the jobs and living standards of American working people, cannot be ignored. Attempts to implement it could well lead to explosive battles, as occurred when independent truckers tied up the New Jersey Turnpike, and West Virginia miners struck against the gasoline shortages and sharply increased fuel prices following the OPEC boycott.

The program for a militant working-class struggle against the capitalist energy plans is not increased regulation or a price rollback, as the truckers demanded. Wielding a complete vertical monopoly, from exploratory drilling to sales at the pump, the oil cartel's control of production and distribution has repeatedly enabled it to escape governmental supervision. It shifts profits to lower-tax jurisdictions, withholds wells from production in order to drive up prices, engages in open price fixing where its market control is unchallenged, wages cut-rate gasoline wars to drive out independent distributors, purchases votes in Congress, withholds and/or falsifies statistics on reserves.

Governmental regulation of the oil monopolies is a pipe dream. Even "nationalization" of production in many OPEC countries has not altered the power of the real petroleum cartel, the "seven sisters." Workers committees must open the books of these imperialist vultures. The profit-crazed energy trusts must be expropriated without compensation. But the "friend of labor" Democrats such as Henry Jackson will not carry out such a program.

Whether couched in the "moral" rhetoric of Jimmy Carter or in more naked terms of corporate self-interest and imperialist domination, capitalist programs to meet the "energy crisis" ultimately lead to war. This is the inexorable logic of an irrational system based on production for profit rather than social need. A rational development and allocation of energy resources require the establishment of a workers government and socialist planning on a world scale ■

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Teamsters...

(continued from page 3)

funds dry. But the bosses' courts and government agencies will not throw out the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. The last thing the bosses want is a really democratic labor movement led by class-struggle militants. If the government jails one corrupt labor leader, it will only be to replace him with another traitor to labor's cause. In the meantime, the government will tighten its grip on the only mass organizations of the working class.

But PROD and the TDU's main complaint is that the government hasn't intervened enough! PROD spokesmen castigate the Labor Department for being too soft and have been meeting with representatives of the Labor and Justice Departments' task force for some time to help spur on the investigations. Having learned absolutely nothing from the bitter experience of the Wagner Act, Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin, PROD is urging a new round of congressional hearings and an expanded Senate probe of the union, i.e., more repressive anti-labor legislation.

An offshoot of a Ralph Nader "public interest" project, PROD serves as little more than a coordinating center for lawsuits against the Teamsters. Although it claims several thousand Teamster supporters, PROD's main leader, Art Fox, is not even a member of the union. Fox is an attorney who sues the union as a full-time job.

The TDU claims to be for "rank and file control of the union," but like PROD, it relies on the government to do the job of "fighting" the bureaucracy. One cannot pick up an issue of the TDU newspaper, *Convoy*, without reading of new court suits filed against the union. The Detroit TDU's paper, *The Rank and File Speaks* (April 1977), lamented the government's "plodding half-hearted investigations," but hailed the removal of Fitzsimmons as a "little step toward pension reform. So far, so good."

Several days after the Washington rally, *WV* interviewed the TDU's main spokesman, Pete Camarata. Already engaged in a court suit to prevent his expulsion from Detroit Local 299, Camarata explained the TDU's position on the government's intrusion into the union:

> "As far as what the TDU believes and what they think, they want the rank and file to put pressure on, but I'm sure they're willing to accept the government intervention. And they're certainly not going to work against it.... I think the union's so corrupt right now that you need it [government intervention] for a while, at least till you get things straightened out."

Camarata, who recently told the *Detroit News* that he is a member of the International Socialists, a social-democratic outfit which itself has a long history of supporting court suits against the unions, is merely explaining the logic of all liberals and reformists. For them, the racist, imperialist, strike-breaking government is an ally against the union misleaders. Acting as the cat's paw of reaction, they invite the government to tighten its stranglehold on the unions even more than it has already.

The capitalist state's constant striving to subordinate the unions to its control is in fact the *major* obstacle both to union democracy and to putting the unions on a class-struggle course. The government of the corporations and banks, which fights every outbreak of class struggle tooth and nail, will never be a "friend of labor." The fools and charlatans of the TDU/PROD ilk who aid the government rape of the unions deserve the scorn of every labor militant. Only a movement that begins by keeping the government out of the unions will be able to oust the corrupt, class-collaborationist bureaucrats and lead labor in the fight against the capitalists and their state. ■

UMW Elections...

(continued from page 12)

her office with the door closed caused the door to be removed so that "disloyal" behavior could be observed. In the middle of last winter's bitter cold, Patrick charged that Miller had turned off the heat in his office. All travel to the coal fields must now be personally approved by Miller.

All employees must sign in and out at the headquarters' front door and all staffers must get written permission to work on weekends or after 6 p.m.; all long distance phones are cut off at these times. In addition, Miller has hired three $20,000-a-year "security men" to prowl the building and insure compliance with his directives. The lurking figures caused Patrick to shoot off a memo demanding that Miller's thugs be kept off "his" fourth floor.

In keeping with this atmosphere the quarterly International Executive Board (IEB) meeting held May 9-14 in Morgantown, was an almost uninterrupted session of bickering and backbiting. Miller had hoped to wrap up the meeting in "a day or so" to enable him to campaign for his supporters in elections held May 10 in Districts 17, 30 and 31. But the IEB majority tied the UMW president up in a week-long series of disputes in which he was the continual loser. About the only thing the Board agreed on was to adjourn for a day so that Miller could meet with Jimmy Carter on May 12. All of the squabbling bureaucrats are anxious to please the peanut boss in the White House. In turn, Carter, whose energy program calls for the expansion of coal production by two-thirds by 1985, wants guarantees of labor peace from UMW leaders.

The IEB has consistently fought Miller for control of the staff, vetoing his appointees and reinstating those he has fired. This meeting of the IEB overturned two recent Miller appointments. Louis Antal, a strong Miller supporter, had been designated to fill a vacant IEB seat from District 5. The Board, however, voted to leave the seat vacant.

In another manuever, the IEB barred one member of Miller's slate from the elections. Since Patterson has not fielded a full slate, only Patrick would have had a complete list of candidates. The UMW constitution requires at least two full slates or else all candidates must run as individuals. Many of Miller's candidates are unknowns and dividing them from the incumbent president would significantly lessen their chances at the polls. However, the UMW tellers who are in charge of the elections (and were part of Miller's 1972 slate) declared the decision void later in the week. The IEB voted to "discuss" the matter further with the tellers.

As president and chief public spokesman for the UMW, Miller has had to take most of the heat for the bureaucracy's repeated efforts to squelch wildcat strikes. Now that Miller is despised by many militant miners who voted for him in 1972, his equally anti-strike opponents are trying to use his well-known strikebreaking actions as a factional club.

As the IEB got under way, several thousand Ohio miners from District 6 were wildcatting over new absentee policies being arbitrarily introduced and enforced by the Peabody Coal Company. The Peabody strike was the culmination of more than two weeks of separate strikes in Ohio and West Virginia over company discipline, safety violations and other grievances. By May 6, more than 22,000 miners were out and every UMW mine in Ohio was closed. As many as 7,000 miners from southern West Virginia struck in sympathy with the District 6 workers as did 1,200 in western Pennsylvania.

The Ohio strikers demonstrated

Joan Sydlow

Arnold Miller

typical resourcefulness in making their action effective. Following a May 2 meeting of 1,000 miners, car caravans were dispatched to shut down non-union coal operations. Two hundred strikers picketed the entrance to the Seaway River Terminal in Bellaire, Ohio, used by several non-union companies to load river barges. Some 15 coal trucks were turned back. Fourteen miners were arrested in western Pennsylvania where 200 tons of coal were dumped on a state highway.

But at the Board meeting, their grievance became an electioneering football. Predictably, Miller denounced the strike and said that since an injunction had been won against Peabody's absentee policy, "Therefore, there is no problem" (*Morgantown Dominion Post*, 10 May). This was not the opinion of the contingent of District 6 miners who came to the IEB and succeeded in getting the floor to defend their strike. The workers repeatedly hooted and jeered as Miller explained his position. One miner was loudly applauded when he stated that the ranks would defend their president if he were under attack and then added, "But I don't know about you, buddy."

The District 6 miners asked the Board to declare the issue in their strike "national in scope." Such disputes can be resolved only at the national level between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Miller attempted to rule this motion out of order but was overridden by the Board which then passed the motion 12 to 8 with 2 abstentions. Both Patterson and Patrick, wanting to look "militant," jumped in to support the motion which Miller opposed.

This is the first time the "national scope" clause of the contract has been invoked. In effect, it calls for reopening the contract on the issue and sets the stage for a nationwide walkout, if it were seriously pushed, which, of course, none of the bureaucrats have in mind.

Miller highhandedly refused to implement the motion. He sent a vaguely worded message to the BCOA but did not even request a meeting to discuss the issue. He said the resolution from the IEB was "rather vague" and perhaps "illegal" and added, "It may be I'll ignore the board as I have sometimes done in the past" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 May).

As for Patterson, Patrick and their IEB cronies, they sought chiefly to use the grievance to embarrass Miller. They had no intention of declaring a national strike over the issue involved and stood by as rank-and-file militancy dissipated. At last report, only the originally struck mine in Ohio was still closed over the grievance, with one other pit striking over a separate issue.

Mudslinging and Strikebreaking

Trying to appear as the continuation of the "reform" movement, Patrick admits that he has a hard time distinguishing himself from Miller. Patrick supporters will no doubt try to use Miller's flaunting of the IEB and District 6 miners to their advantage, but they are also engaged in guttersniping attacks on Patterson. A "fact sheet" being distributed by some Patrick backers points to Patterson's three divorces and asks scurrilously: "How do you expect to run a union of 270,000 members when you can't even organize your own household." With the least bureaucratic backing of the three candidates and true to the Miller tradition, Patrick has appealed to the federal government for help. On May 2, he made a request for Labor Department supervision of the election, which was declined.

Patterson has also brought the bosses' state into the union. He obtained a temporary federal court injunction barring publication of the *UMW Journal* for several weeks when, because of his partial slate, he and his running mates were declared "independents" and not allowed to pool their space in the paper to make a campaign statement. Thus, all three candidates are for bringing the anti-labor government agencies and courts into the internal affairs of the union.

Those who use the courts against their opponents in the union inevitably will use the same agencies against the rank and file. Time after time Miller has attempted to enforce compliance with federal court orders against wildcatting miners. And so also with Patrick and Patterson, who have consistently supported these measures on the IEB. All three voted for Miller's 10-point anti-strike program in September 1975. This draconian measure provides for harsh discipline against union members who strike without authorization. Sparked by a wildcat of 120,000 miners for the local right to strike, a vital demand

Stearns, Ky...

(continued from page 12)

put your head up above those sandbags, it was fair game."

Limited by a court injunction to just eight pickets on the road leading to the mine, the resourceful strikers bought property adjacent to the road. There they erected a small building as their "local hall," stacked up protective sandbags and have been meeting early every morning to bolster the pickets. While there are only eight picketers at the entrance, they are backed up by scores just across the road.

Reminiscent of the bitterly fought 1973-74 Brookside strike in Harlan County, the miners' wives, mothers and sisters have played a crucial role. They have joined the picketing and held protest demonstrations to bring public attention to Blue Diamond's use of gun thugs, injunctions and state troopers to break the strike.

The Kentucky state police are old hands at strikebreaking. Escorting the company goons across the picket line, they are a second wave of armed and "legal" terror against the strikers. On March 12, Sheriff Perry stopped seven security guards from entering the mine at 3 a.m. They were laden with pistols, rifles and, according to one UMW source, "enough ammunition to blow up the county." But the guards were released at the local courthouse without being charged and were escorted back to the mine by three carloads of state troopers in full riot gear. The troopers then arrested two strikers for violating the injunction limiting picketing!

But bullets and cops have not intimidated the strikers. Some of the cowardly security guards have charged the strikers with seeking to stop their bloody attacks. One gun-toting goon

United Mine Workers Journal

Striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

claims he was shot at the mine. The security company's president, Bob Storm, claims he was beaten up at the mine site. Blue Diamond vice president Frank Thomas was reportedly met by a group of the strikers' wives outside the county courthouse and left the encounter somewhat more tattered than he arrived.

Three of the guards say that late on the night of April 13, as they were leaving the mine, they were disarmed and given a ride around the county by a group of strikers in a pick-up truck. They were dropped off later minus their pants. When two armed and irate guards came to retrieve their embarrassed cronies, however, they set off a gunfight, leaving the two seriously injured.

A grand jury has indicted 31 people as a result of this incident, 27 of whom are strikers. Each is charged with three serious felonies: kidnapping (for the alleged "ride"), robbery (for taking the guns!) and assault.

These indictments are a scattergun attempt to break the strike. UMW spokesman Ben Elliot told *WV* that several of those indicted have not even been active in the strike and that one has been in military service in Texas for months! The indictments have been obtained on the testimony of kill-crazy gun thugs, who would say and do anything their employer told them to, against courageous strikers simply trying to defend their picket line and their lives from these scum.

The United Mine Workers and the entire labor movement must rally to the defense of the Stearns strikers. The presidential candidates in the UMW seem, however, too busy to come to the scene. Only Harry Patrick has made even a token appearance. Perhaps the absence of Patterson and Miller can be explained by the fact that the Stearns miners, who cannot get a UMW charter until they win a contract, cannot even vote in the upcoming election!

A mobilization of the UMW's muscle is desperately needed to stop the anti-union terror at Stearns and to win this long and important strike. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee urge that donations for the legal defense of the indicted strikers be sent to: Miners Legal Defense Fund, 1521 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Stop the Gun Thug Terror! Drop the Indictments! Victory to the Stearns Strike! ■

which was abandoned by Miller in the 1974 contract bargaining, the new bureaucratic sledgehammer nevertheless failed to prevent a strike against court injunctions which spread to include half the union in the summer of 1976.

Now, hoping to contain the strikes they have been unable to prevent, Miller, Patrick and Patterson have all come out for a limited right to strike over local grievances when the current contract expires December 6. A Local vote would be held at a certain stage of

WV Photo

Harry Patrick

the grievance procedure which could result in an authorized walkout. The bureaucrats' real intention is to undermine spontaneous walkouts by isolating them and, especially, to stop sympathy strikes spread by roving pickets, a main UMW tactic. The tough contract language being proposed so as to insure that only local strikes take place is aimed directly at the UMW's most sacred and powerful principle—never cross *any* picket line.

Facing a National Strike

The election scheduled for June 14 was moved up from the traditional early December date by the last UMW convention. The switch was largely motivated by the desire to keep negotiations on the next contract out of Miller's hand. Though his term will still not expire until December, the convention stipulated that the new president-elect will be the union's chief bargainer.

There are enormous pressures for a national strike when the coal contract expires December 14. The ranks are restless and eager to fight. They know that coal prices have tripled in the last five years, that the industry is booming and that Carter's energy program promises tens of thousands of new jobs in the coming decade, plus enormous profits for the coal companies. In most circumstances, this situation would enormously strengthen a union's hand.

However, one major problem that looms before the UMW is the increasingly large section of the industry that remains unorganized. The output of unorganized mines has become so massive that it could seriously undercut a nationwide coal strike. The expanding coal industry has been able to outstrip the union by opening new mines and fighting off union organization. In 1972, over 70 percent of the bituminous coal in the U.S. was under UMW contract. Today, that figure has fallen to 54 percent and is still dropping.

The bitter 13-month struggle to organize Harlan County's Brookside mine in 1973-74 required a nationwide shutdown of the mines to finally win a contract. The drawn-out struggle at Brookside is now being repeated in an even more violent conflict at Stearns' Justus Mine in southeastern Kentucky (see accompanying article). More and more non-union coal pours out of the Appalachias.

But an even greater threat faces the UMW from the rapidly expanding high-output mines in the West. In 1975, Western coal accounted for about ten percent of total U.S. production. But within ten years, that figure is expected to reach nearly 30 percent. Most of these mines are non-union.

Many coal operators under UMW contract in the East are operating non-union mines in the West. They are resisting the UMW's principle of a single national contract covering all soft coal mines. A strike on since last November at the Stansbury Coal Company in Rock Springs, Wyoming, has been the scene of company-inspired gunfire, and scabs are resuming production. The UMW has also suffered NLRB election defeats at the hands of the Operating Engineers union, which promises the Western miners high base wages because of its even cheaper pension and medical plans.

Using the organized mines as a lever, it is possible to bring the non-union mines (including the Western strip mines, many of which are owned by Eastern coal companies) under the UMW contract. Brookside, despite the massive bureaucratic incompetency and needless delay, proved that the power of a nationwide shutdown is the key to organizing victory.

But none of the candidates for the UMW presidency want to pursue such militant tactics. Miller has done little to push Western organizing efforts. Patterson and his IEB supporters have balked at increasing organizing funds. Patrick, on the other hand, is ready to scrap the nationwide contract and says the UMW might even negotiate Western contracts on a mine-by-mine basis. This would open the door to destroying the gains Eastern miners have achieved and invite the coal companies to split the union in two.

Though the bureaucratic contenders in the UMW will be stooping to find new muck to throw at each other in the next month, they will not come up with answers to the problems facing the UMW ranks. The general response of the miners to the campaigning so far, in fact, seems to be a very understandable skepticism. Returns from preliminary sparring among the bureaucratic factions in recent elections for officers in several Districts have been inconclusive, with no wing of the bureaucracy decisively defeating another.

The coal miners' often demonstrated willingness to fight the bosses will be squandered by support to any of the bureaucrats seeking their votes. The dead-end of lesser-evilism has been graphically demonstrated by the strike-breaking reign of Arnold Miller. A real breakthrough for the union demands the construction of a class-struggle leadership which can both channel the militancy of the miners in a united fight against the coal operators and overcome the parochialism and political backwardness widespread in the coal fields. The Pattersons, Patricks and Millers offer only new betrayals. ■

Workers Vanguard

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158

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Healyites...

(continued from page 5)

contain imperialist, capitalist, reactionary, Jewish or Communist thoughts" (*New York Times*, 18 April 1973).

Grotesque

The sordid history of the Healyites is replete with examples of slavering enthusiasm for left-talking "Third World" nationalists and Stalinists. *Workers Press* gratuitously proffered "leftist" cheerleading to assorted petty-bourgeois anti-working-class formations, from the Maoist Red Guards to the Angolan MPLA. But the WRP's pandering to Qaddafi is surely a new low.

Perhaps the most disgusting was a full-page "special *News Line* interview" with Hamied Jallud, general secretary of the "Libyan trade union federation, equivalent of the British TUC" (14 September 1976). To *News Line* questions about collective bargaining and the right to strike, the Qaddafi bureaucrats replied, "The role of the trade unions in socialist countries is completely different from capitalist countries"! After all, "the responsibility of the trade unions is to educate the workers and increase production"; Qaddafi's "General People's Congress" will look after the workers' interests. The WRP's shameless presentation of Qaddafi's repression of the Libyan working class leaves no doubt of its utter subjugation before this capitalist dictator.

News Line hailed the "General People's Congress" held in early March in Shebha, a small desert village distinguished by Qaddafi's having gone to school there. Fidel Castro was the guest of honor as the "Congress" renamed Libya the "People's Socialist Libyan Arab Public" (sic) and kicked off Qaddafi's "Third Universal Principle" which he modestly claims solves "the problem of democracy."

The Healyites have had some "problems" with "democracy" themselves; their solution has generally been to beat up political opponents. Qaddafi, who—unlike the WRP—holds state power, has worked out a more elaborate schema. His little Green Book explains that "both administration and supervision become popular" through "committees everywhere"—while Qaddafi becomes head of the "General People's Congress" which runs everything and is so "popular" that it meets once a year. The sinister meaning of this "solution" comes out in the slogans pasted up around Shebha: "Parliaments are defunct," "representation is a fraud" and "Parties are treason" (London *Guardian*, 3 March 1977).

"Parties are treason"—what about the Workers Revolutionary Party? In this "People's Public" where communists are to be jailed and butchered and their books burned, ostensible leftists would have to do some pretty peculiar things to survive—and *News Line* has made it clear the WRP would be more than willing to do them. The London *Times* (6 September 1976) reported:

> "The repression ...in Libya has not, of course, weakened the interest of left-wing groups in other countries. Representatives of Miss Vanessa Redgrave's Workers' Revolutionary Party, for instance, have visited Libya three times in the past twelve months. Nor has it diminished the affection of those countries like Malta, which feel, with some reason, that Colonel Qaddafi has proved to be their only friend."

Malta's reasons are obvious. About to be impoverished by the closing of NATO bases, Malta is now dependent on Qaddafi's aid to remain solvent. The mendicant guerrillas who flock to Tripoli seeking Soviet-made arms and Libyan oil money reportedly have included Muslim secessionists from the Philippines and Ethiopia, opponents of anti-Qaddafi Arab regimes (Sudan, Yemen, Syria, Tunisia, Morocco), the Provisional IRA and various Palestinian organizations. Naturally, such groups do not bite the hand that feeds them and have accorded Qaddafi a high place in the pantheon of "anti-imperialist" leaders.

Corrupt

Workers Press, which folded on 14 February 1976, titled itself the "Daily Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party." Heavy publicity in the preceding months for the paper's "Crisis Fund" and dire warnings that "the future of the paper is in doubt" would lead to the presumption that it closed up shop for lack of funds. Yet the "Final Edition" Editorial Board statement does not explicitly say so; instead, the Healyites tersely announce that their printing firm, Plough Press, will cease operations.

The Healyites, normally so fond of denying inconvenient reports on the grounds of their bourgeois sources, hid behind an abstract and irrelevant set of statistics from one of the great bourgeois interests, the British Printing Industrial Federation, on "rises in general expenses" increasing printing costs. For two and a half months no Healyite newspaper appeared. Then *News Line* sprang to life—but not as any kind of party organ—with a format which included paid advertising. At about that same time Healy was replaced by Mike Banda as WRP general secretary.

The WRP ranks have been kept busy with the usual treks across England—and lately the "Children's Crusade" across Europe—designed in part to keep them too exhausted to notice their corrupt leaders' maneuvering. But even a cursory look at *News Line*'s year-long pandering to the oil-rich Qaddafi forces the observation that there is indeed something very rotten in the state of Denmark. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Wildcats in the Coal Fields

Backstabbing, Strikebreaking in UMW Elections

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia—As the June 14 United Mine Workers (UMW) presidential election draws near, a bitter dogfight is raging in the union's upper echelons. "Reform" president Arnold Miller is squared off against former ally and UMW secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick and District 23 director Lee Roy Patterson, a longtime supporter of Miller's predecessor, the notoriously corrupt W.A. "Tony" Boyle.

The line-up of "reformers" vs. Boyle loyalists which polarized the last election has completely broken down. The "Miners for Democracy," held together by nothing but rhetoric and personal ambition, disbanded soon after the 1972 race. Miller has since discredited himself among the most militant miners for his four-and-a-half year record of opposing every outbreak of mine workers' militancy. Sensing a sinking ship, his former supporters have deserted him left and right. Patrick was a Miller stalwart in "Miners for Democracy" and now wants the top job himself; vice president Mike Trbovich ran with Miller in 1972 and now supports Patterson.

Miller has turned increasingly to right-wingers and ex-Boyle hacks to fill out his slate. Sam Church, Miller's vice presidential running mate, backed Boyle in 1969 and 1972. Another Miller candidate, James Blair, is a retiree who in 1968 was a Kentucky county chairman for George Wallace's presidential bid.

Miller has also lost a lot of support from the liberals who bankrolled his 1972 race and engineered the intervention of the U.S. Labor Department in his behalf. The proliferation of wildcat strikes and Miller's inability to control the ranks makes him a liability to his former liberal backers. Paul Fortney, Miller's new press secretary, who formerly worked for the Fred Harris and Jimmy Carter campaigns, told *WV* hopefully that "Rauh can unlock all the Eastern money." Joseph Rauh is the cold-war liberal who was the main conduit for liberal funds to Miller in '72 and for Ed Sadlowski in the United Steelworkers election earlier this year. But the pickings have been slim so far. The Miners for Miller Fund has accumulated only $28,000, less than a third of projected campaign expenses.

Increasingly isolated, Miller has resorted to petulant displays of his diminishing power, largely confined to administration of UMW headquarters in Washington, D.C. Paranoid-prone Miller has taken to grandiose historical allusions to describe his plight. "Julius Caesar had his Brutus," he told the *Wall Street Journal* (22 December 1976), "but I've got about a hundred Brutuses."

Rumors that Miller's secretary had been seen talking with Harry Patrick in

continued on page 10

United Mine Workers Journal

State police escorted thugs through mine workers' picket line at Blue Diamond Coal Co. mine in Stearns, Kentucky.

Another "Bloody Harlan" at Stearns, Ky.

Miners Resist Coal Operators' Gun Thugs

In the small town of Stearns in southeastern Kentucky a violent union-busting attack is under way. Some 160 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW), on strike for nine months, are facing a vicious assault by gun-toting thugs being imported from surrounding counties and states by the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

The Stearns Justus Mine was bought up by Blue Diamond three months after the workers voted for UMW representation. Owned by Gordon Bonnyman of Knoxville, Tennessee, Blue Diamond is one of the largest and most vicious scab coal companies in the country. Bonnyman runs three Kentucky mines: the Justus Mine in Stearns, the Scotia mine where 26 miners were killed in a mine explosion in March 1976, and the Leatherwood mine.

The UMW was broken at Scotia in 1965, at Leatherwood in 1964, and Blue Diamond is determined to remain non-union by breaking the strike at Stearns, which began last July as the miners attempted to get their first contract. After stalling for months, the company broke off negotiations on January 28. A letter was sent to every striker advising that the company would "seek permanent replacements" for the men. "Security guards" from the notorious Storm Security strikebreaking outfit were brought in to break the picket line and pave the way for scabs to reopen the pit.

Heavy-caliber gunfire has been pouring out of the well-guarded mine site ever since. It is particularly intense at night, but the thugs have also opened up in broad daylight and have even gone "hunting" for miners. One striker was attacked by gunfire in his home. When he managed to drive away to seek help, he was ambushed and wounded in the shoulder.

"It's like a war," McCreary County sheriff Joe Perry told the *UMW Journal* (4 March 1977). "There are sandbags on the picket side of the road leading to the mine because there's been so much shooting." In a moment of candor, rare in his profession, the sheriff added, "Men on picket lines are not carrying guns. The guards are carrying sidearms."

Perry says he has been called to the mine to investigate reports of shootings almost every night since the guards started arriving. Striker Mike Cash described one day on the picket line: "I was sitting right there on the picket line yesterday around noon, when they suddenly cut loose. It was just like a turkey shoot for 15 or 20 minutes. If you

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 159 27 May 1977

Shifting Lines in Zionist Camp

Butcher of Deir Yassin Takes Israeli Elections

Menachem Begin, winner in last week's election.

Alom Reininger/Contact

Menachem Begin, Irgun terrorist Führer and the butcher of Deir Yassin, now head of the extreme right-wing Likud ("Unity") bloc will in all likelihood be Israel's next prime minister. The so-called "Labor" Party, the pillar of the Zionist establishment which has ruled Israel since its independence, has gone down to a humiliating defeat in the stench of corruption and scandal.

For 29 years, "Labor"-led governments brought the Israeli populace the burdens of exorbitant taxation, crushing inflation, a declining standard of living. Most of all they have brought a blood-soaked heritage of perennial war and perpetual militarism to deny the Palestinian people their homeland and evoke the bitter enmity of all Arab masses.

In the elections for the 120-member Israeli parliament, or Knesset, the Likud won 43 seats and "Labor" 33. The right-wing bloc won only six more seats than it carried in the last Knesset election in the aftermath of the October War. But the "Labor" alignment lost 18. Most of the "Labor" loss went to the newly formed Movement for Democratic Change which won 14 seats.

Headed by the archaeologist Yigael Yadin and featuring various "independent" intellectuals and personalities, the Movement purported to stand above the cronyism, bureaucratism and corruption characteristic of Zionist establishment parties. However, its program regarding foreign policy and the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War was indistinguishable from "Labor." On domestic issues the Movement stood to the right of "Labor," calling along with Likud for a ban on strikes and for compulsory arbitration. These demands currently have immense appeal to Israel's grasping capitalist class, which has just passed through the most militant strike wave in the history of the Zionist state.

Many Movement candidates are deserters from "Labor" who had hoped by changing labels to escape the disgust in which Labor is held by the majority of the Israeli masses. But even this neophyte movement claiming to stand above the squabbling, squalid political heritage of the Yishud (Israeli Jewry) was brought into disrepute. The maverick journalist Uri Avneri ran a series of articles in his weekly magazine, *Ha'olam Hazeh*, claiming that as a professor of archaeology Yadin had engaged in the illicit traffic of antiquities.

While Likud's upset was engendered more by the massive loss of support for "Labor" than gains for this extreme-rightist bloc, nonetheless the victory represents a sinister shift to the right in Israeli politics. Likud's program is stridently anti-working-class and anti-Arab. "Labor" is, of course, integrated into a Zionist establishment which rests firmly on a capitalist economy (subsidized by U.S. imperialism and Jewish philanthropy) and is a "Labor Party" in name only. Yet it is ideologically committed to a racially and religiously exclusionist welfare state and a corporatist "labor" movement, the Histradrut, which encompasses trade unions and social services for its members and controls 25 percent of the Israeli economy.

Likud calls for dismantling the institutions of "Labor" Zionism, cutting back the social services, dismantling the state and Histradrut sector, banning strikes and curtailing other working-class rights. The electoral appeal of this program is based on the fact that in the Jewish state some Jews are more "equal" than others. Likud's base of support comes from opposite ends of the Yishud, including those sectors most alienated from the institutions of "Labor Zionism". Sephardic Jewry—immigrants of African or Near Eastern origins, who are relegated to the status of a slum proletariat of unskilled labor—and the *nouveaux riches* professionals and entrepreneurs.

Shamuel/Sygma

Israeli police arrest Arab demonstrator in the West Bank occupied territory.

Occupied Territories or Eretz Israel

Likud is less well-known for its reactionary economic policies than for its virulently chauvinist position on the Palestinian question, especially as embodied in the fascistic demagogy of Irgun terrorist Begin. Likud's slogan for the Arab territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 war is "not an inch," whereas the "Labor" government under Rabin claimed to be willing to return some territory in exchange for a peace treaty with neighboring Arab states. U.S. president Carter pressured the Rabin government to accept a Pax Americana in which Israel would withdraw from almost all the occupied territory in return for a U.S.-imposed peace. Clearly the Likud victory is a setback for Carter's peace plan, and "Labor" politicians are blaming Carter's heavy-handed arm twisting for their defeat.

To demonstrate that his program has not changed since the days of the Irgun, Begin's first major speech following his electoral victory was made at the dedication of a synagogue at Camp Kadum, inhabited by the Jewish clericalist fascistic sect Gush Emunim ("Bloc of the Faithful"). Camp Kadum was declared "illegal" by the Rabin government because it is located in that densely populated portion of the Palestinian Arab West Bank which the "Labor

continued on page 10

MOVIE REVIEW: PAGE 6

Falsifying the Martyrdom of George Jackson

What "Brothers" Leaves Out

Letter

RACE, CLASS AND "ROOTS"

March 23, 1977

To the Editors:

BEHIND "BEHIND THE 'ROOTS' CRAZE"

The article "Behind the 'Roots' Craze" which appeared in the 4 March issue of *Workers Vanguard* is such a classical example of U.S. left institutionalized racism that even those of us who make it a matter of principle not to comment on your material must speak out. The bulk of the analysis is, as usual, "correct in the abstract." It is basically an ahistorical application of Marxist analysis and, moreover, is directed, as always, at the nincompoops who make up the vast majority of the U.S. left, and are easy game for anyone who has even an alienated and abstract understanding of world history.

What the article of course fails to explain (and what it supposedly sets itself *to* explain) is why the very strong reaction of black people across the country to this piece of bourgeois propaganda. The reason the Spartacist League analysis fails to do this is because it requires an understanding which goes beyond abstract Marxism and pays attention to actual circumstances. The talmudic application of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky (the Transitional Program) sometimes gives an organization a debating advantage (if they are applied consistently) over those who either do not apply them at all or apply them with haphazard inconsistency. But such talmudic application should never be confused with science and is thoroughly inappropriate to the task of successfully analyzing what in the hell is going on in the world.

The failure of the SL to understand the response of the black population of the country to this TV show is apparent in the final line of your studious social analysis. Here the SL stands up and unashamedly exposes their left sectarian racism for all to see. That final line reads: "With the economic integration of the blacks into capitalism's factories, their future is bound up decisively with their white class brothers. U.S. blacks, more than any other group in this country, have truly 'nothing to lose but their chains'." Such bullshit has led the black population of this country to regard the U.S. left as but another racist institution. The fact is that the black population of this country has not been integrated into capitalism's factories and moreover current economic realities internationally and in this national sector make it absolutely plain that the bulk of the black population will never be integrated into capitalism's factories. The vast majority of the black population is unemployed, unorganized, unrecognized, on welfare, etc.—in a word, thoroughly unintegrated economically and socially. The reaction by the black population to "Roots" derives to a large extent from their socio-economic location in U.S. society, i.e., they have not been and are not likely to *ever* be integrated into U.S. capitalism. But the SL, like other left sectarian groupings, needs to rewrite history to make it accord with their own empty petit bourgeois politics and strategic and tactical perspective. What the SL means by saying "With the economic integration of the blacks into capitalism's factories, their future is bound up decisively with their white class brothers." is that those blacks currently integrated into capitalism's factories are bound up with those white males who work in those factories. This observation is nothing but a racist and sexist tautology!

There is no need to carry this any further since I have grown wiser by years of watching the petit bourgeois sectarian U.S. left rewrite history and alienate the poor and working people of this country. I can think of no good reason for directing this note to you, but occasionally even the most scientific do something for no good reason at all.

Ed Thomas

WV replies: Ed Thomas' barrage of contemptuous race-baiting and contemptible anti-communism fails to conceal his political and factual disorientation. Because such errors are still maintained by a dwindling number of Marxoid nationalists, and because the political strategy implied is suicidally dangerous for the black masses, we will answer Thomas, despite the fact that his tone indicates he wishes we would not.

It is no wonder Thomas wants to reduce the discussion to the level of insult: he is dead wrong on his central point of fact with regard to the economic integration of blacks in the U.S. Thomas the self-styled "scientist" offers the following core observation about the source of the popularity of "Roots": "The reaction by the black population to 'Roots' derives to a large extent from their socio-economic location in U.S. society, i.e., they have not been and are not likely to *ever* be integrated into U.S. capitalism." Marxism *is* a science, and facts are stubborn:

In 1974, a depression year, 73 percent of all black males between 16 and 65 were either employed or looking for work; the comparable figure for white males was 79 percent (U.S. Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics 1975*). The same year 49 percent of black women were in the active labor force, while only 45 percent of white women were (*ibid.*).

Far from being powerless, black workers are concentrated in strategic, unionized sections of the industrial proletariat. According to a 1973 study by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, blacks made up 19 percent of unskilled production workers in basic steel, 22 percent in auto and 27 percent in urban transit (*Equal Employment Opportunity Report*, 1973). These figures understate the strategic placement of black workers, who are concentrated in the main urban industrial centers. In case Thomas hasn't noticed, Detroit auto workers, south Chicago-Gary steel workers and New York transit workers are heavily black—and their power is directly bound up with their white class brothers in these key industries.

If blacks live in segregation, they work in an integrated setting, integrated into production at its base. What characterizes U.S. blacks is social segregation combined with economic integration at the bottom.

So the truth is concrete. It is Thomas and not *WV* who "needs to rewrite history to make it accord with...empty petty-bourgeois politics and tactical perspective." The danger of his nationalist perspective is obvious as soon as one considers what it would mean for U.S. blacks if Thomas was factually and sociologically correct. If blacks as a race were in fact not integrated into the economy, the consequences would ultimately be genocidal.

Then Thomas and the other nationalists would have their "internal colony" of blacks in the U.S. as fact and not just reactionary/utopian reflex. Then they would at last have a material basis for their black nationalism. But this "internal colony" would resemble a concentration camp. In this fiercely racist country, it is not hard to imagine what genocidal fate would lie in store for a black race which was in its totality economically useless to the ruling class. Fortunately, this condition does not exist.

And as for the short-lived "Roots" craze, the enthusiastic response among black people to "Roots" does not make the work an attack on the racist status quo nor an inspiration for struggle against black oppression. American blacks, like any other oppressed social group, are prey to escapist-utopian cultural influences. To take a rather more important cultural phenomenon than "Roots," a majority of blacks believe, to one degree or another, in the Christian Bible. We trust that Thomas does not believe therefore that the Baptist church is a progressive institution which fosters black pride.

The popularity of "Roots" was not due simply to its portrayal of black slaves as other than dumb, helpless victims. "Roots" is a capitalist success story of a family which goes from a mutilated, rebellious slave to the prosperous owner of a lumber company in four generations. Its message is a more modern version of Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*: that blacks can overcome the condition and heritage of brutal racial oppression through individual adherence to the capitalist work ethic.

It is revealing that a number of "black power" advocates have taken "Roots" as good nationalist coin as eagerly as Jimmy Carter-era black Democrats have claimed it as their own. This is another indication of how black nationalism—from Marcus Garvey to Elijah Muhammad—can peacefully coexist with the racist status quo in capitalist America.

"Roots" is the American dream in blackface. Whatever its conscious purpose, its main effect would be to help keep the black workers and poor tied to racist imperialists like Kennedy, Johnson and Carter. Ed Thomas' anti-communist nationalism masquerading as "science" in its own way also perpetuates the racist status quo. Liberation from racial oppression requires the unity of the black workers and poor with the white workers in proletarian struggle around a program representing the interests of all the working people and oppressed. That is not "bullshit" nor tautology but scientific Marxism rooted in decisive fact. ■

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Thugs for Eco-Faddism

German Stalinists Assault TLD

BERLIN—On April 30 the "critical" Maoists of the Kommunistischer Bund (KB) showed their true Stalinist face by launching a brutal and unprovoked assault on comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency. The TLD had been manning a literature table at a Maoist-sponsored "May Day Initiative" at West Berlin's Technical University when two KB supporters (including a member of the KB's Berlin leadership) jumped a TLD member from the front and back simultaneously. As he defended himself against this cowardly onslaught, TLD comrades rushing to his aid were attacked by more KBers. Only the TLD comrades' alertness enabled them to ward off this assault, but one TLDer suffered an eye injury.

The KB's violence is the Stalinists' response to the TLD's refusal to conciliate the petty-bourgeois anti-nuclear movement, which has dragged along the entire ostensible left in opposing all construction of atomic power plants. So far has this ecological hysteria progressed that in West Berlin fake-leftists even marched to oppose a proposed coal-powered electricity generating plant! The TLD has insisted that Marxists do not oppose technological advances and that the real "nuclear disaster" against which revolutionaries must struggle is a nuclear conflagration arising out of the willingness of the imperialist powers to set off a holocaust in their drive for world domination.

The anti-nuclear movement of priests and peasants, ex-student ecofreaks and disgruntled dairy farmers constitutes the only thing even remotely resembling a mass "protest movement" in West Germany today. Predictably, the fake-left has clamored for support to the "revolutionary dynamic" and "anti-capitalist thrust" of this petty-bourgeois movement. All the pseudo-Marxists—from ostensible Trotskyists to the Greater China revanchists of the KPD (who call for atomic weapons to the West German bourgeoisie, in order to defend capitalist West Germany against the "social imperialism" of the East!)—leap on the anti-nuclear bandwagon, which is simply a diversion from the task of constructing a revolutionary party in West Germany to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership and liberate the working class from the reformist stranglehold of the Social Democracy.

The KB explicitly called for physical violence against the TLD. Next to the TLD's table it set up a provocative banner reading: "Are these people who directly oppose the most significant progressive movement in the BRD [German Federal Republic] and WB [West Berlin] to be allowed to set up a literature table at a May Day celebration? No, that's going too far!" The Stalinist frenzy of the KB was also revealed in a sorry attempt to polemicize against the TLD a few weeks previously. An article, "TLD: Atomic Power?—Yes, Go Right Ahead," in the April issue of the KB's West Berlin organ, *Rotfrontstadt*, showed its anti-Leninist prejudices in ridiculing the "International Spartakus Tendency" for naming its U.S. paper *Workers Vanguard*. In the same article these Maoists indulged in further unintentional self-exposure by terming the TLD simply an "offshoot" ["Ableger"] of the iSt—a graphic

continued on page 9

Strike for Jobs!
Stop Bureaucrats' Scheme to Gut S.F. Longshore!

Containerization has drastically cut jobs.

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO, May 21—Gearing up for forced transfers as their "solution" to the jobs crisis, bureaucrats of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 are going all out to intimidate the membership. At a meeting this evening, Local president Cleophus Williams took the unprecedented step of denying admission to non-Local 10 ILWU members, summarily fined a member $25 for demanding the right to question candidates for International office who were present giving campaign speeches, and high-handedly placed the issue of declaring the Bay Area a "low work opportunity port" (LWOP) on a June referendum without even obtaining the approval of the executive board beforehand.

The San Francisco area has borne the main brunt of the decline in available longshore work on the coast. Man-hours have dropped by over a third in the last four years. Unemployment, however, has not reached the level where the employers can contractually institute LWOP, which would mandate forced transfers of longshoremen to other ports. Therefore, the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) wants the union to "voluntarily" declare San Francisco a low work opportunity port. But it has made it clear that it will not stop there, and is seeking to eliminate 1,000 longshoremen from the Bay Area through forced early retirement and deregistration if necessary thus gutting the historic center of longshore militancy.

While the Local 10 leadership has backed the PMA proposals to slash S.F. longshoremen's jobs, it has been unsuccessful in ramming this down the throats of the membership. The March membership meeting refused to endorse a "voluntary" declaration of LWOP, voting instead to postpone the matter until after the Coast Caucus, which met in April at the time of the International convention. At the Caucus meeting, the delegates explicitly refused to endorse LWOP for San Francisco, despite the demagogic tactics of Local 10 president Williams, who made threats to the other locals of enforcing transfers through Affirmative Action suits, claiming that the reason for opposing transfers was racism.

Bureaucrats from other locals want no transfers primarily because they are under pressure to fill existing job openings from their own lower-seniority members. While opposing the San Francisco LWOP scheme, they have nothing to offer the beleaguered Local 10 members. At the ILWU convention a motion presented by the Seattle local for a 30-hour workweek at no cut in pay, which would provide more jobs throughout all the ports, was heavily defeated. Since then compromises have reportedly been worked out, under which the other locals have agreed to accept "voluntary transfers" from San Francisco in return for the right to upgrade a certain number of their lower-seniority workers.

Williams, however, is well aware that "voluntary transfers" will not rid him of the troublesome problem of high unemployment in Bay Area longshore. Despite the "agreements" with other locals, he is pushing ahead with his plan to implement LWOP in San Francisco. This he hopes to achieve by wearing down the membership and excluding a democratic debate of the issue. This is clearly the intent of the referendum, which would prevent the membership from hearing both sides before voting.

The escalation of bureaucratic pressure tactics at the May meeting reflects the desperation of Williams & Co. to ram through the job-slashing scheme. The LWOP issue, which involves the fate of Local 10, was placed late on the agenda, while the ranks were subjected to boring speeches by candidates for the International elections in June (none of whom were barred from the meeting even though many were non-members of Local 10!). Furthermore, when it came time to discuss LWOP, the floor mike was mysteriously out of order and only three speakers got to speak.

The strongarm policy was made clear at the very outset of the meeting with Williams' ruling that—except for those invited by the Local leadership—non-Local 10 members could not attend. According to veteran longshoreman Howard Keylor, a publisher of the "Longshore Militant," and a member of the Local 10 executive board, such an exclusion is unprecedented. Williams made it clear that this was a political exclusion when he motivated it by asserting the need to keep out people who are "slandering" officers—the standard bureaucratic response to class-struggle opposition.

Waving a copy of the "Longshore Militant" in the air, he specifically denounced Bob Mandel, a member of the Local 6 (warehouse) executive board and of the Militant Caucus of that Local, demanding his expulsion from the meeting. At the recent ILWU convention, Mandel was the primary spokesman against the policies of Bridges, Williams & Co., in particular denouncing the attempt to impose LWOP on San Francisco longshore. Later in the meeting, Williams explicitly attacked the "Longshore Militant" for making "destructive criticisms," a charge echoed by International vice president Bill Chester.

It is not accidental that Williams singled out the "Longshore Militant" for his bureaucratic attack. This class-struggle newsletter has been the only forthright opposition within Local 10 to the forced transfers/LWOP scheme. Clearly Williams is running scared on the issue, which has temporarily divided the union leadership. While the Coast Caucus adopted no militant program to fight for jobs, it did refuse to invoke LWOP, if only in fear of swamping other ports with transfers.

Williams' attempts to ram through the forced transfers scheme appears to be a direct doublecross of his bureau-

continued on page 10

Over $10,000 Raised by PDC
Marcos Campaign Success

Fernando Marcos may have a chance to see again! The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) this week announced the successful completion of its campaign to raise funds for an urgent eye operation for this exiled Chilean militant. Collections reached and surpassed the $10,000 goal set by the PDC. Indicative of the PDC's growing reputation for anti-sectarian solidarity and integrity, more than $2,500 was also received to support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee itself.

Marcos, a trade-union leader in Chile and an opponent of the Chilean popular front, lost his eyesight in a 1972 explosion of industrial supplies at a copper foundry. Prior attempts to perform a corneal transplant had failed; doctors advise that this is probably Marcos' last chance remaining to restore his sight. The PDC committed itself to making available the best medical treatment.

During the two-month campaign, PDC supporters presented the case to a wide spectrum of groups and individuals around the country. In Chicago, for example, the National Lawyers Guild, Socialist Party, Hispanic Labor Council, Industrial Workers of the World and Student Union Workers granted PDC supporters agenda time to present the campaign. Trade unionists—particularly in the maritime, longshore and auto industries—were generous in aiding their class brother. Mailings on behalf of Marcos were sent out by diverse supporters, including a Chicago surrealist art collective and several

Hubert Schatzl

Fernando Marcos (center)

university professors. Some church groups also assisted, with a denomination in New York City making an important contribution and a church council member in Cleveland sending campaign materials to 100 people. But the vast majority of the funds came in small contributions from individuals who have followed the work of the PDC and were impressed with its record of anti-sectarian class-struggle defense work.

In the U.S., New York City led the way by raising $3,000 for the campaign; both Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area went over the $1,000 mark. The Bay Area PDC raised more than $150 just by discussing the case with people waiting on line to see a movie on Chile.

The cause of Fernando Marcos also evoked a response of solidarity internationally, with contributions from supporters in Canada, Australia, Germany, Italy and England. The small Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Italy made a contribution, while Canadian PDC supporters raised over $1,000 toward the goal.

Marcos has already had the first of two operations at the world-renowned Barraquer Opthamological Institute in Barcelona, Spain. Doctors there report that the operation went without complication and was a technical success. But the final success or failure awaits the second operation, scheduled for June; campaign supporters will be kept informed of Marcos' medical progress.

Indicative of the gratifying response to the campaign was a letter from a supporter in Oregon:

> "It was so good to learn in the April 22 *WV* of the progress being made towards providing comrade Marcos with the opportunity to see again. Truly it is a measure of this comrade's devotion to the working class that he refused to leave Chile and his socialist work there to seek medical attention abroad.
> "Congratulations to each of you for your work in this class-struggle anti-sectarian effort."

The Partisan Defense Committee wishes to thank all those who devoted their time, energy and money to this important cause. Without their support, Marcos would not have had this crucial chance to regain the capacity to devote himself fully to the struggles of the exploited and oppressed. ■

PSU on Eve of Split, Mutinies in LCR

French "Far Left" Reshuffles

On April 6 the 17th arrondissement (ward) Paris section of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), went "on strike" against the LCR leadership. The "strikers" sent a mock "strike poster" to *Libération*, a Maoïd New Leftish paper which revels in the LCR's difficulties. Other LCR groupings—while attempting to keep a certain distance from the "strikers"—solidarized with them against the leadership's declaration that by going "on strike" (and announcing it publicly in the paper of an opponent organization) the "strikers"

WV Photo

Ernest Mandel

had broken with the LCR.

Politically, the "striking" cells were but an extreme manifestation of a rightist tendency which for several years has existed in a quasi-organized fashion within the LCR. Organizationally, the "strike" phenomenon hilariously demonstrated the current disarray of the LCR.

The LCR leadership at first tried to stonewall the situation, denying the significance both of the two cells themselves and even more so of the political phenomenon represented by the "strike." But even in the chaotic USec, such an unprecedented and spectacular public declaration of disaffection could not simply be brushed off. It held the Ligue's threadbare pretensions to Leninist democratic centralism up to ridicule and encouraged all other sorts of discontented elements (of which there are always plenty in the LCR) to reduce the organization to a shambles. With the leadership around Alain Krivine receiving barely 54 percent of the delegates' votes at the last LCR congress (see "Three-Ring Circus at French LCR Congress," *WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977), the threat represented by such antics could not be ignored.

Nor did it take long to materialize. At an unusually poorly attended LCR public meeting in Paris on April 27, a group of 20 LCR members distributed a leaflet announcing their resignation and their intention of joining a tendency headed by Michel Pablo, itself in the process of splitting from another organization—the left social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU)—to form the "Union of Communists for Self-Management." The leaflet protested the LCR leadership's bureaucratism and noted the "hemorrhaging membership" following the

> *Reprinted below is the mock "strike bulletin" sent to the press by a local Paris section of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire.*
>
> For the 17th arrondissement local of the French section of the Fourth International, this is neither a leave of absence, nor a resignation, but a strike.
>
> A strike on pledges, on cell meetings, on area meetings, on internal bulletins and circulars from sectoral, regional and national commissions, on selling daily *Rouge*.
>
> An active strike with occupation, election of a strike committee, administering the tools of the job (mimeo...) by the strike meetings with the local support committee open to all inhabitants of the neighborhood, independent intervention in the arrondissement.
>
> An unlimited strike until our demands are satisfied: democratic discussion procedures, rearranging time schedules for members, calling into question the programmatic mode of production and orientation.
>
> We call on the minority of non-strikers in the local to join us and not to behave like scabs.
>
> Strike committee, support committee
>
> *—reprinted in Rouge, 7 April 1977*

LCR's "useless" January congress. In the weeks that followed, nearly *200* LCR members quit to join the new Pablo-led organization.

The "hemorrhaging" of some 200 members is significant not only as testimony to the LCR's continuing decomposition. Under Mandel's tutelage the LCR leadership had staked its prestige on the call for a "recomposition" of the far-left forces to form a "credible alternative" to the mass reformist parties. Key to this liquidationist perspective was the expectation of pulling in the PSU's Tendency B, led by followers of Pablo, which garnered 22 percent of the votes (representing roughly 1,000 members) at last January's PSU congress.

In line with a demand made by Pablo in a private letter to the USec, Mandel had offered to abandon the "label" of the "Fourth International" and all reference to "a bearded man named Trotsky" in order to reassure the PSU lefts (see "Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International," *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976) This is exactly what the splitters have just done. The split document rejects "outdated Leninism" and insists that "membership in the Fourth International cannot be a precondition for such a regroupment." Moreover, they denounce the LCR's recent rotten electoral bloc with the semi-syndicalist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) group and the "critical-Maoist" Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT) for supposedly "placing greater emphasis on abstract references to Trotskyism and to the Fourth International than on unity based on common practice."

The LCR leadership is faced with an impossible dilemma: either trail after its own splitters into the new organization or stand on the sidelines as its ranks put into practice its own advice by abandoning ship and going where "the action" is. The "new mass vanguard" is finally taking organizational shape, and the LCR will not be able to ignore it. Small wonder that the splitters, chortling over having stolen a march on the accomplished maneuverer Krivine by "recomposing" with the PSU lefts, titled their leaflet, "So Long...See You Later, Maybe..."

Rightist Wobbles Codified

The leaflet's earliest signers were drawn from a group whose document, "Civilization at the Crossroads, the Ligue at a Red Light," had received 4 percent of the delegate vote at the LCR Congress The document represented the continuation of positions presented by "Tendency 3" at the LCR's 1974 Congress. This wing has heretofore claimed not to have principled differences with the USec majority, to which it always rallied at the last minute. However, it embodies the most rightist wobbles of the USec's impressionistic zigzags.

The "Red Light" document extends Mandel's line on the "third age of capitalism" (which he subsequently abandoned) to the point where it becomes a barely disguised version of the "new working class" theories propounded in France in the mid-1960's by Serge Mallet and André Gorz. Thus, there exist "new layers of technicians and engineers whose objective situation is that of proletarians, who have only their labor power to sell." These layers are allegedly more "open to revolutionary perspectives" than the industrial proletariat due partly to their "lack of a 'past' and not being tied to the framework of the traditional workers movement." This line is merely the logical extension of the LCR's famous slogan perspective of yesteryear, "from the periphery to the center"—a "strategy" for somehow building a mass working-class base without confronting industrial workers' predominant allegiance to the Stalinists as expressed through the hegemonic CGT union federation.

In the "Red Light" document, the "working class" is anything that moves, including the nationalists who look toward a utopian reactionary return to the days of yore prior to the consolidation of bourgeois nation-states; thus, the USec should "unify" with groups representing the "aspirations of women, of the youth, of the ecological and regionalist movements." These "mass layers," it is claimed, "tend to express the sharpest contradictions of the 'third age of capitalism,' the basis for their advancing toward revolutionary self-management more rapidly than the 'heavy battalions' of the working class." The new group also calls for an "autonomous" youth organization and for a return to the slogans associated with the USec's 1968 campaign for the "Red University."

The key to the whole rhetorical code is the call for "revolutionary self-management," an anti-Leninist corruption of the Bolshevik demand for workers control The political fact which is impelling virtually the entire French far left in the direction of open reformism is the electoral successes of the popular-front Union of the Left bloc of the Socialists (PS) and Communists (PCF) with the bourgeois Left Radicals In these circles, terms like "seizure of power," "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "Leninism" are anathema The slogan of "self-management" is the term of choice for more than the PSU; the substantial CERES grouping which comprises the left wing of the PS also takes this slogan as its catchword.

Even Socialist Party leader François Mitterrand, who is currently trying to whip CERES into line with expulsion threats, declares his "self-management" credentials are as good as anyone's. In fact, with "socialism under French colors" and "Eurocommunism" having become the characteristic slogans of the "new" PCF, "self-management" is the current catchword bringing together all currents of French social democracy, reaching into the ostensibly Trotskyist movement.

The ex-LCR advocates of "revolutionary self-management" project the fulfillment of their "program" through gradual infiltration of bourgeois institutions. The "See You Later" leaflet explains:

> "Through their partial experience of power within the very heart of the system, workers will come to demand all power. And this is the dynamic that revolutionaries must do everything to further, therefore, and because this

WV Photo

Alain Krivine

> fundamental tendency is already present today in the workers' struggles, the women's movement, the youth movement, *the essential axis of the revolutionary program* is, SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT."

Thus, through class collaboration and open integration into the organisms of the bourgeois state ("experience of power within the very heart of the system"), power will fall into the "modern" working class' lap like an overripe apple. This is simply a restatement of Bernstein's revisionist view of the gradual transition from capitalism to socialism.

The splitters' analysis is virtually identical to Pablo's present line—to the point that one may legitimately ask whether some members of Pablo's AMR haven't been running an entrist operation in the LCR. Manifestly, however, the cells "on strike" and the recent resignations are only the tip of the iceberg. Some of the main leaders of the "Red Light" grouping, as well as of the

erstwhile "Tendency 3" some two to three years ago, remain in the LCR. Obviously they can act there as a lightning rod to attract further discontented elements should the LCR vacillate or turn a cold shoulder to the catch-all left-of-the-popular-front conglomeration which now looms in its path.

As for the leadership itself, Krivine & Co. find themselves without a lot of cards. So the LCR's *Rouge* positively groveled before these avowedly anti-Leninist splitters and "strikers," going to great lengths to protest that these "comrades" were welcome to remain in the Ligue and that the leadership did not consider them to be "renegades" from Trotskyism.

"Pabloism": Just an Epithet?

Michel Pablo, who emerged as the leading figure of European-based Trotskyism following the movement's decimation during World War II, was the main spokesman for the openly revisionist current which, ten years after a belated and partial split in 1953, gave birth to the USec. In the 1960's he entered into increasingly hostile cliquist opposition to Mandel/Frank/Maitan; by 1965 his enthusiasm for Algerian "self-management" as a socialist model became too much of an embarrassment even for the opportunist USec, and Pablo stalked out. By 1971 his Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire (AMR) had rejected even formal reference to Trotskyism and in 1974-75 joined the PSU, while continuing to publish an independent journal. Pablo's "entrism" into the PSU has clearly been a success, for after beginning with a tiny clot of supporters he has now become a "credible alternative" to the LCR leadership.

Especially since the split to the Socialist Party of a section of the PSU led by Michel Rocard the LCR had hitched its wagon to the prospect of a marriage with the PSU lefts. Its numerous "unity" proclamations have in fact been aimed at Pablo and his Tendency B, which had previously been standoffish because of hopes of building a following in the amorphous, left-social-democratic PSU.

However, in the March municipal elections the PSU national leadership attempted, largely unsuccessfully, to gain token candidates on Union of the Left slates or even presented no candidates (so as not to cut the popular front's vote totals). With the PSU right wing well on its way into the popular front, Tendency B evidently decided to take the initiative and push to form a loose organization of all those forces who want to pressure the Union of the Left from the outside.

Pablo's tendency has since then been holding a series of regional meetings to prepare a split. *Rouge* (14 April) quoted a communiqué issued by the Ile-de-France (Paris) regional assembly:

> "The PSU comes out of the elections as a satellite to the parties of the Common Program [of the Union of the Left] . . . Thus militants claiming allegiance to a revolutionary conception of self-management can in essence no longer continue to defend and put into practice their orientation in the framework of the PSU alone."

The PSU's rapprochement with the Union of the Left put the ex-AMR wing in an impossible position, since it would no doubt be forced to liquidate its role as faithful left opposition as one of the conditions of the PSU's entry into the popular front. When the PSU national leadership expelled an unspecified portion of the Pablo tendency, 15 of the 19 Tendency B supporters who had been elected to the PSU executive refused to vote. The others, led by Yvan Craipeau (once a leader of the French Trotskyist movement), settled for bureaucratic sinecures. Craipeau was himself the author of the expulsion motion.

On the weekend of May 7-8 Pablo's grouping along with ex-members of the LCR and OCT met to begin the process of forming a new organization, "Communistes Pour l'Autogestion" ("Communists for Self-Management"). Tendency B leader Maurice Najman, one of Pablo's lieutenants, estimated in an interview with *Rouge* that the new group would have between 1,000 and 1,500 members. It plans to begin publication of a newspaper in September and will hold a founding conference later in the fall.

The central resolution presented to this meeting could well have been written by rightist currents in the LCR. It defines its task as "above all aiding the development of the self-management current which is expressed in the trade union left, and the movements of worker-peasants, women, youth, homosexuals, national minorities, ecologists." One of the new group's main emphases is on the formation of an "autonomous revolutionary youth organization"—an area in which it stands to make real inroads against the LCR.

The new grouping explicitly rejects Leninist concepts (which it sees as "relativized," whatever that means) in favor of:

> "...a leading body which exists and simultaneously ensures increasing autonomy for every sector ... as well as the possibility within the organization for self-organization into exclusionist groups (women, homosexuals, youth). "Debate thus cannot be stopped at the borders of the organization, reserved for 'initiates', 'politicos' ... but must be 'exposed to the light of day, giving everyone the possibility for self-expression, avoiding crystallization into tendencies. ...'"
>
> *Rouge*, 21 April

Najman claims what is needed is a "new principle" to replace democratic centralism, to allow for "permanent tendencies (and their public expression) and the right to experiment with orientations." In short, the guiding principle of this "organization" is that anyone is free to do whatever he wants.

Rouge timidly suggests that this model might represent "federated functioning." Again the LCR is in the uncomfortable position of having to uphold "sectarian" "labels" like "democratic centralism" despite its own chaotic practice: publication of tendency platforms in the press, formation of "working groups" so that members may strike out in competing opportunist directions, cells "on strike," etc.

The "Autogestion" grouping will necessarily be a prime target of regroupment for the LCR, and vice versa. The nearly 10 percent of the LCR membership which has already broken in favor of Pablo's new group was heavily drawn from students recently recruited on the basis of the "new mass vanguard" orientation. By offering to replace the LCR's half-hearted and contradictory liquidations with systematic capitulation to every conceivable component of the "new mass vanguard," the Pablo forces could win away a significant portion of the LCR ranks. The ex-LCR rightists who have already gone over to Pablo's newest incarnation have certainly damaged Krivine & Co.'s bargaining position toward any LCR-"Autogestion" merger of the future.

In the great con game of organizational maneuvering to "capture" the elusive "broad vanguard," the pressures on Krivine & Co. to be sucked into Pablo's gambit are strong. But in spite of all the "unity" calls and offers to abandon "labels," it is difficult to imagine that the USec will allow its formerly most prestigious "section" to head for the door, dropping not only its USec affiliation but also abandoning the formal pretense of Trotskyism to anti-Pabloists like the international Spartacist tendency and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France. Still, such a turn is not precluded. The USec's English group, which recently proposed to a state-capitalist organization an electoral bloc modeled on that of the LCR/LO/OCT cartel, is currently changing the format of its paper in order to proclaim it "open to all tendencies."

The "Autogestion" grouping will almost certainly make considerable gains in the short run, but it is not viable for more than a relatively brief period. Unless it can constitute a fairly substantial centrist current to stabilize it in its niche as an uneasily independent tail of the Union of the Left, it will simply be swept pell-mell into the popular front. Its political course recalls the almost forgotten Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan (PSOP) of the late 1930's, which, breaking from the Socialists while rejecting Trotskyism, regrouped something of a mass base before rapidly vanishing from the scene without a trace.

The entire political history of the LCR tendency has been an open invitation to less shamefaced revisionists to follow the liquidationist course of Pablo to break from ostensible Trotskyism entirely. Over 40 years ago Trotsky wrote to his French followers, then involved in a bitter factional struggle against that same Pierre Frank who is now one of the USec's main spokesmen, "If you want to know what abdication of principles is, you must read P. Frank's letter closely." The statement holds true today for the current LCR and its international braintrusters of the USec. ■

Trotsky Had Pierre Frank's Number

4 December 1935

Dear Comrades,

If you want to know what abdication of principles is, you must read P. Frank's letter closely. Politically it is inconsistent. But it reflects the state of mind of a sceptical and disoriented *intellectual* (not to say petty-bourgeois) very well....

And what is Frank doing? He servilely translates this mentality. "No organizational ultimatism." "No currently existing group can lay claim to organizational preponderance." It is humiliating, even for a Marxist, to answer such arguments. Have we ever been concerned with organizational "preponderance"? For us, it is a question of a *program* which corresponds to the objective situation. If an organization larger than ours accepted this program (not in words, but in deeds) we are ready to fuse without any claim to preponderance. Look at the United States and Holland.

But in Frank's letter, in all his thinking (as in the famous call of the "*Commune*") there is no mention of program—and for cause: the program is a serious obstacle to the general fraternization of petty-bourgeois, intellectuals, pessimists, sceptics and adventurers, whereas we think that program determines everything.

"No organizational ultimatism." What a revolting abuse of the Leninist formula. No ultimatism toward the masses, toward the unions, toward the workers' movement, but the most intransigent ultimatism toward every grouping which claims to lead the masses. *That* ultimatism is called *the Marxist program*....

L. Trotsky

P.S. I want to draw your attention to the completely intolerable practices of the [Frank-Molinier] group of the "*Commune*"... No, our organization will not be led by such methods. People are much more conciliatory in the centrist swamps. Try your methods down there. "Go to it."

CP Lauds Strongman Mengistu

May Day Massacre in Ethiopia

"It may have been one of the bloodiest May Days ever in the history of this proletarian holiday," we wrote several weeks ago. "On Bloody May Day 1977 dozens of workers and leftists were shot to death in the streets of Istanbul, scores were clubbed and horsewhipped in Madrid and Barcelona while incendiary bombs sent flames leaping from left-wing offices in Naples" (*WV* No. 155, 6 May 1977).

But if you read the Communist Party's *Daily World* (3 May) you wouldn't have any idea of this ferocious repression. Everything was sweetness and light as "World's May Day Rallies Mark Liberation's Gains." Aside from the usual throngs of happy Muscovites in Red Square, CP hack writer Tom Foley was particularly enthusiastic about the celebrations in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Accompanied by a photo of Col. Mengistu Haile Miriam, the article quoted approvingly from his May Day speech on the need to fight "internal counterrevolution."

Since then, press reports from Ethiopia—first in Europe and now trickling into the U.S. press as well—tell of a May Day massacre in Addis Ababa of mammoth proportions, far surpassing the bloodbath in Turkey. Over the May Day weekend, more than 500 students were shot down in Addis Ababa by government troops, according to the 4 May London *Guardian*. The London *Times* of the same date quotes sources in Paris estimating up to 1,000 students killed during the two days!

The slaughter began Friday night, April 29, when in four different sections of the capital government militia units began rounding up students believed to be members of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) on

continued on page 11

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Falsifying the Martyrdom of George Jackson

What "Brothers" Leaves Out

George Jackson

Bulletin

Sometime before the state set George Jackson up for the kill, he wrote that he didn't want to leave "a few sad songs and a hump in the ground as my only monument." He wanted, he said, to leave a world liberated from capitalist oppression, racism, "a thousand different brands of untruth." Yet the new film, *Brothers*—which claims to be "loosely based" on the story of Jackson's life, his struggle, his love and his martyrdom—is just such an untruth.

On opening night in New York City, the particular brand was unmistakably stamped by the glamorous real-life heroine of the story, Angela Davis, one of the most articulate and charismatic spokesmen of the Communist Party (CP). Davis said the film was about "racism and injustice" and asked the audience to contribute to the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

Sounding like the promotional material which describes the film as "in the tradition of 'I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang' and 'Cool Hand Luke'," Davis assured the audience that *Brothers* is simply a progressive film about brutality in U.S. prisons. This is at best a self-serving partial truth. For the film is clearly about George Jackson ("David Thomas"), his brother Jonathan ("Joshua Thomas") and Angela Davis ("Paula Jones") herself—three influential figures of the recent black radical movement. It is not to "protect the innocent" that the names have been changed; political truth has gotten conveniently lost in the translation from Soledad Brothers to Warner Brothers.

Brothers is a special brand of untruth concocted by Stalinist falsification and Hollywood romanticizing. The CP's appetite to cover up its miserable record of betrayal is neatly served by Hollywood's omnivoerous craving to sentimentalize and trivialize, stripping Jackson's life of its political core. In *Brothers*, as in "Roots," Hollywood has taken as its raw material the explosive subject of racist brutalization, only to twist it into commercial myth.

Smash the Racist Prisons!

To its credit, the film—shot "on location" at North Dakota State Prison, using black servicemen from a nearby Air Force base to portray prisoners—does suggest the racist hellhole that is the American prison system. Following the character who is supposed to be George Jackson, we see him routinely thrown into jail on an indeterminate one-year-to-life sentence after a kangaroo court trial. There his endless night of terror on "Max Row" (maximum security) begins. The film has moments when one can feel the pain of the clubs, the darkness of solitary, the despairing rage of the trapped men of Soledad.

Warner Brothers

Prison scene from the movie "Brothers."

We see the brutal beatings, the humiliating skin searches by racist guards, the encouragement of racist brutality not only through institutionally segregated tiers but also "just for fun" by the depraved racist scum who run the prison. We see the solitary confinement holes where men are left to die or go mad, sleeping naked on concrete floors, eating food poisoned with urine and excrement and cleanser.

But the film never approaches the power of Jackson's evocative descriptions in his prison letters of the way the jails are organized to break men, particularly black men:

> "... The noise, madness streaming from every throat, frustrated sounds from the bars, metallic sounds from the walls, the steel trays, the iron beds bolted to the wall, the hollow sounds from a cast-iron sink or toilet.
>
> 'The smells, the human waste thrown at us, unwashed bodies, the rotten food. When a white con leaves here he's ruined for life. No black leaves Max Row walking. Either he leaves on the meat wagon or he leaves crawling licking at the pig's feet."
>
> —*Soledad Brother*

Even with all the film's distortions, Hollywood was unable to destroy the impact of the picture of prison life where, in Jackson's words, the hideous brutality "destroys the logical processes of the mind."

What it doesn't show is how, through tremendous effort and unusual strength of character, Jackson fought back by becoming political, beginning to see beyond the prison walls and struggling for a *social* solution to the plight of the victims of the bourgeoisie's racist "justice." Consequently the film is also unable to probe the limitations of his prison-derived world view. Instead what we get is a film about George Jackson, Angela Davis and late-1960's prison unrest which incredibly avoids mentioning the Black Panther Party, the Communist Party, the Vietnam war, Marx, Lenin, Mao or even Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver!

Truth and Politics

It is not that *Brothers* fails to indict the prison system for its brutal racism. That it does. It shows black convicts tortured to death by the state, which uses informers to frame up the most militant leaders. It is noteworthy that a Hollywood film—even such an inept one—indicates that Jackson was set up and assassinated (though *Brothers* assigns the responsibility to a bumbling warden, rather than provocation by more than one secret police agency, and totally ignores the high-level government conspiracy against the Black Panther Party).

Brothers even tries to indicate Jackson's resistance in the face of the most savage victimization. But it is here that the film departs fundamentally from the truth. For George Jackson was a political man. He was not just a fighter. It was not merely that he maintained his dignity under circumstances that drove lesser individuals to suicide or worse. Amid the horror and degradation of prison "life," he turned toward the radical movement for a "revolutionary theory" which could explain the barbarous social system which confronted him. Cut off from society, he applied himself to discovering the political world through books. Through a commitment to changing the world of racism and injustice his life gained discipline and focus making him, in his words, perhaps "the most resilient dead man in the universe."

Jackson was committed to the politics of the Black Panther Party, the most militant organized expression of 1960's black nationalism. In his prison letters Jackson wrote:

> "The Black Panther is our brother and son, the one who wasn't afraid. He wasn't so lazy as the rest, or so narrow and restricted in his vision. If we allow the fascist machine to destroy these brothers our dream of eventual self-determination and control over the factors surrounding our survival is going to die with them, and the generations to come will curse and condemn us for irresponsible cowardice...."
>
> —*Soledad Brothers*

But the words "Black Panther" are never uttered in *Brothers*! Only once, early in the film, is the hero confronted by his political cellmate (played by "Superfly" star Ron O'Neal), who demands that Jackson control his "blind ignorant rage" with the works of "Fanon, Malcolm and Che." There is a quote from Frantz Fanon, the hero picks up *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, the camera fades out, and that's that. Presto: political development. The cellmate is later beaten to death; after that *Brothers* is nothing but a Hollywood love story in a prison setting.

There are important lessons to learn from the experience of the Black Panther Party, the organization for which Jackson was ready to sacrifice his life. But one learns nothing of that party in *Brothers*. It is as if the Panthers had never existed. If the movie had been simply a work of fiction, it would be a trite testament of liberal anti-racism. It is its claim to interpret the reality of Jackson's life which makes it essentially a lie.

Brothers reminds us of what Boris Pasternak once said of the Russian poet Mayakovsky, that he "died twice". Once when he committed suicide, and again when Stalin called him Russia's greatest

poet. In that same critical spirit one might say that George Jackson was murdered twice: Once by the state of California, and again by Warner Brothers.

"The Way They Weren't"

Brothers is as apolitical a film as could possibly be made of such political people. Not only is there no mention of the Panthers, but neither is there the slightest whisper that Angela Davis is a member of the CP. The words "Communist Party" are also never spoken. The character Paula Jones—who even looks like Davis in soft focus—is presented, according to the promotional blurb, as "the beautiful, brilliant and controversial professor." But the only reason offered for controversy is that her work at the university on "community problems" was "too radical." In fact, Davis was witchhunted out of her teaching position at UCLA precisely because of her CP membership. The film avoids these presumably sordid political details by focusing on a love relationship which the brochure describes as "as classical as Romeo and Juliet."

Certainly the political and personal relationship with Davis was part of the truth of Jackson's life, as conveyed so tragically, ironically and beautifully in his letters. These are not the repulsive race-hate rape fantasies of the loathsome Eldridge Cleaver, but the frustrating often tender reflections of a man coming to terms with his own sexuality under impossible conditions, and in the midst of tumultuous and deadly political events:

> "... my thoughts return to your enemies. They are mine too, of course, but thinking of them as your enemies calls up the monster in me, the dark, terrible things that I keep hidden in the pit, fanged, clawed, armored—they are more awful by far when you become involved...."
>
> "I make this covenant with myself: I'll never again relax. I'll never make peace with this world as long as the enemies of self-determination have the running of things. You may never read this, and I may never touch you, but... I hope that by some means you have discovered that I love you deeply, and would touch you tenderly, warmly, fiercely if I could, if my enemies were not *at present* stronger. I'm going to stop here and do something physical, push-ups, finger stands, something quiet and strenuous."

It is not surprising that Hollywood has a hard time conveying the subtle interaction of Jackson's intense love-by-letter involvement with Davis and his conscious political commitment, turning it instead into a "Romeo and Juliet" fairy tale of the sort with which moviemakers are most familiar and from which real men and women are most estranged. But in *Brothers* this process of sanitizing through cliché serves an additional function: it is the vehicle whereby political truth is sidestepped.

The CP has a long love affair of its own with Hollywood's sporadic ventures into populist-type "progressive" movies where politics becomes moral fable and harsh class realities are swept under the celluloid. *Brothers* stands squarely in the tradition of the popular-front Hollywood war flicks featuring clean-living patriotic peasants heroically sabotaging the Nazi war effort as somebody's national anthem plays in the background. For the "good guys" we have Paula, David, some black convicts and some California state senators, opposed by the prison guards and some kind of "establishment," loosely defined.

The cloudy love story is convenient for the CP. It neatly hides the fact that Jackson and Davis were organizationally defined—and associated with somewhat divergent political currents. Jackson joined the Black Panther Party on the basis of its call for "urban guerrilla warfare." In political life, and particularly in death, he was a symbol of the "armed struggle" rhetoric associated with the early Panthers and later with the Cleaver wing.

In the film, Jonathan Jackson is turned into a tragic case of youthful spontaneism, while George Jackson and Angela Davis are placed on the same side of the political barricades. This suits the CP's legend of a general radical black upheaval of which it was the organic core, but it doesn't suit the truth. George Jackson never separated himself from his brother's politics, and explicitly solidarized with the Panthers' aim of "a small, tightly knit, totally committed and separate military vanguard such as Jonathan Jackson attempted to build" (*Blood in My Eye*).

The CP cashed in on the mood of militant black nationalism when the militarist voluntarism of the Panthers ran into its dead end. The rhetoric of "picking up the gun" had tapped into a vast reservoir of sympathy among ghetto youth, but the Panthers, faced by murderous state repression, were finding they had to face up to powerlessness and isolation. The dominant wing associated with the Newton forces opted for an overtly reformist turn as the "solution." The cynical, parasitic CP stepped in with lawyers and money, organizational know-how and influential connections—a slick reformist rationale for dumping "armed struggle" in favor of cultivating "allies." The alliance with the CP was crystallized in the Panthers' "United Front Against Fascism" in the summer of 1969. But this marriage of convenience soon fell apart, and after a couple of years Newton reemerges as a Democratic Party politician. Ironically, Jackson and Davis were in one respect more like Romeo and Juliet than the film is willing to admit. For like the Shakespearean lovers, their relationship cut across political lines whose hostility, in the period of the Panthers' disintegration, sometimes reached fratricidal dimensions.

Free Ruchell Magee!

The CP must be quite pleased that *Brothers* ducks another touchy subject—the case of Ruchell Magee, who is still behind bars justly screaming about the CP's "back-stabbing efforts." By all rights Magee would have been an important character in any film of integrity about George Jackson. Magee was testifying in the Marin County Courthouse at the time of Jonathan Jackson's dramatic raid. Magee stood trial for the raid at the same time as Angela Davis—she, charged with buying the guns; he, with murder.

Brothers makes it clear that Davis was innocent, and follows her as a fugitive and then into jail, but nothing is said of Magee. And the Communist Party must be delighted with that job of editing. For the CP simply abandoned the defense of Magee—the lumpen San Quentin convict with a grade-school education—while running the flashiest, most expensive defense case in years for its "beautiful, brilliant professor."

The Spartacist League of course solidarized with the defense of Davis against a witchhunt aimed against the CP and the black movement. But nonsectarian class-struggle defense required exposing the treacherous way the CP dumped the Magee case, refusing him legal and financial assistance and even blacking out his case in the pages of the *Daily World* at a time when the favorable publicity they were gaining for Davis would have helped him. As part of its depoliticalizing of the events, the film never quite gets to the Davis case at all, instead focusing on touching shots of Paula composing love letters in her cell for David in his.

Tragic Hero or Radical Martyr?

Jackson, vividly aware of the effects of prison "life," pointed out how "prison twists every decent emotion. I cannot be human." As far as the film is concerned, he reasserted his humanity not through deepening political awareness and the subjective desire to struggle against injustice, but through the convention of the tragically transcendent love. But Jackson's life was political. His political experience—including his failures—must be understood by the new generation of black militants. Jackson must not be canonized as a martyr to true love.

The film's last scene is important in this regard. It shows that after "David Thomas" was assassinated in the prison yard, the white prisoners who had been primitively racist become respectful of the black convicts. As the final credits roll across the screen we see black and white prisoners sitting for the first time at the same tables, grim faces united in silent protest.

Such scenes as this final one did occur, sometimes. In the late 1960's there were some remarkable episodic bursts of prisoner solidarity in the face of extreme victimization. The Attica uprising is, of course, the classic example. But in the context of *Brothers* the scene also means something else, suggesting that Jackson accomplished in death what he was unable to accomplish in life. Through his individual heroism, he brought all the "good guys" together.

One of the co-directors of the film,

continued on page 8

Politics and Prison

Who Was George Jackson?

George Jackson — Daily World

Brothers, with its Hollywood fable of the life and death of George Jackson, compels revolutionaries to re-examine the reality of Jackson's life and politics. The Spartacist League finds itself in the position of defending the political honor of George Jackson against the film's trivializing falsification, notwithstanding our immense distance from his ideology of guerrillaist black nationalism. This responsibility falls to us in part because his Black Panther Party comrades—the natural ones to expose and debunk the movie—are either dead, imprisoned or have sold out shamelessly and utterly. George Jackson is not our comrade, but he is in some real sense our "brother."

Framed Up and Murdered

The "outside" world heard of George Jackson when he and two other prisoners in Soledad's notorious maximum security "O" wing were charged in 1970 with the murder of a prison guard. The case exposed the sadistic brutality directed against black prisoners, including the long series of murders of militant black prisoners. After the killing of a white guard, the state—in an attempt to crush prison unrest—framed the "Soledad Brothers" (George Jackson, John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo).

For months the California authorities had been engaged in a massive cover-up. letters from prisoners to their families about the murders never made it past the censors; petitions were torn up, visiting privileges to those who had witnessed the crimes were restricted. The case first began to break when Cluchette's mother was put in touch with Fay Stender, a young radical lawyer. Through Stender's efforts reporters and black congressmen were informed of the conditions at Soledad and formal investigations begun. Also through her efforts, Jackson's prison letters were compiled and published.

In *Soledad Brother*, Jackson describes the frame-up:

> "Black men born in the U.S. and fortunate enough to live past the age of eighteen are conditioned to accept the inevitability of prison. For most of us it simply looms as the next phase in a sequence of humiliations....
>
> "... when I was accused of robbing a gas station of seventy dollars, I accepted a deal—I agreed to confess and spare the county court costs in return for a light county jail sentence. I confessed, but when the time came for sentencing, they tossed me into the penitentiary with one to life....
>
> "This charge [of killing the prison guard] carries an automatic death penalty for me. I can't get life. I already have it."

The next act in this carefully orchestrated tragedy occurred when Jackson's younger brother Jonathan, set up by police provocateurs, led an adventurist raid on the Marin Country Court House demanding the Soledad Brothers' freedom. A small army of San Quentin guards who "just happened" to be in the area shot Jonathan down as he was driving the getaway van; inside the van somebody opened fire. Almost all the hostages and captors, including Jonathan, were killed. Ruchell Magee, who had been testifying in the court house at the time and participated in the raid, was charged with the murders; Angela Davis was accused of buying the guns.

The following year only two days

continued on page 8

George Jackson...

(continued from page 7)

before the opening of the Soledad Brothers trial. Jackson was shot down by guards in a phony "escape" attempt they had set up. The Soledad Brothers were later acquitted. Jackson of course posthumously. College professor Angela Davis, backed up with CP money, lawyers and influence—proved her innocence. Ruchell Magee got life. The San Quentin Six, charged with the killings which took place during the phony "escape," are still standing trial.

Politics and Prisons

George Jackson developed his politics in prison. His early letters to his parents—particularly painful ones to his father—express his first tentative understanding of society. Marshalling diverse statistics and quotations, he polemicized against the view that black oppression is accidental, incidental, a deplorable blot on the face of an otherwise fair system, or slowly getting "better." The letters document his development to a sophisticated exposition of the "third world" "urban guerrilla" eclecticism of the Black Panther Party.

It is not surprising that Jackson became a black nationalist and a guerrillaist. Not only was New Left terrorism a prevailing mood among radicals in and outside of jail, but such an ideology corresponded to the material conditions of prison "life." For capitalism's black captives, racial solidarity was not so much a recipe for successful struggle as a prerequisite for survival; the ideology of "picking up the gun" seemed an irresistable and elementary response to limitless and wanton state violence. The implicit corollary of New Left voluntarism was despair of the possibility of wielding the potential might of the organized working class against the system. It was an ideology of hopelessness well suited to the doomed convicts.

Angela Davis — WV Photo

The New Left moralists outside the jails enthused over the so-called "prison vanguard." They held that the most oppressed were naturally the most revolutionary: the black and Latin lumpens concentrated in the prisons should therefore be the best revolutionaries. Thus black lumpens rather than a racially united working class were to lead the revolution; sporadic prison revolts—desperate responses to desperate conditions—were held up as examples of this "revolutionary" activity.

The oppression of blacks as a segregated caste at the lowest economic level of productive society drives them into the lumpenproletariat in disproportionately large numbers. Capitalism in its decay subjects whole sections of this oppressed population to long-term joblessness and the consequent effects of lumpenization—ripping them out of production and dumping them onto "the streets" where crime and survival become virtually synonymous. There, many aspire to become a grotesque parody of the parasitic capitalist entrepreneur—the hustler.

Another black convict, Malcolm X, penetrated the experience of the street hustler and described it in his autobiography:

> "Right now, in every big city ghetto, tens of thousands of yesterday's and today's school drop-outs are keeping body and soul together by some form of hustling in the same way I did. And they inevitably move into more and more, worse and worse, illegality and immorality. Full-time hustlers can never relax to appraise what they are doing and where they are bound. As is the case in any jungle...if he ever slows down, the other hungry, restless foxes, ferrets, wolves, and vultures out there with him won't hesitate to make him their prey."

The institutional concentration and extreme oppression of black lumpen youth in prisons provided one of the material prerequisites for some of them to begin to understand their racial oppression from a social rather than individual point of view. Many of these black men came to consider themselves black nationalists and turned toward the Panthers or Black Muslims. But prisons, of course, profoundly deform as well—both the man and the politics. Some, like Eldridge Cleaver, are so distorted by criminality that politics becomes only an extension of the cynical street style. Before he called for a government run by the U.S. imperialists and "god," as he does today, Cleaver as a Panther called for the "dictatorship of the lumpenproletariat."

Like Cleaver, Jackson firmly embraced "armed struggle" as the supposed alternative to liberal gradualism. But unlike Cleaver he did not glorify the Panthers' lumpen-criminal style. Of his prison experiences, he wrote:

> "I'll here admit that most of the people who come through these places are genuinely sick in one way or the other, monsters, totally disorganized, twisted, disgusting epitomes of the parent monster. Those who aren't so upon their arrival will surely be so when they leave. No one escapes unscathed..."

Earlier, he had complained, "They have locked me up with a bunch of twenty-year-olds who don't know anything about the ways of the world, hate books, can't think, and won't listen."

George Jackson tried to learn about the world and transcend his prison environment through books. Ultimately he did not escape the conditions of his existence: growing up black and poor and on the streets, incarcerated in a racist hellhole for his entire adult life, in contact only with a society of limitless brutalization in a concentration-camp world where naked force was the only political institution. Anguishingly aware of the deformations of prison life, he could not transcend the terrorist strategy of seeking "to transform the black criminal mentality into a black revolutionary mentality" generated by his hideously oppressed condition and by the ideology of New Left-style Stalinist revisionism.

Jackson and Fanon

The prison politics of lumpen rage found its "international" theory in the writings of Frantz Fanon. Fanon's book is the only one quoted in *Brothers*; in the film its purpose is to indicate a political direction for violent rage. Fanon was the spokesman for the view that the most oppressed were the most revolutionary, giving that notion a militarist nationalist twist. It was in part Fanon's stress on the cathartic violence of the oppressed which made him a political fad in the Panther/New Left milieu, and particularly popular in prison.

For Fanon's brand of nationalism, it was the most "volatile" and violent who would be the vanguard. Just as the guerrillas would bring the revolution from the countryside and shantytowns into the cities, where the proletariat works, so revolution would be brought from the "Third World" global countryside to the advanced industrial nations. Such a theory placed U.S. blacks, and particularly black lumpens, at the head of the American revolution. For many blacks who wrote off the potential of the "white working class," Fanonism squared exactly with their psychological experience.

While Jackson was strongly influenced by Fanon's ideas, he was a very different political being than the West Indian intellectual. Fanon, born to the creole elite in the French colony of Martinique, first came to knowledge of traditional Marxism through pro-Moscow Stalinism. His political mentor, Aimé Césaire, was at one point a Communist member of the French Chamber of Deputies. Under the impact of the Algerian war and Cuban revolution, Fanon moved from Khrushchevism to a radical nationalist populism. In so doing he explicitly rejected the proletarian orientation of traditional Marxism. He was a conscious and knowledgeable revisionist of Marxism; only the great political authority of official "Marxism-Leninism" as upheld by various state powers prevented him from repudiating Marxism outright and embracing the tradition of Bakuninite anarchism, the real historical basis of his views.

George Jackson might be described as a spontaneous Fanonist. His experience as a black lumpen youth and then a victimized prisoner conformed to Fanon's race-centered "wretched of the earth" view of oppression. He first came to "Marxism-Leninism" through reading Fanon, Mao, the Panther press. By the time he got around to actually reading Marx and Lenin, Jackson already considered himself a communist. Unlike Fanon, he made no attempt to relate his "Third World" vanguardism to traditional Marxism; that kind of appeal to doctrinal consistency did not much concern him.

In large part because he was not involved in the transformation of the civil rights movement (e.g. SNCC, CORE) into black exclusionist groups, Jackson was not so much an American-centered black nationalist as a "Third World" vanguardist. Profoundly influenced by the Vietnam war, Jackson's vision was of the masses throughout the world picking up the gun against American imperialism. For the U.S., he envisioned black ghetto youth in the vanguard of revolutionary struggle, followed by the increasingly radicalized students, and with the backward white workers as well eventually siding with the cause of "people's government."

That Jackson's politics were fundamentally incompatible with traditional Marxism should be obvious. In attacking imperialist militarism, Jackson condemned European bourgeois civilization in its totality as inferior to the traditional societies of Asia and Africa:

> "At no time in European history has there been a period of peace and harmony. Every moment of his past has been spent in the breakdown of civilization by causing war, disruption, disease, and artificial famine. You send me a date from the moment he emerged from his cave-dwelling days and I'll tell you which of his tribes were at war, either on us or on themselves. The whole of the Western European's existence here in the U.S. has been the same, one long war with different peoples."
>
> —*Soledad Brother*

For Marxists, the European bourgeois revolution, in both its economic and political dimensions, created the necessary historic basis for socialist society. Compare the *Communist Manifesto* with Jackson's view that the "Third World" guerrillas must surround the cities:

> "The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West."

As revolutionary Marxists, we stand opposed—no less than did George Jackson—to Western imperialism's exploitation and oppression of backward nations. This is because imperialism—degenerate capitalism—now arrests the level of global economic development, plunges the world into interimperialist war, maintains the barbaric practices of traditional societies and reinforces the reactionary role of nationalism in the contemporary world. The eradication of imperialism, national oppression and genocide is the historic task of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, which alone can enlist the impoverished rural masses in the fight for progressive social transforma-

"Brothers"...

(continued from page 7)

Mildred Lewis, says so explicitly in what has to count as the Pollyanna idiocy of all time:

> "I think the story was important to us because it showed that, no matter what happens to a man, he can bounce back.... I'd like people to leave the theater realizing that a human being is a beautiful thing, and that no matter what happens to that human being he can survive.... I guess it's that you can't keep a good man down."
>
> —*Mother Jones*, June 1977

Whatever comfort this may provide to Christian moralizers, the assassination of George Jackson does not seem to bear this out!

What is needed is precisely what *Brothers* deliberately does not do—an examination of Jackson's life and death and the Black Panther Party's rise and demise. These are hard lessons. Jackson did not ultimately transcend the fundamental inadequacies of the 1960's radical black movement. Like some others, he was a subjectively revolutionary potential leader of the proletariat cut down before he had any chance to find his way to a revolutionary proletarian perspective. If young blacks come to regard simply the aesthetic George Jackson, if they see only that he was beautiful and tragic, as *Brothers* presents, then he will have lived and died in vain.

Future George Jacksons must not be wasted—chained to the walls of a prison and to a futile ideology based on the powerlessness of a prison population. Nor must the CP's cynically false claim to the revolutionary impulse of the best of the black militants go unchallenged. Jackson's martyrdom belongs to the future socialist revolution in this country, which in large measure depends upon the development of a black Trotskyist cadre: men and women who do not get mired in the guerrillaist "street politics" of illusory black nationalist schemas or the morass of reformism. These cadres of the future proletarian party must see *Brothers* as an insult to a subjective revolutionary who—in the full awareness of his doom—dedicated himself to the cause of the oppressed. They must grasp the political imperatives of George Jackson's experience and martyrdom. ■

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tion as a crucial ally of the class-conscious proletariat.

Jackson and the Panthers

Prison deforms politics in a way that is so obvious that it is often overlooked. It separates men from the living political movement. It is this above all that makes Jackson such a strange and contradictory figure within the spectrum of Panther politics. Curiously, this terrible distortion also accounts in part for his attractiveness, in that he seems to have a general absence of petty factional malice.

Max Bloom

Ruchell Magee

A subjectively revolutionary militant, Jackson was not really a radical politician; he had no way to become one. Uninvolved in politics prior to his imprisonment, then caged up in enforced isolation from social struggle as well as from the sharp debates which wracked the black radical movement, he could take no part in leading particular people behind particular policies. Therefore he did not have to take political responsibility for any faction of "the movement."

Jackson never addressed the knotty problems which the New Left sporadically and incompetently debated (e.g., the Sino-Soviet split) and he stood aside from its factional squabbles. He intersected the New Left in his messianic vision of "the inevitable triumph of people's government." At the time of the decomposition and split of the Panthers, he attacked the Cleaver wing on personalist grounds, despite a manifestly greater kinship with its militaristic posture.

By the time of Jackson's entry into political life, the Black Panther Party itself had become a fairly hegemonic umbrella organization of militant nationalism. Whatever political cohesiveness it had earlier possessed as a distillation of the broad black nationalist current—in part through disagreements with figures such as Stokely Carmichael or reactionary "cultural nationalists" like Imamu Baraka—had been undercut by its spectacular success in making itself synonymous with the radical black nationalist mood which characterized the urban ghetto youth of the late 1960's.

Jackson, the messianic prison-writer rather than communist politician, could simultaneously embrace views which tended to divide competing tendencies in the black movement and in the Panthers. He could accept the extreme glorification of military force wielded on behalf of the oppressed which was characteristic of the Cleaver wing; in *Blood in My Eye* he approvingly quoted his brother Jonathan's violence fantasies, soon to be tragically applied:

> "Repression is here! I've followed them [the cops], studied them, holed a few of their cars—you should see how they'll run when they can't tell from exactly what quarter they're drawing fire. We overestimate them, or perhaps have little sense of our own power. In the short run, and here I mean in an isolated tactical operation sitting within a particular political design, with military weapons we could easily outgun the establishment's first line of defense. What, for instance, would the city pigs do if they are confronted by a .38 snubbed revolver in the hand of a brother who's tired that .38 perhaps 10 times in his life? Then take the same situation but give the brother a flamethrower (stolen from the military), give the brother an armored van from inside which he could use said flamethrower, give him two comrades in arms, one equipped with an M60 machine gun, the other an anti-tank rocket launcher. Pigs are punks. Give me 10 cells armed as I've just mentioned and we could start to enforce some of the demands of the people...."

At the same time, Jackson could argue against "the blanket indictment of the white race" and in favor of accepting white radicals as legitimate participants in the struggle against racism—a line much closer to the Newton wing, especially as it turned toward reformist alliance with the Communist Party.

In a 1970 letter to Angela Davis he even made an attempt to rehabilitate Martin Luther King, whose reformist gradualism was the enemy which first defined radical black nationalism:

> "It's no coincidence that Malcolm X and M.L. King died *when* they did. Malcolm X had just put it together (two and two). I seriously believe King knew all along but was holding out and presenting the truth in such a way that it would affect the most people situationally without getting them damaged by gunfire. You remember what was on his lips when he died. Vietnam and economics, political economy...."

As a self-taught intellectual with little more than an ideological tie to organized radicalism, Jackson never felt it necessary to reconcile his sometimes self-contradictory writings or to make a hard factional "choice of comrades." He could write that in "turning inward in our misery and accepting any form of racism we are taking on the characteristic of our enemy" without feeling called upon to disavow any of the white-baiting and anti-Semitism of the official Panther press.

Build the Trotskyist Vanguard Party!

The figure of George Jackson evokes far more than just sympathy for a man who sought to outline and carry forward a vision of human decency and social justice in the face of overwhelming and ultimately decisive odds. His self-discipline, intelligence and undisputed courage made him an exceptional individual. His death made him a symbol of martyrdom for the cause of black freedom. His letters embody much of what was best in the Panthers: the subjectively revolutionary dedication which—in the absence of a strong Leninist proletarian vanguard—never transcended decisive elements which combined with bourgeois state repression to destroy the organization: New Left impressionism, nationalism, adulation of "Third World" Stalinism in power, violence-cult adventurism, reformist maneuverism and lumpen-style hustlerism.

Adoption of the "colonial model" for "white fascist Amerika" doomed the black nationalist/New Left movement to self-isolation from the decisive potential power of the working class. But in its heyday, this mood attracted some of the most militant black youth who might—given an upsurge in the class struggle—have found their way to a revolutionary proletarian perspective. As ghetto youth were increasingly drawn to the radical mood, the repression of the most militant expression of black nationalism—the Panthers—was begun with a vengeance on a national scale.

Tragically, the Panthers' glorification of street violence and "off the pig" rhetoric made them an easy target for the provocateurs, hit-men and hired guns of the capitalist class. The Panther leaders were cut down by the state in the most savage and systematic murder campaign ever seen in the modern-day U.S. Jackson called it "natural selection in reverse."

In addition, the Newton-Cleaver split was primarily carried out with street-gang methods; more than a few Panther militants were killed by one another. The inevitable political decomposition of that movement and the murderous cop vendetta left only the dead and imprisoned, the sellouts in the Democratic Party, and the nauseating Eldridge Cleaver, former rapist and recent convert to Christian anti-communist crusading.

It is not surprising that Jackson—caged up for the totality of his adult life—adopted a prison-centered view of revolutionary politics. It is testimony to his power of will and mind that he came to a definite social conviction under the dehumanizing oppression of prison "life." Ultimately, it took state murder to silence his voice. And it will take the proletarian revolution, led by the multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party, to properly avenge his death. ■

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TLD...

(continued from page 2)

display of contempt for internationalism.

The TLD issued a leaflet, "Defend Workers Democracy," protesting the vicious KB attack. The leaflet explained:

> "Since the utopian/reactionary positions of the KB on atomic energy cannot stand up to hard revolutionary criticism, it [KB] is attempting to silence our criticisms by all the methods of Stalinism, in order for its part to be able to falsify them through omission or veiled hints. For the KB knows that interest in discussing the positions of the TLD exists among its supporters. Thus it has already had to deny speaking rights to TLD spokesmen at two meetings it dominated, even though approximately a third of the audience expressed itself in favor of letting the TLD present its criticism."

The *Rotfrontstadt* article's attempted smear job culminates in the statement that the TLD "completely supports the atomic policies of the bourgeoisie"—thereby seeking to avoid answering the TLD's argument that it is not up to revolutionaries to formulate an energy policy for the capitalists and pretending not to notice the TLD's denunciation of state repression directed against anti-atomic power demonstrators, as well as its call for the expropriation without compensation of the entire energy industry.

Demanding "open political debate among workers organizations" as a "life-or-death question for the working class," the TLD concludes: "The KB is politically defenseless against our criticisms of the petty-bourgeois anti-nuclear power movement and is resorting, like all Stalinists when they are hit particularly hard politically, to the ultimate means of violence and the call for violence. We intend to defend our right to political debate with opportunist currents in the workers movement with all necessary means. We call upon organizations and individuals of the left and workers movement to protest this attack by the KB and to spring to the defense of workers democracy." ■

Jail Nixon...

(continued from page 12)

FBI from a massive bugging operation against the left.

Bring Nixon to Justice!

Clearly one of the purposes of the broadcast interviews between Nixon and television entrepreneur David Frost is for the bourgeoisie to celebrate its recovery from Watergate. With the aid of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and black misleaders, it has installed a "moral" president and is coming back

John Bryson Time

with a vengeance to reassert governmental authority and the ability of U.S. imperialism to call the shots in the international arena. Nixon's too obvious crimes must be shown as aberrant, their author duly removed from office, chastized and rendered pathetic.

Near the end of his interview, Nixon described himself as a sacrificial victim, "the last casualty of Vietnam." A "casualty" with a pardon from Gerald Ford, a $100,000-per-year pension, a million dollar TV interview series and his playground in San Clemente! When he tees up for his daily round of golf, this "war casualty" must be very thankful that he will never be brought to justice by his own class.

The real casualties are the millions of Indochinese peasants and workers who were subjected to round-the-clock bombing, hundreds of thousands of them killed, their skin burned with napalm and their bodies torn by the fragmentation bombs of "democratic" American imperialism. At the time of the Watergate revelations, as bombs still rained down on North Vietnam, we demanded that Nixon be extradicted to Hanoi, to face the families of the victims of his "peace with honor" pratings and be tried for his monstrous war crimes against the working people of Indochina.

After his resignation, when Gerald Ford pardoned this no. 1 criminal, despite the fact that he was obviously guilty not only of mass murder in the name of anti-communism but also of massively violating even capitalist legality in the U.S., we demanded that he be jailed. Yet the American bourgeoisie, alarmed by its loss of credibility, was not about to try and convict, or even impeach Nixon. He knew too much, he could implicate too many. It would prolong "the crisis."

We continue to demand that Nixon be jailed. Failing that, there is ample evidence in his television interviews to lock him up in facilities for the confinement of the criminally insane. This "paranoiac for peace" is still a menace to society. But in any case the murderous power of U.S. imperialism remains—justice for Nixon's victims awaits the victorious socialist revolution. ■

Israeli Elections

(continued from page 1)

Zionists" intended to dangle before the Arab states as bait for a peace treaty. But in order to maintain its coalition with the National Religious Party of orthodox Jewish fanaticism, the "Labor" government not only refused to forcibly remove the "illegal" Kadum settlers, it provided the settlement with material support, and as a pre-election sop to hawks and right-wingers it authorized the army agricultural corps, the Nahal, to begin developing a settlement near Kadum at the Arab village of Mas'ha.

Begin's demagogy regarding the Palestinians has only been a more forthright and brutal expression of the genocidal racialism and territorial expansionism that is inherent in all the parties, wings, shadings, sects and cliques that embrace Zionism. Armed with an Old Testament quotation, Zionist zealots hold that, "In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram saying 'Unto thy seed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river the River Euphrates'" (Genesis, Chapter 15).

Likewise, according to Begin, Eretz Israel (the land of Israel) is not only the present state of Israel plus the occupied territories, but also includes at least the East Bank of Jordan. In response to the UN partition of Palestine, which from the standpoint of demography as well as the distribution of economic resources was highly unjust to the Palestinian Arabs, Begin said,

> "The Jewish homeland, the area which covers both sides of the Jordan, is a complete historic and geographic entity. Dissection of the homeland is an unlawful act; an agreement to dissection is also unlawful and not binding on the Jewish people. It is the duty of this generation to return to Jewish sovereignty these parts of the homeland which were torn from it and given over to foreign rule."
>
> —quoted in Moshe Menuhin, *Decadence of Judaism*

But Begin's response was fundamentally no different from that of the George Washington of Zionism, David Ben Gurion, who laid claim to "all the territory of the land of Israel, on either bank of the Jordan" (David Ben Gurion, *The Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*).

At a conference at the "left-wing" Zionist Mapam kibbutz at Ein Hahoresh, Begin attacked the contradiction between the claim of Mapam (United Workers Party) to recognize the existence of a Palestinian nation and its right to self-determination while building kibbutzim or agricultural collectives on lands that belonged to the Palestinians. He chastised the Mapam kibbutzniks:

> "When you recognize the concept of 'Palestine' you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoresh. If this is Palestine and not the land of Israel, then you are the conquerors and not the tillers of the land. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to a people who lived here before you came."
>
> —quoted in Ari Bober, *The Other Israel*

Likud was formed in 1973 in response to "Labor's" adaptation of the so-called Galili plan. Named after "Labor" minister Israel Galili, the plan calls for substantial investment in order to integrate the West Bank into the Israeli economy. Begin, feeling that "Labor" had essentially coopted his hard line on the occupied territories, engineered a series of electoralist deals which incorporated various splinter groups and ex-"Laborites." This was confirmed by the fact that, although Begin lost and "Labor" won in the 1973 elections, the economic integration and development of settlements in the occupied territories continued apace.

While Begin embodies in more extreme form the racialism to be found in all the Zionist currents, nonetheless his electoral victory, particularly given his history, is a dangerous development. For Begin has never repudiated his activities as an Irgun terrorist. On the contrary he boasts of them, requesting only that he be referred to as a "freedom fighter" and not as a terrorist. Now this advocate of unrestrained terror and violence against the Palestinian people—and against anyone who believes that Palestinians have a right to exist—is on the verge of acquiring not merely the handguns and Molotov cocktails of his Irgun days but the technologically advanced arsenal of a modern state power, including the capacity to make atomic weapons. Thus it is well worth looking at his sordid history.

Zionist ultras march to hold Arab land in the occupied territory of the West Bank. Carol Goutter

Origins of Irgun

The Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization) had its ideological origins in the Zionist revisionism of Vladimar Jabotinsky. Jabotinsky counterposed to the utopian collectivist schemes of the early Jewish pioneers in Palestine an explicitly capitalist and militarist colonization of the territory, one which would be defended by a modern army that would serve as the foundation for a modern Jewish state. Only after such a state and army were established could large-scale Jewish emigration take place.

So many of Jabotinsky's tenets are taken as home truths by the modern Zionist movement that it is hard to realize that at the time he launched his Revisionist party in 1925 he was considered within the Zionist movement as an ultra-right-wing fanatic. Ben Gurion called him "Vladimar Hitler." Mussolini remarked to Rome's chief rabbi in 1935, "For Zionism to succeed you need to have a Jewish state with a Jewish flag and a Jewish language. The man who understands this is your fascist, Jabotinsky."

Tension between the Revisionists and the "Labor Zionists" escalated. Employers imported scab workers through the Revisionist National Labor Federation to break Histadrut strikes. In June 1933 Chaim Arlosoroff, a leading "labor" Zionist, was murdered. The Revisionists were suspected and one of them was arrested. Finally in 1935 the Revisionists split from the Zionist organization. In 1931 the Haganah, the unified militia of Palestinian Jewry, also split, and the Revisionist-dominated Haganah "B" was formed.

During the 1936 Arab revolt the official line of the Haganah was "restraint," that is communal self-defense and collaboration with the British. Jabotinsky supported the policy of restraint, thereby splitting Haganah "B," with half of its 3,000 members following his recommendation and reuniting with Haganah, and the other more extreme half carrying out a campaign of active terror against the Palestinian Arabs. This half went on to form the Irgun. The Irgun symbol was a hand grasping a rifle over the map of Palestine (including Trans-Jordan) with the motto, "Rak Kach" ("Only Thus").

With the outbreak of World War II the Irgun itself was split into those led again by Jabotinsky who wanted to collaborate with Britain in the war against Germany and the majority of the Irgunists led by Abraham Stern. Stern formed the Lochamei Herut Israel (Freedom Fighters of Israel) and continued to see Britain as the main enemy. He even approached German representatives in the Near East, seeking a deal with Hitler. Those terrorists who remained in the Irgun worked closely with the British occupation forces, especially the Criminal Investigation Department, devoting most of their resources to

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

cratic cronies in Los Angeles. Apparently under pressure from L.A. as well as from the Local 10 ranks, even the bureaucratic group around Larry Wing and Herb Mills came out against forced transfers at the May 21 meeting, a switch from their earlier support for LWOP. (However, these "oppositionists" still consider "voluntary" transfers necessary.)

Caught in an equally uncomfortable position are well-known CP supporter Billy Proctor and his ally Leo Robinson. Their only proposals to date have been for "voluntary" transfers, while they violently denounce the "Longshore Militant" call for strike action. But "voluntary transfers" is not a program to win jobs—at best it delays the institution of LWOP, while fueling regional rivalries within the ILWU and playing lower-seniority "B" members off against "A-men."

A "Longshore Militant" leaflet issued on May 18 spelled out the threat facing Bay Area longshoremen, and by extension the rest of the longshore division, if the PMA is allowed to gut Local 10: "... converting Local 10 into a strictly steady-man operation in which the hiring hall is abolished and virtually all non-skilled men are driven off the waterfront." The leaflet put forward the only program which can defend dock workers whose livelihoods are threatened in this crisis.

> "There is only one alternative to being driven off the waterfront: break the contract and strike for a program of more jobs. We need a shorter work shift with no loss in pay, 6 hours work for 8 hours pay or better, with no extended shifts and a big pay boost ..."

It is urgent for longshoremen that this program be implemented. The ILWU ranks must demand that the issue of LWOP be brought before them at a membership meeting where it can be democratically debated rather than in a shotgun referendum ballot. Should the issue remain on the ballot, LWOP must be voted down and preparations made for a Coast-wide strike to win jobs for all. ■

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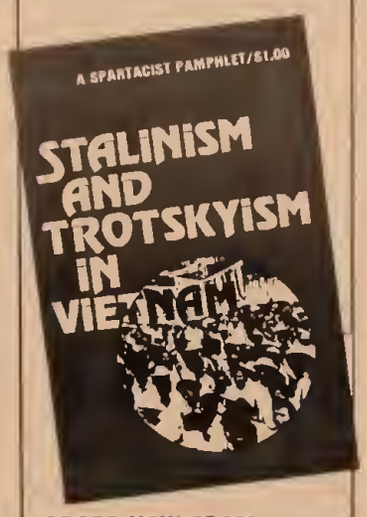

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aiding the British in hunting down Stern gang members.

The Irgun Under Begin

The period of collaboration with the British, which saw the death of Jabotinsky and of Irgun commander David Raziel, was one of decline for the Irgun. It was revived again by an influx of recruits, many of them deserters from General Waldislaw Anders' Polish Army, temporarily stationed in Palestine. These new Irgun recruits were ideologically educated in the fanatical Revisionist youth movement, Betar, tempered by being first-hand witnesses of the Nazi holocaust and professionally trained soldiers. Among them was the leader of the Polish Betar, Menachem Begin. Born in Brest-Litovsk in 1913, seized for Zionist activities in Soviet Lithuania in 1941, after a year in a Siberian labor camp he was allowed to enlist in the Anders army. By December 1943 he had taken over the leadership of Irgun.

Under Begin's command the Irgun broke off its collaboration with the British, the command was centralized and it began a campaign, along with the Stern Gang, of exortion from British businessmen. The British, with full knowledge of Hitler's "final solution," blocked Jewish immigration either to England or Palestine, thereby infuriating both the official and dissident Zionists. "Illegal" Jewish immigrants captured by the British were interned in concentration camps.

Following World War II the official Zionist movement also broke with the British, escalated the illegal immigration and launched its own campaign of terror. On the night of 17 June 1946, Haganah units blew up ten of the eleven bridges connecting Palestine with neighboring countries. The British response was swift, harsh and massive. On June 29, "Black Sabbath" to Palestinian Jewry, the British began a two-week nationwide mass arrest operation. Buildings were searched block by block, schools and hospitals as well; even the casts of patients were broken open.

The Irgun responded on July 22. A group of armed Irgunists planted timed explosives in the kitchen of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. An entire wing of the building was occupied by British government offices, including those of the Criminal Investigation Department. The Irgun had come full circle from active collaboration with the CID to active terror against it. Begin claims that the Irgun telephoned a warning of the impending explosion; the British authorities deny it. In any case the building was not cleared and the explosion killed 91 British, Arabs and Jews and injured 45.

Irgun, Stern Gang and the Birth of Israel

But while anti-British terrorism received the most publicity, the British were not the main targets of the Irgun and Stern Gang. At the end of 1947 the Stern Gang boasted that it had killed 373 people, of whom 300 were civilians, many of them Jewish. But much of the violence was directed specifically at places where Arabs and Jews had lived, worked and shopped together for many years.

This was particularly the case following the UN-announced partition scheme. For example, on 30 December 1947 members of the Irgun threw bombs from a passing vehicle into a group of Arab workers standing at the gates of a Haifa oil refinery, killing 6 and wounding 47. The Haifa docks and refineries had a long tradition of common class struggle. But in retaliation the Arab oil workers attacked Jewish co-workers with knives and pickaxes, killing 41 and wounding 15.

Not unlike the terrorism of the Orange extremists and the IRA in Northern Ireland, the terrorism of the Irgun and the Stern Gang served to cut across common class solidarity and exacerbate the national antagonisms, so that only a nationalist solution would appear possible.

In addition, the Irgun and Stern Gang terrorism sought to drive the large Palestinian Arab minority from that portion of Palestine allotted by the UN partition to the future Jewish state. Zionist apologists claim that Palestinian Arabs were ordered by their leaders to flee or simply left during the Arab-Israeli war to avoid the consequences of battle. This is a complete fabrication. In fact, there was a concerted campaign of terror by which the Arab population was driven out prior to the Arab-Israeli war, and in which the Stern Gang and the Irgun were in the vanguard. The most infamous episode in this campaign was the massacre perpetrated by the Irgun and the Stern Gang at Deir Yassin.

Deir Yassin

Deir Yassin was a few miles west of Jerusalem. According to the UN partition plan, accepted by the Zionists at that time, it belonged to the Jerusalem international zone over which Israelis had no jurisdiction. Further, the villagers had gotten along with pre-Zionist Jewish settlers. Amidst a growing confrontation and unrest from Palestinian Arabs and Jews at the time, Deir Yassin was held up as a model of amicable coexistence. It was precisely for this reason that the Irgun and Stern Gang chose to wipe out Deir Yassin.

With the aid of Haganah the terrorist groups occupied the village. The Haganah men then withdrew and on 9 April 1948 the Irgun and Stern Gang murdered 254 Arab villagers including women and children. The mutilated carcasses were thrown into a well. A handful of survivors, Arab women and children, were brought in trucks to Jerusalem and paraded through the streets where they were jeered and spat upon. On the same day the Irgunists called a press conference where they bragged about their "victory" at Deir Yassin.

In his book, *The Revolt: The Story of the Irgun*, Begin boasts of the role Deir Yassin played in spreading panic and terror within the Palestinian Arab communities, facilitating the Zionists in effecting their forcible population transfer.

> "Panic overwhelmed the Arabs of Eretz Israel. In the rest of the country Arabs began to flee in terror even before they clashed with Israeli forces. . . . Meanwhile Haganah was carrying out successful attacks on other fronts. All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began to flee in panic shouting 'Deir Yassin'."

Of course the official Zionist establishment would denounce Deir Yassin, but the massacre could not have occurred without the cooperation of the Haganah; and the consolidation of a homogeneous Jewish state through the forcible expulsion of the Arab population would have been more difficult, if not impossible, without the terror of the Stern Gang and the Irgun.

In the consolidation of a modern state power and army during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, Ben Gurion suppressed the Stern Gang and Irgun. Although Ben Gurion would never admit it, these gangsters played a necessary role in the birth of the Zionist state. Begin and his Irgun cronies turned in their guns and bombs and began a legal party, the Herut, or Freedom Party. It soon joined the official Zionist establishment and along with Mapai, Mapam and all the other Zionist parties received its portion of Jewish Agency subsidies.

Now Begin need only perform the tedious ritual of putting together a majority coalition government from the fractious and clique-ridden Zionist parties in order for this Eichmann of the Palestinian people to become the next prime minister. The arsenals of the Israeli state, amply oversupplied with the latest weaponry from the U.S. and possessing the capacity to make nuclear weapons, will be placed in his blood-stained hands.

A dangerous period has opened in Israel with vicious repression in the occupied territories and right-wing bonapartism in Israel itself placed on the agenda. The Israeli working class, especially the oppressed Sephardim, will soon discover that the terror of the former Irgun leader in government will be turned against the proletarian class enemies of the Israeli state even more rapidly and more viciously than against its national enemies.

Israeli workers must be broken from their Zionist masters! Revolutionary unity of class-conscious Arabs and Hebrew workers must be forged! The crimes of Deir Yassin and the Irgun must be avenged through proletarian revolution or indeed the Hebrew people will find but another holocaust awaiting them in the Near East. ■

Roth/Sygma

Former prime minister Rabin, left, with Labor Party leader Shimon Peres.

Ethiopia . . .

(continued from page 5)

charges of handing out anti-government leaflets. Troops later shot many of them in cold blood. Witnesses say many of the bodies were found stacked in huge piles, and others dumped in a mass grave just outside the capital. Many had been partially eaten by hyenas.

At Menelik Hospital in Addis Ababa there were 170 bodies, some of them mutilated. Relatives coming to pick bodies out of the piles had to pay heavy fines in order to claim them. On Saturday morning, more students were rounded up and taken to an army division headquarters. When relatives attempted to bring food, they were told, "food is no longer necessary." Nothing further has been released by the regime about these students' fate.

While the May Day slaughter was proceeding, Mengistu addressed a pro-government rally in the center of the capital, vowing to crush all oppositionists. It is this horrendous mass murder of left-wing students which the tinpot dictator was justifying and which the Communist Party hails! After the ceremonies, he flew off to Moscow where, in honor of the Kremlin's growing links to the Ethiopian military junta, he was feted at a state dinner given by Soviet president Podgorny.

"We are glad," said Podgorny, "that in the fierce clashes with reaction you are gaining ever more victories. . . ." Then, referring to the genocidal war being waged against the Eritrean people, without blinking an eye the Russian bureaucrat concluded:

> "The nationalities question is one of the complex problems which the enemies of the new Ethiopia are seeking to use for their own ends. We regard with understanding the intention of the PMAC [Derg] to resolve this question on a democratic basis. . . ."
>
> —*Daily World*, 6 May

The Stalinists' nauseating attempt to pass off the gory torrent of blood let loose by kill-crazy "progressive" dictator Mengistu as some kind of socialist revolution is mind-boggling. So grotesque are the scenes reported from Addis Ababa that rival Soviet-backed "socialist" military strongman Siad Barre of neighboring Somalia—who has had his own domestic Communists locked away for years—was able to remark: "The Ethiopians kill their students, their professors— why? If you kill everybody, what does that have to do with socialism?"

The Stalinist bureaucracy, which rose to political power in the USSR over the corpses of the defenders of proletarian internationalism, follows a nationalist course of seeking diplomatic advantage through deals with one "Third World" tyrant after another. The martyred students and leftists of Ethiopia are victims of Stalinist class collaboration as well as Mengistu's bonapartist terror, and their deaths can be avenged only through international proletarian revolution which will sweep away not only the Mengistus and Amins, but also bring forth a day of reckoning for their apologists in the deformed workers states as well. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Jail Criminally Insane Ex-President!

Nixon on the Loose

There he was again on prime-time TV: the "new Nixon," scratching his ear and droning on in mad sincerity about how he brought "peace with honor" to Vietnam. In his unforgettable tone of hollow-sounding moral uplift, he uttered the familiar alibis for the plumbers and assassins. He called on the "great silent majority" to vindicate him, quoting witless aphorisms by Bob Hope's wife on love and hate, forgetting whether or not he had authorized the firebombing of the Brookings Institute, oozing bitter resentment over not being invited to the White House by the Kennedys and comparing himself favorably to Lincoln and Jefferson.

He was, as always, banal, frumpy, rancorous and stupid. But in this third televised interview there was not the repentant Nixon of the earlier sessions when he did his hangdog, "I have let the country down," routine. No, this was Nixon on the offensive, the warrior in "the national interest." It was Joseph McCarthy's ex-staffer going after his abundant enemies with every available means (usually illegal): Nixon the criminal.. and the criminally insane.

"Paranoia for Peace"

On the bombing of Cambodia, Nixon said his "only regret" was that he hadn't moved "sooner, stronger." He argued that it was he and the military who were trying to achieve peace in Indochina, dragging in the old line about how it was necessary to bomb the North Vietnamese to the bargaining table. It was "violence-prone" protesters who prolonged the war, Nixon claimed with a straight face, so it was necessary to crush anti-war demonstrations in order to get a negotiated settlement. After all, Hanoi had to be convinced that they couldn't win in Washington what they didn't take on the battlefield.

It is, of course, true that nothing *could* be won through peace crawls with Democratic Party doves in Washington that wasn't won by force of arms in Vietnam. Despite the unpopularity of the war, U.S. imperialism continued to bomb away until its puppet army collapsed. In the end, the NLF/DRV took it all on the battlefield, but it wasn't for lack of trying to strike a deal with Washington. More than once Ho Chi Minh and his successors proved willing to *give up* what they had won, in exchange for empty promises from the imperialists. But the intransigence of the Nixon regime and the terminal corruption of its lackeys in Saigon frustrated the class-collaborationist plans of the Vietnamese Stalinists.

As for American promises, it was finally confirmed last week that the 1973 "peace" agreement included a secret clause committing the U.S. to $4.75 billion in aid to "contribute to post-war reconstruction in North Vietnam without any political conditions" (*New York Times*, 20 May 1977). Not only was this treaty provision repeatedly denied by Nixon/Ford administration officials, but the ex-president now justifies refusal to deliver aid on the spurious grounds that the North Vietnamese allegedly violated the accords. Nixon seemed determined to prove the inverse of the *Reader's Digest* axiom that you can never trust the Russians to live up to a treaty.

Nixon: "Paranoia for peace isn't that bad." Actualidad Espanola

While advocating "peace through war," Nixon also asserted that the president need not bother with legal niceties in order to uphold "law and order." Driven to distraction by peace demonstrators (who could be heard as they encircled the White House, "even if I had plugs in my ears"), the imperialist commander-in-chief attempted to silence his opponents. Sounding like a cross between Caligula and the Mad Hatter, Nixon explained to a scandalized David Frost, who pressed for an explanation of the patently illegal Huston plan for massive surveillance and disruption of the left:

> "FROST: ...you're saying, the president can decide that it's in the best interest of the nation or something, and do something illegal.
> "NIXON: Well, when the president does it, that means it is not illegal.
> "FROST: By definition.
> "NIXON: Exactly. Exactly. If the President, for example, approves something because of the national security, or in this case because of a threat to internal peace and order of significant magnitude, then the President's decision in that instance is one that enables those who carry it out, to carry it out without violating a law. Otherwise they're in an impossible position.
> "FROST: So, that in other words, really you were saying...between burglary and murder.. the dividing line is the President's judgment?
> "NIXON: Yes...."

The history of Nixon's "judgement" in such matters is well-known. There was no "dividing line" for the infamous COINTELPRO in its war against the government's usual targets: the left, black and labor movements. There was not only authorization for illegal wiretaps, mail openings, police provocations, disruptions and "black bag" burglary jobs galore; as shown by the assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, even murder was fair play.

It was only when the "enemies list" went beyond the usual victims of capitalism's secret police to include Nixon's bourgeois political opponents that a "Watergate crisis" developed. Frost seemed willing enough to understand why the president of the United States would harass and victimize the left, but why did his "enemies list" include Joe Namath? Why did Nixon use the Internal Revenue Service against prominent liberals? Nixon asked the obvious question himself: "A paranoiac attitude?" He answered with a clinical version of Barry Goldwater's famous dictum for conservative Republicans: "Call it paranoia, but paranoia for peace isn't that bad."

Nixon Isn't the Only One

It is beyond mere hypocrisy for Richard Nixon to proclaim that he "brought peace with honor," but it all made sense to this self-diagnosed paranoid. The political paradox and irritating irony is that this most discredited and exposed U.S. president of the imperialist era, a self-evident criminal and bumbling liar, when flailing about for a defense of the indefensible has been in some respects the most straightforward of recent American chief executives.

There has been plenty of media image-building for duplicitous and mediocre U.S. presidents. TV cameras trotted behind LBJ along the Pedernales River picking up bits of "folksy" Texas humor; meanwhile, the other Lyndon Johnson was directing massive carpet-bombing of Vietnam from his toilet seat. While television focused on the Kennedy of Camelot—the debonaire president, his fashion-conscious wife, jet-setting relatives and French chef—the secret JFK was not simply fiddling and faddling, but arranging the Bay of Pigs invasion and authorizing CIA assassination teams with Mafia hit squads. But there is no secret Nixon.

After the transparent display of contrition in the initial installments of the Nixon-Frost interviews, the Watergate president offered his best defense: they all do it, it comes with the job. And it's true, of course, which helps to explain why the Democrats were, at the end, not so anxious to engage in impeachment proceedings. Kennedy, Nixon pointed out, bugged Martin Luther King and spread the gossip "all over Capitol Hill."

When Nixon states that the president may sanction burglaries or murders with impunity, the *New York Times* and the rest of the liberals professed shock. But why? Isn't it established that Kennedy repeatedly tried to have Fidel Castro assassinated? Kennedy was simply smart enough and stealthy enough not to go blabbing about it as though it were some kind of divine right. Nixon is the one who got caught.

So now Carter intones that the president is "not above the law" and submits a bill to require judicial authorization for wiretapping in "national security" cases. Don't count on it, though. It has been illegal for years to tap phones without a warrant in all other cases, but that hasn't stopped the

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 160 | 3 June 1977

WV Photo

Effigy of security guard—and a warning—outside Justus Mine at Stearns, Kentucky.

United Mine Workers Journal

Striking miners hold a meeting at local union "hall," scene of nightly attacks by company gun thugs.

Guns Blaze in the Coalfields

Class Warfare in Stearns, Ky.

STEARNS, Kentucky, May 28—From 1 a.m. until 3:30 this morning, picketing coal miners in this tiny town not far from the Tennessee line came under a barrage of gunfire—more than 200 rounds—by criminal gun thugs of the Storm Security Service at the struck Justus Mine. Forty-five caliber slugs, buckshot and automatic weapons fire ripped overhead as strikers crowded in a

WV EXCLUSIVE

four-foot deep fox hole behind sandbag fortifications.

Between volleys, militants stood up with a megaphone to curse and ridicule the guards. The company goons fired from 200 yards' distance, behind their own bunkers, with the knowledge that the strikers were more than willing to defend themselves. Were it not for this fact, miners told a *WV* reporter who spent the night with them in their picket site, the gun thugs hired by the Stearns Mining Company would overrun the union's fortifications, drive off the pickets and break the ten-month-old strike.

The miners, however, have no intention of giving ground. "They won't run nobody off," one picket commented during a lull in the firing. "It'd be like running from your own home." Another striker pointed out that if union reinforcements are needed, most of the strikers live within a few miles of the struck mine.

The bitter class warfare in Stearns has become one of the hottest points in the eastern coalfields, which have been swept by one massive wildcat after another during the last four years. Already it has assumed the proportions of the 1973-74 strike at Brookside Mine in Harlan County, 80 miles to the east of here. Yet the Stearns strike has been ignored by the news media and even by the left press.

The strike, which began last July 17 with a 151-to-1 vote, is to force the company to accept the national bituminous coal contract with the United Mine Workers (UMW), which has been certified as bargaining agent for the miners by the National Labor Relations Board. Safety is a major issue in the strike. One of the key demands is for an elected union safety committee. The Stearns Mining Company is a subsidiary of the notorious Blue Diamond Coal Company which also owns the Scotia Mine where 26 workers were killed in March 1976. Conditions at the Justus Mine are equally dangerous. When government safety inspectors tour the mine, the company has ample warning to eliminate flagrant safety hazards. Miners say that the bosses threaten to fire any worker who complains about safety to the inspectors.

Battle Zone

Management broke off negotiations in late January, and the importation of hired gunmen was the first step in an attempt to resume production with scab labor (see "Miners Resist Coal Operators' Gun Thugs," *WV* No. 158, 20 May). However, militant resistance from the strikers has halted these plans. Strung up on a tree stump in front of the union "hall" (a cabin located just down the road from the entrance to the Justus Mine) is an effigy of a company security guard. Next to him is a sign which says in no uncertain terms, "Warning: The Stearns miners have determined that scabbing is dangerous to your health." Round-the-clock picketing makes sure this warning is heeded.

Blue Diamond's determination to keep the UMW out of its mines has turned the Justus compound and surrounding woods into a battle zone. International organizer Lee Potter and UMW director of organizing John Cox showed *WV* reporters a line of trees cut down by massive company gunfire. This was so heavy one night that the strikers gathered up the severed branches to add to their bonfire.

The shooting has continued nightly, and sometimes in broad daylight, for months since the Storm Security outfit was brought into Stearns in February. "It began the first day they came in," one worker said. Previously, picketing was peaceful and effective with no scabs daring to dig coal, although company officials have been entering the compound daily under police escort.

The small cabin built for pickets had all its windows shot out and its walls riddled with bullet holes. "You'll be sitting there playing cards," one worker said, "and next thing you know you'll be looking for a hole." An estimated 30 guards live inside company property and shoot at the strikers from behind steel-reinforced bunkers made of railroad ties and sandbags. Their food and ammunition comes in by helicopter.

Miners estimated that the Storm Security goons frequently fire 500 rounds or more per night. In fact, pickets described this morning's gunfire as light and speculated that the guards' supplies were low since no helicopter had landed for a few days. According to the strikers, the gun thugs' ammunition includes exploding shells, deer slugs and tracer bullets.

Miners say that individual guards do not stay at the mines for more than a few weeks in most cases. Many are chronically unemployed or ex-convicts from distant areas whose only care is the money and liquor that Storm and Blue

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Woodcock to Peking, Peanuts for Auto Workers

Carter Tub-Thumping at UAW Convention

...6

Letters

Herreshoff/WV: Round Three

22 April 1977

To the Editor:

You may be correct, the Muste quotation you cited in defense of your trade union policy may not be an expression of his personal view and may be representative of the Trotskyist line on the CIO as of the end of 1935. But the quotations from Cannon and Swabeck you hunted up to buttress your opinion don't really supply solid support for it. Cannon and Swabeck, as quoted by you (*WV* 145, 4/8/77), don't call the conflict between the AFL and CIO bureaucrats "a mock battle" nor do they identify Lewis and Hillman as "more dangerous" than Green and Woll. Cannon and Swabeck simply identify the leaders of the AFL and CIO as bourgeois labor leaders with a common ideology. You are energetic researchers, and I surmise that if you had found Cannon and Swabeck saying something closer to what Muste said, you would have printed it. In the absence of more pertinent quotations, your insistence that what Muste said "obviously carried the full authority of the party" leaves me unpersuaded. If you could give up the idea that a Bolshevik paper always has a coherent line, you wouldn't feel the need to make such assertions.

But to me this is a side issue. Even if your undemonstrated conclusion about Muste is obviously correct, you still have to compare what was written in the *New Militant* with what was done by worker members of the party in the unions. The paper and the party's fractions were not always on precisely the same line. Purely literary studies of the party's policies are therefore likely to result in big misconceptions. Your reply to me is a case in point. No one reading it could learn from it that the Trotskyists systematically sought and made blocs with "progressives" in the unions in the 30s and 40s. I myself was a close observer and participant in such blocs for a decade. I can tell you something about them if you are willing to listen. Our blocs in general were alliances with unionists who were militant on economic issues and who voted for Roosevelt. During World War II and afterwards, the rubber fraction, of which I was a member, consistently supported the George Bass faction in local union elections and international union conventions. The workers and union officers in the caucus were overwhelmingly social-patriotic but were nevertheless against the no-strike pledge. I never heard tell that anybody in the party ever objected to what we were doing in the URW. Still, you chide me for drawing conclusions about SWP union policy "flatly contradictory to the practice" of my generation of Trotskyists. Do you know anything about that practice other than what you read in the bound volumes? Do you comprehend what you read therein?

Now whether all the blocs we made were good blocs is properly open to review. I believe there was too consistent an adaptation to "progressive" unionists. Then sometimes we made internal union democracy—in the sense of elbow room for us—the key to our orientation. We chose to support unions where we had an in and the CP couldn't freeze us out. That was the case in California in the campaign to organize cannery workers. We had an AFL orientation there a product of our bloc with Harry Lundberg of the SUP and of the fact that the CP ran the CIO affiliate in the field. Trotsky was worried about such adaptations in 1940. His proposal that the SWP support Browder in the 1940 presidential election, if accepted, would have blown our bloc with Lundberg and others like it sky high. That would have been salutary for the revolutionary soul of the party.

Your proposition that revolutionists "cannot give support to candidates in union elections in the absence of a break with the class collaborationism of the bureaucracy on at least one key issue" is one that I am entirely at ease with.

By your own account Muste in 1935 believed that the left SPers could be won over to the Workers Party if the WP did good mass work. But to think that the WP had already gathered the essential cadres of the revolutionary party and could go directly to the masses without bothering much about the existence of rival tendencies in the workers movement was an error. It was a sectarian ultimatist misconception and you can't clear him of it by pointing out his eagerness to do mass work; Oehler too was hot to do mass work and he was plenty sectarian.

David Herreshoff

WV replies: Without once again going into issues such as the self-evident necessity for a Bolshevik paper to present the party's coherent political line, we would like to refer Comrade Herreshoff to our four-part series on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions," in *WV* Nos. 25 to 28. The series includes a description of SWP policy of blocking with sectors of "progressive" trade unionists during the 1930's and 1940's, and presents some criticisms. This history summarizes our knowledge of the SWP's actual practices during the period. We of course welcome the information which participants such as Herreshoff can provide on the basis of personal experience.

The question of the SWP's blocs with trade-union "progressives" in the 1930's would require a detailed examination of the specific instances. But Trotsky's and the SWP's own verdict on the policy reveals the danger the tactic poses if "the primacy of politics" is forgotten, above and beyond the principled nature of any particular bloc. We recall that in the 1940 discussions Trotsky, with Cannon concurring, was highly critical of the SWP's failure to build an independent political pole in the unions distinct from episodic blocs around immediate issues.

One thing especially is left unclear in Comrade Herreshoff's letter, namely where he stands on critical support to Sadlowski. This is what gave rise to this exchange in the first place. In a number of articles we demonstrated how Sadlowski had in fact *not* broken from the class collaboration of the bureaucracy on any cutting issue. We cited his affinities for Reutherism and exposed his real stand on the no-strike ENA pact when the rest of the left was covering up for their "rank-and-file rebel." A talk by a class-struggle oppositionist in the Steelworkers union ("Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel," *WV* No. 155, 29 April) showed how the Sadlowski candidacy was not qualitatively different from the Abel and Rarick campaigns.

Now the 1977 steel contract has come and gone. If Sadlowski really opposed the ENA, as the CP and SWP claimed (they both said, in fact, that ENA was *the* issue), then steel workers could legitimately have expected some action from him to fight it. Class-struggle unionists would have been very interested in a bloc with Sadlowski forces to smash ENA through strike action. But even though "Steelworkers Fight Back" controlled the key District 31, it did nothing. Just a couple of paper resolutions and a press release.

We told the truth to steel workers: a vote for Sadlowski would *not* contribute to breaking the bureaucratic stranglehold. At most it would have put a slicker labor faker in office, and it would have done nothing about ENA. Don't forget Arnold Miller mine workers have already experienced the solution which left-wing Sadlowski boosters advocated, and they are paying the price in broken strikes and a miserable contract. Let's see the SWP and CP tell militant West Virginia coal miners why it was right to vote for Miller and his Labor Department-backed phony "reform" movement in 1972. They would be lucky to get off the stage in one piece.

Let Clams Stew?

20 May 1977

To the Editor:

The article in 13 V 77 *WV* correctly notes that the Clamshell Alliance of well-heeled 'environmentalists' and parasitic hippies is no part of the workers movement. Why, then, call for their release without charge, any more than one would raise a call like Free All Traffic Violators? It is one thing to deplore the petty harrassment that the state often brings to hear on criminals, another to raise a slogan that suggests that the crime is in any way politically defensible. The editors seem to have been led a bit beyond the proper measure by their justified distaste for the Clammies' main bourgeois antagonist, Gov. Thomson. True, the Governor yearns for the days before there were unions; but the ecofreaks seem to hearken back even further, somewhere in the early Ape Age. It is no accident that the same protestors shower their tender concern on whales, seals, dogs, worms and what have you. Theirs is an essentially animalian enterprise.

When dealing with the increasingly prominent issue of nuclear energy, it is essential for Marxists to point out (as in the excellent 25 II 1977 *WV*) (1) our commitment to a high and rising material standard of living, which can be compassed only by an advancing organization of production, including both technological and social innovations (2) the inability of capitalists in their dotage to carry out the necessary program of e.g. nuclear development. Hampered by anachronistic property relations and short-term profit constraints, bosses resort to such idiocy as building a reactor near a geological fault, skimping on waste-disposal procedures, etc. By contrast, the Soviet deformed workers state is proceeding smoothly and soberly with construction and operation of fission plants and the development of fusion technology.

I bother to bring up again what you already dealt with so masterfully in February because the Clamshellers, ZPGers and the rest are probably a more dangerous immediate opponent to socialist recruitment than the mossback bosses the Governor represents. Their political vocabulary ranges bizarrely from the Durruti column through the Weathermen down to Peter Paul and Mary; in Germany, the illusion of leftness has been further strengthened by the participation of ostensibly Marxist groups in atom-plant stormings. More than, say, US Nazis, they have the potential for explosive growth, for they feed on a widespread, if still low-level, social necrosis: the desire to return to the trees, to subsist on berries, to regress to the womb of prehistory.

D. Justice

WV replies: The writer has accurately divined the reference point of the Clamshell Alliance on the scale of political evolution. But really now, just because this conglomeration of hippies and atavistic muddleheads isn't part of the workers movement doesn't mean we can't protest their victimization. For shame, D. Justice.

The Clams, after all, committed no crime from the point of view of the working class. They violated private property in a protest and were subjected to a mass round-up that trampled upon their democratic rights. To answer the writer's question: if police rounded up more than 1,000 demonstrators, charging them with traffic violations, we might well object. Such high-handed bonapartist methods are ultimately directed against labor and the left. Just look at who took the brunt of the massive repression against anti-nuclear-power demonstrators in West Germany. (We protested that also.)

Of course, if it were a Klan rally or similar gathering of anti-working-class terrorists that was busted up, we wouldn't complain. But it's pretty far-fetched to view the Clams as that kind of a danger. The environmentalist fad in the U.S. is probably not so great a threat as D. Justice suggests. These are not really the leading edge of neo-Malthusian conservatism, but the hang-dog tail-end of New Left Moralism.

And by the way, Soviet nuclear plants aren't all that safe. Several have been built unnecessarily close to large cities and there has been at least one serious accident. The bureaucracy is not noted for its concern for the health and safety of the workers.

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At Chicago Debate

SL Blasts ACLU Defense of Fascists

CHICAGO On May 24 a debate on "Free Speech for Fascists?" was held at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus. Rusty Gilbert of the "Chicago Anti-Nazi Coalition" had organized the meeting to feature himself and David Goldberger, legal director of the Illinois ACLU who is currently defending Frank Collin, leader of the fascist National Socialist Party of America. But the real "debate" at the meeting was between the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) and the ex-Trotskyist reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Until minutes before the debate, Gilbert refused to allow the SL a place on the panel since, he said, "I have your line." But though Gilbert opposes defending fascists' "rights" in court, he and his isolated and adventuristic Anti-Nazi Coalition have no effective strategy for mobilizing the working masses to fight fascism, while the SL works toward the organization of trade-union defense guards to repulse the fascist scum.

When a small group convened for the poorly publicized debate, Gilbert—under pressure from Goldberger—finally agreed to allow an SL spokesman to join the panel. SWP members present were also offered a seat on the panel but declined.

Goldberger presented the classic civil-libertarian approach of legalistic, classless argumentation in favor of defending "free speech" for fascists. Conceding that the matter of fascists' "rights" is "an emotional issue," he announced, "I like the First Amendment." As a civil libertarian, the ACLU director views the capitalist state as a "neutral" arbiter of abstract democratic rights (see "Why the ACLU Defends Fascists," *WV* No. 157, 13 May).

Gilbert's presentation was mainly a watered-down social-democratic paraphrase of the SL position. As befits a confused reformist, Gilbert claims to oppose the use of the courts against fascists, but has no qualms about labor fakers dragging the unions into court! Gilbert had little to offer except vague appeals to militancy.

SL spokesman Tweet Carter explained the SL's opposition to calling for laws against fascists and injunctions against their demonstrations:

> "Laws against fascists are always used against the left and labor movement. But unlike the ACLU and the SWP we do not defend fascists' 'right' to free speech. There is no 'right' to organize a lynch mob."

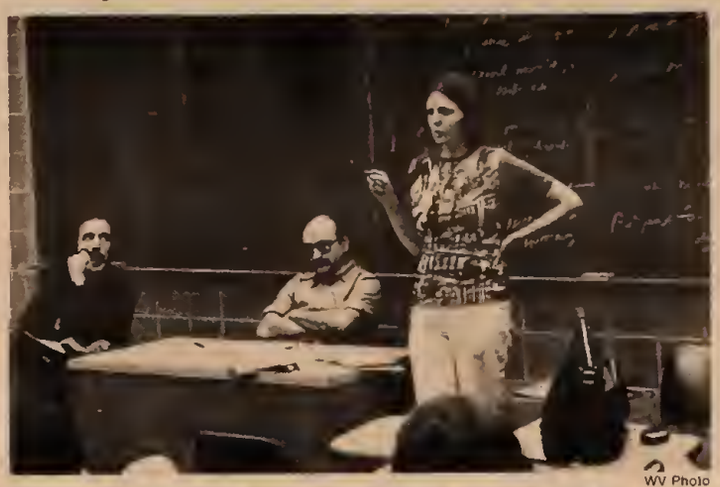
Carter stated that "the limitation of civil libertarians is their defense of free speech for fascists but not for communists," citing the ACLU's 1940 expulsion of the Communist Party's Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and contrasting it with the ACLU's legal defense of "virtually every right-wing terrorist and fascist organization that has been around in the last 40 years." She explained that the capitalist state is not "neutral" and explained:

> "Fascism is the final resort of desperate capitalism.... If capitalism sees its rule threatened, rather than surrender to the proletariat it will throw its support to a Hitler or a Mussolini."

Carter stressed the importance of smashing the fascist groups while they are still small and cited the gross betrayals perpetrated by the SWP under the guise of defending "democratic rights" for fascists. In Houston the SWP actively defended the Klan's speaking in the face of protests from outraged black students. In San Francisco the SWP opposed a united-front demonstration which resulted in the fascists being thrown off S.F. State University and has verbally denounced the destruction of a Nazi bookstore which had been provocatively set up across the street from a synagogue.

Linking the SWP's legalism with its increasingly overt class treason, she added:

> "Not only does the SWP defend the rights of fascists; they also defend the 'democratic' rights of scabs to cross picket lines—two YSA [SWP youth group] supporters did just that in the last University of Chicago campus workers' strike. In a debate last night at the University of Chicago, the YSA candidate for student body president explicitly defended this scabbing."



WV Photo

Spartacist League spokesman Tweet Carter speaking at Chicago debate.

Carter called for the formation of integrated labor defense guards to fight racist terror and pointed to the labor/black defense set up by United Auto Workers Local 6 which successfully repulsed racist terrorists who had been firebombing the home of a black union member. "The SWP used to do this kind of thing in the 1930's and 1940's," she said, "but the SWP of the 1930's would spit on the SWP of today!"

SWP supporters requested extended speaking time from the floor to answer the SL's trenchant criticisms. The first SWP speaker sought to dissociate his organization from the "free speech for fascists" line of the ACLU by describing the SWP's anti-fascist actions in the 1930's—hypocritically neglecting to mention that the SWP explicitly repudiates this position when it is raised today!

The SWP spokesman tried to twist the SL position into a call on the "government to ban the fascists" and demagogically charged, "The axis of their position is the denial of democratic rights." He reluctantly tried to explain away the SWP's abstention from demonstrations against recent Nazi provocations in the predominantly Jewish suburb of Skokie, on Chicago's far north side. His dismissal of a demonstration of some 500 people—many of them survivors of Nazi concentration camps—organized by the area's Jewish organizations, as "a bunch of leftist groups and the JDL" drew gasps of indignation and disbelief from the audience. It is outrageous for the SWP to amalgamate all Jews who refuse to prostrate themselves before the rampaging fascists' "rights" with the ultra-rightist Zionist terrorists of the Jewish Defense League, who had no overt presence at the demonstration.

His final argument for refusing to participate in this anti-fascist action was to claim that the protest's primary aim was to push for a government ordinance against the fascists, which presumably the SWP could not support. Instead, the next SWP speaker, a member of the YSA National Committee, said he thought it was a "good thing" that the cops had turned back the Nazis at the Skokie border! Dismissing the need for self-defense against fascist provocation, he charged that attempting to physically repulse the Nazis would merely have helped them get public sympathy as a "persecuted minority."

The SWP and the ACLU have no basic difference on how to fight fascism. Only the Spartacist League, in the tradition of the once-revolutionary SWP of the 1930's and 1940's, has a real strategy for smashing these night-riding scum, through mobilizing the organized might of the labor movement. ■

Six Post Pressmen Get Jail Sentence

WASHINGTON, May 20—"The *Washington Post* is criminal, we're not!" "The *Post* owns the court and it owns the judge!" Angry unionists protested vehemently today as District of Columbia Superior Court judge Sylvia Bacon read off jail sentences against six *Washington Post* pressmen. U.S. marshals were called in to clear the courtroom when members of the Local 6 pressmen's union defiantly sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" following the sentencing. The pressmen were given jail terms on charges ranging from assault to destruction of property, and another eight were fined for disorderly conduct. The charges stemmed from the bitterly fought *Post* strike which began in October 1975.

Those sentenced were Jack McIntosh, who was handed one year; John Raffo, Eugene O'Sullivan, and Cecil Rust, 120 days; Gil Fowler and Michael Tenoriao, 60 days.

The strike was provoked by *Post* management, which had trained supervisory personnel beforehand at a special scab school in Oklahoma to replace the pressmen. The union-busting *Post* ousted Local 6 and used its immense power to vilify the strikers and blacklist them from the industry. The strike was gutted when the other printing trades crossed picket lines after several months, and by the scabbing of the Newspaper Guild.

Not satisfied with denying the pressmen their livelihoods, the *Post* pressed felony charges amounting to a cumulative 265 years in jail against the militants. The felony charges were later dropped and the pressmen agreed to plead guilty to misdemeanors. Although the overwhelming majority of presentencing reports of the court had recommended probation, Kathryn Graham's vindictive *Post*, through its powerful connections with the courts and government officials, has succeeded in railroading six militants to jail.

The pressmen were the core of militancy among the printing trades at the *Post*. Local 6 members at strike headquarters told *WV* that a substantial number of pressmen, including several defendants, had been driven from previous jobs by similar union-busting lockouts at newspapers in Miami, Los Angeles, Kansas City, Portland (Oregon) and Chattanooga.

The actions of the pressmen stand out as an example of courageous defense of the picket line and trade unions against overwhelming odds. Nineteen months after the inception of the strike, fully half of the *Post* pressmen are still actively striking, while only a handful have accepted management's offer to spit on the union and return to work in an "individual" capacity. Honor is also due 40 other unionists at the *Post*, including members of the Newspaper Guild and the printing and mechanical trades, who have refused to cross picket lines.

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8 Million French Workers in Anti-Government Walkout

On May 24, responding to appeals by the six major trade-union federations, some eight million French workers went out on a 24-hour general strike against the austerity policies of the government of President Giscard d'Estaing. Although the Paris march estimated at half a million by the unions—was no larger than a similar demonstration last October, elsewhere in France demonstrations were often as large as those of May 1968. In at least one major city, Rouen, it was even larger, equalling the outpouring at the time of the liberation of France from Nazi occupation in 1944

Both the size of the response to the strike call and the unusual agreement of all the major union federations in organizing the anti-government strike bore witness to massive working-class anger over Prime Minister Barre's "Plan B," which limits wage increases to 6.5 percent. This was the first time since 1964 that the right-social-democratic Force Ouvrière had joined the Stalinist-led CGT and the CFDT in sponsoring a national strike.

All spring, and particularly since the victory of the popular-front Union of the Left in the March municipal elections, there have been a series of militant strikes in France, many of them involving plant occupations. A particularly hard-fought struggle by Dunkerque dock workers recently ended in a victory for the strikers. Another hot spot was the Lorraine steel industry, which faces layoffs of up to 19,000 workers by the end of the year.

A third sector marked by industrial tension is the printing industry, where unionists are angered by the continuing 26-month-old *Parisien Libéré* strike and by threats of massive unemployment and breaking of the union shop through introduction of new technology. This was reflected in Tuesday's strike, as the London *Financial Times* (25 May) reported: "Virtually all miners, however, came out on strike, and the chemical and metallurgical industries as well as the country's biggest ports, were badly hit by the stoppage.... not a single newspaper was published in France to-day."

Unemployment in France has recently risen to over one million (out of a workforce of 22 million), and inflation is expected to exceed 11 percent this year despite the Barre austerity plan. Faced with this generalized capitalist attack on the working class and building on the several militant strikes, a key task of a revolutionary leadership would be to centralize these struggles and lead them toward the creation of organs of workers power.

But the May 24 "general strike" showed once again that the Communist (PCF) and Socialist (PS) parties, traditional leaders of the French working class, are interested only in the small change of electoralist/parliamentarist maneuvers. The work stoppage was limited in advance to 24 hours, and sandwiched in between two three-day holiday weekends. If the response was massive, the purpose was to bring the festering industrial unrest to an abrupt halt.

For the Union of the Left, whose eyes are fixed on the 1978 parliamentary elections, the strike was designed to put maximum pressure on the government while simultaneously demonstrating how "responsibly" it would administer the capitalist state. *France-Soir* (25 May) noted that the original strike proposal by the CGT contained a reference to the ninth anniversary of the agreements which *ended* the 1968 general strike; but even this was eliminated in the final call, to avoid giving the slightest hint that the unions might be thinking of something on the order of 1968.

On the one hand, the labor bureaucrats built this strike more solidly than they had earlier actions. Last October the CGT called a national 24-hour action, but at the central Renault-Billancourt factory it ordered only a four-hour stoppage. This time all shifts were shut down. (A traditional saying has it that when Renault sneezes, France catches cold.) On the other hand, the CGT made a special effort to restrain the Dunkerque dockers, ordering them to stay on the job as a "gesture." After all, a strong contingent of dockers, marching in Paris fresh on the heels of their victory against the steel monopoly Usinor, might heat things up too much! (During the Dunkerque strike, CGT and CFDT bureaucracies made a similar "gesture"—by limiting solidarity strike action in other ports to weekends only.)

A similar demagogic maneuver designed to siphon off working-class militancy is the current maneuvering over "updating" the 1972 Common Program of the Union of the Left. In broad terms, the Left Radicals would

continued on page 11

UPI

8 million French workers struck May 24 to protest Barre's anti-labor "austerity plan."

Maritime Bosses Prepare Unilateral Action

S.F. Longshoremen Face Forced Transfers

SAN FRANCISCO, May 27—The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) has issued a job-stealing ultimatum to San Francisco longshoremen. Last Wednesday, PMA spokesmen told leaders of S.F. Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) that they intend to declare San Francisco a "low work opportunity port" (LWOP) and gave the union one week to respond. Under the terms of Supplement 3 of the ILWU/PMA contract, the LWOP designation can be invoked when available work falls below 18 hours a week per longshoreman. It allows the PMA to begin forced transfers of longshoremen out of San Francisco and opens the door to mass deregistrations. Refusal to transfer would mean loss of the already inadequate Pay Guarantee.

The PMA has drastically cut back work in the port over the years, through a series of automation measures implemented with the cooperation of retiring ILWU president Harry Bridges and his notorious "Modernization and Mechanization" contracts. With the PMA now seeking to drive over 1,000 longshoremen (out of a total Local 10 membership of 2,400) off the S.F. docks, the very existence of the historic center of the ILWU—the local which led the 1934 general strike—has been posed point blank. If LWOP goes through, it will gut Local 10.

The PMA has been emboldened to make its move by the despicable treachery of the Local leadership in the face of the acute jobs crisis. Actively collaborating with the drive to drastically reduce the work force, Local 10 president Cleophus Williams and his pseudo-left opponents Herb Mills and Larry Wing have been presenting LWOP as a "voluntary" option rather than the oncoming attack which it is.

Williams has been actively campaigning on behalf of the PMA, trying to get the membership to adopt LWOP by "voting" for it. Frustrated by the refusal of the March Local membership meeting and the Coast Caucus in April to agree to this, Williams unilaterally placed the issue on the ballot for the election of International officers, to be held June 10. By then his ploy to gain "voluntary" acceptance of LWOP may well be academic, since his masters in PMA have announced their intention to declare LWOP in effect as early as June 1!

Under pressure from the rest of the Coast leadership (who do not want S.F. longshoremen coming into their job-scarce ports) and the Local 10 membership, Mills and Wing have reversed their previous position and now oppose Supplement 3. But, like the clique around Leo Robinson and CP supporter Billy Proctor, these reformists still vehemently oppose strike action to smash Supplement 3 and consider "voluntary" transfers necessary.

Only the publishers of the "Longshore Militant," Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, have consistently warned that LWOP was coming: "Because the effect of LWOP will be so disastrous, they are trying to avoid a fight by tricking the membership into 'voting' for its own death warrant" ("Longshore Militant," 17 March).

Gow and Keylor call for a coast-wide strike to stop the transfers or deregistrations, by winning a shorter workshift with no loss in pay. But the Local 10 leadership has no intention of organizing such a strike. Reportedly, a motion for strike action put forward by Gow and Keylor at the May 26 Local executive board meeting was defeated. Williams continued his brazen role as front man for PMA and insisted on going ahead with the June 10 mock vote on LWOP. Mills and Wing reportedly continued their pitiful attempts to avoid the upcoming confrontation—this time by raising technical objections to the figures on available work that the PMA has used to invoke LWOP.

But this is not a technical dispute. The employers are determined to slash the workforce and are forcing the issue. No stalling or half-way measures can get around it: the ILWU must fight now or face a devastating defeat.

In an interview with *WV*, Gow and Keylor said they are circulating a petition for a special membership meeting and are calling for all ILWU members to unite around the simple and straightforward demands which are the union's only defense in this crisis: for a coast-wide strike to win a shorter workshift at no loss in pay to save jobs; for abolishing the "steadyman" categories in the contract which are killing the hiring hall; and for electing strike committees in every port to run the strike.

With the virtual destruction of Local 10 on the agenda, it is urgent that the union ranks mobilize behind these demands. The ILWU must shut down all shipping from Canada to Mexico, demanding that the ILWU-Teamster warehouse alliance back up the strike.

Smash LWOP! Shut down West Coast shipping! For a shorter workshift with no loss in pay—jobs for all! ■

Red Flag Union at the Moment of Decision

WV Photo

Red Flag Union leader speaking at Saturday forum in New York.

On May 26 the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) sponsored a forum in New York entitled "Transformation of the Lavender and Red Union: From the Gay Left to Trotskyism." The speakers, prominent West Coast "gay liberation" spokesmen Michael Weinstein and Gene Shofner, were representing the Red Flag Union (RFU, formerly Lavender and Red Union).

For the first time since the MEC instituted its "optional" Stalinoid policy of limiting Spartacist League (SL) speakers to one per event, the lively discussion on revolutionary regroupment was conducted democratically. Credit for this unexpected manifestation of workers democracy cannot, however, go to the "Collective" of homeless American Pabloites and sundry other "Marxist" dilettantes, but to the fact that the RFU representatives had insisted on chairing their meeting.

To the evident discomfiture of the MEC honchos, several SL spokesmen intervened from the floor to challenge important unclarities in the RFU's positions and to expose the contradictions between its attempt to embrace the Trotskyist worldview and its stated ambivalence between the SL and the centrist impressionists of Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). MEC "respected teacher" Murray Weiss sat through the discussion in silence as the two RFU spokesmen solidarized with the SL on several possibly crucial questions.

The MEC postures as a non-sectarian "school" for would-be Marxists but is seeking to become a center for dispersed supporters of the IMT, eventually hoping to challenge the reformist Socialist Workers Party's possession of the USec franchise for the U.S. MEC luminaries recently paid a visit to the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party and were rewarded with lavish compliments in the *Freedom Socialist* (Spring 1977), which described their visit as a "giant step forward that might well lead to revolutionary regroupment." The MEC's sponsorship of the RFU forum reflected the hope of pulling at least a section of this grouping into the Mandelite fash-up.

Derived from the New Left/Mao-oid "gay liberation movement," the Lavender and Red Union moved leftward through a process of study and an examination of ostensibly Marxist organizations in the U.S. It announced its adherence to the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution and declared that "the question of gay oppression is not of strategic importance to the revolutionary struggle in the U.S." To reflect its desire to "definitively break with an orientation to gay liberation," the group changed its name to indicate it would no longer restrict membership to homosexuals.

Though some decisive programmatic questions remain unresolved, the RFU's recent evolution already placed it formally to the left of the IMT grab-bag. The *Freedom Socialist* was forced to gently chide its hoped-for bloc partners for rejecting "socialist feminism, which elevates the woman question to equal and interlocking status with the class question." The RFU's espousal of the primacy of the class question in the struggle against all social oppression is an indication of the distance these comrades have traveled from the New Leftist polyvanguardism which characterizes the IMT.

The RFU's motion toward revolutionary Trotskyism remains at this point partial and contradictory. Impelled toward an investigation of Trotskyism by the backward anti-homosexual stance of Stalinists—who must defend the atrocious persecution of "sexual deviants" in the bureaucratically deformed workers states—the RFU still tends to view the world through the prism of the question of sexual oppression. This parochial focus has distorted and even sometimes trivialized the group's approach, as when it posed the correct slogan of "no 'free speech' for fascists" in the context of whether to allow fascist homosexuals into a "gay rights" demonstration. Despite its avowal of Trotskyism, the RFU maintains what is in effect a minimum/maximum conception of program, posing a "program for gay liberation"—which, moreover, included such bizarre demands as nationalization of gay bars and baths and a gay press under workers control.

Most important, the RFU presently professes agnosticism on key programmatic issues which define authentic Trotskyism concretely, such as opposition to the contemporary popular front (as in Chile)—necessarily a central aspect of the leap from Stalinist class collaboration to Trotskyism. This programmatic amorphousness is reflected organizationally in the RFU's continuing to consider regroupment with either "the international Spartacist tendency, which has the same position [as we do] on the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states" or the IMT, with whom "we have certain disagreements but which we wish to struggle with and investigate."

The RFU has made an important step in the direction of authentic Trotskyism on the critically important Russian question by solidarizing with the unique analysis and program of the SL: that the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers state, the product of the Stalinist bureaucratization of a proletarian revolution; that China, Cuba, Vietnam are deformed workers states resulting from the destruction of capitalist class rule by petty-bourgeois formations leading peasant-based social revolutions; that all the deformed workers states must be unconditionally militarily defended against imperialism; and that a Trotskyist vanguard party must be built to lead the proletariat of these states in political revolution to replace the rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste with soviet democracy.

The RFU spokesmen's presentation of their position on the Russian question at the May 26 forum provoked consternation among the MEC supporters and prompted sharp attacks from some "gay rights" activists and the "third-camp socialist" Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), who protested the group's turn away from a primary orientation to the homosexual question. But the overwhelming focus of the discussion was the three-way debate on regroupment between the RFU, the SL and the MEC—marred by the latter's virtual abstention from the debate at its own meeting.

The first SL speaker termed the RFU's Russian question line "only the beginning of wisdom." She pointed out that agreement on an abstract presentation (such as Murray Weiss's professed agreement with an SL speaker at a MEC forum several months ago) may conceal counterposed programmatic conclusions. Another SL spokesman pointed out that the RFU's recognition that agreement on the Russian question is a key to principled regroupment is marred by formalism:

> "Why is the IMT better than the RSL? The point is that only Trotskyists can defend the Soviet Union. Does ...hiding and apologizing for the role of the deformed workers states' bureaucracies help? Does that really defend the Soviet Union?"

A supporter of the IMT's English group tried to bury the question of programmatic agreement:

> "Whether or not you have differences with a tendency which may at present have a majority in a democratic centralist organization—that shouldn't be the question you ask yourselves ... The question you face is the question of joining the Fourth International. What is it? Why should you not join the Fourth International, not whether or not you agree or disagree with positions."

An SL spokesman replied by demonstrating that "unity" at the expense of program is a cynical maneuver which collapses in the face of the class struggle. Thus the competing wings of the "United" Secretariat pursued counterposed opportunisms over Portugal, the reformist SWP-led wing orienting to the CIA-financed Socialists (PS) while the centrist IMT proclaimed the Communists (PCP) and the "revolutionary officers" of the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement to be the vanguard of socialist revolution:

> "What happens in Portugal when one wing of the USec says, 'Rah, rah, rah for Soares and the PS!' and the other says, 'Rah, rah, rah for the PCP!'—and they are on opposite sides of the barricades shooting at each other?"

The RFU response again reflected its confused separation of theory and program:

> "We really recognize the weakness of the position we're in. We recognize that Michel Pablo was a revisionist and the methodology he developed was incorrect. But beyond that point we are still investigating the IMT."

SL speakers continued to hammer at the RFU's failure to generalize its agreement on the Russian question to an understanding of the methodology of Pabloist revisionism, defined by programmatic liquidation of the party in favor of non-proletarian strata and Stalinist and nationalist leaderships, from Castro's guerrillas to the Portuguese officer corps.

The RFU spokesmen evidenced a desire to break from the soft "circle spirit" of New Left radicalism as they castigated the MEC:

> "The MEC supports what's popular and avoids what's unpopular. We have serious questions about the role the MEC is seeking to play. Our vision is that they see themselves as the stage-managers of revolution, more particularly as the stage-managers of regroupment.... We feel that there are political currents hiding at the MEC and that they should be brought out."

The Red Flag Union has indicated that it recognizes the MEC's Pabloist revisionism on the Russian question and the cowardly MEC posture of all-inclusiveness to conceal the programmatic disarray of its USec mentors. That the RFU still exhibits a lingering attraction to the MEC "free spirits" testifies to the immense gulf separating the RFU's origins in the petty-bourgeois polyvanguardist New Left and its stated aim of contributing to the construction of a disciplined Leninist vanguard party of the working class. The MEC is the embodiment of the obstacles standing in the way of the RFU's adhesion to authentic revolutionary Trotskyism. For our part, we announce our determination to continue to struggle with these comrades to deepen and consolidate their impressive partial evolution toward Trotskyism, represented by the program of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

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Woodcock to Peking, Peanuts for Auto Workers

Carter Tub-Thumping at UAW Convention

LOS ANGELES—The 25th constitutional convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW) was more reminiscent of a Democratic Party pep rally than a union convention. Throughout the convention one capitalist politician after another took the stage to congratulate outgoing UAW president Leonard Woodcock for his years of faithful service in clamping the lid on the class struggle and keeping the union tied to the interests of American imperialism.

Included in this parade of "prominent" Democrats were Detroit mayor Coleman Young, L.A. mayor Tom Bradley, U.S. senator Ted Kennedy (who was made an honorary member of the UAW!) and U.S. president Jimmy Carter. As political representatives of the bourgeoisie, the Youngs, Bradleys and Carters are the sworn enemies of the working people and guardians of capitalist enterprise. Their presence at this UAW convention was an insult to the membership and vile betrayal of labor's cause.

Carter's appearance typified the disgusting subordination of the union to the capitalist state. On the day he arrived a hoard of L.A. police, FBI and Secret Service agents descended on the Los Angeles Convention Center. Eager that no one embarrass the chief of U.S. imperialism, Woodcock/Fraser eagerly cooperated with this small army of cops to insure an "orderly" audience. Delegates and visitors found themselves being pushed around by LAPD thugs, and a number of elected union officials (including at least one local president) were prevented by police from attending this session of their own convention!

Carter's speech was billed as a "major policy address." In fact, it was simply a long-winded and platitudinous grab bag of conservative economic homilies intended as a counterattack against criticisms raised by the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party. Carter did, however, pay off a campaign debt. Leonard Woodcock provided early and crucial support to Carter's presidential bid last year and will get an ambassador-level post as envoy to the People's Republic of China in return. Having faithfully served capitalist interests in the UAW for 40 years, Woodcock will now directly represent U.S. imperialism in Peking.

That the convention was dominated by Democratic Party tub-thumping was no accident. This was the clear intent of the UAW tops. The real purpose of the convention was certainly not to hammer out a program to fight the auto companies and defend the workers, but instead to insure the orderly succession of Woodcock's handpicked successor, Doug Fraser, and to ratify the Solidarity House "strategy" of begging in Congress for crumbs from the capitalist table.

An Orderly Succession

In the last five years the UAW has lost some 300,000 members. This is principally the result of depression-level layoffs in 1974-75 and a massive dose of speed-up and overtime imposed by the companies. Woodcock and Fraser have not lifted a finger to stop this vicious assault. And when there have been sporadic revolts, as occurred this spring in Chrysler Indianapolis Local 1226 and GM Local 1364 in Fremont, the International has crushed them mercilessly.

WV Photo

Woodcock introducing Carter to UAW convention in Los Angeles.

Since being passed over by a narrow margin by the International Executive Board in favor of Woodcock to succeed Walter Reuther, Doug Fraser has been "responsibly" completing his apprenticeship. He personally intervened to quash the Local 1226 strike. Fraser was also the organizer of a 1,000-man goon squad that broke the Mack Avenue wildcat in 1973. As head of the UAW skilled trades department, Fraser had prime responsibility for quelling the revolts of skilled tradesmen against the contract in 1973 and 1976.

There were at least a few UAW members present at the convention who had personal experience with these victimizations. There was sometimes-oppositionist Jordan Sims, who was fired by Chrysler and then had the local presidency snatched out from under him by the International, which put his local into receivership. (Sims, an inveterate opportunist, supported Fraser anyway.) There were two fired militants from Cadillac Local 15, who were expressly elected as alternate delegates to protest a company purge of wildcatting union members, and the failure of the International to defend them. None of these cases were redressed at the convention.

Nor did one have to be an oppositionist or a participant in a strike that Solidarity House did not approve of to be shafted by Woodcock, Fraser & Co. While the bureaucrats were praising Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet campaign for "human rights," they were turning a cold shoulder to UAW members who have been victimized by racist oppression. A case in point was Bennie Lenard, a black member of UAW Local 6 in Chicago. Lenard was arrested, brutally beaten and blinded in one eye by racist cops in suburban Melrose Park. His wife Ardella, who traveled from Chicago to Los Angeles to address the convention about the case and ask for support, was denied even two minutes to make a presentation. Local 6 resolutions to defend Lenard were buried.

WV Photo

Doug Fraser gives his inaugural speech.

The message from Solidarity House is that there will be no support forthcoming to UAW members who defend themselves against racist provocations or who fight back on the shop floor against the companies. Instead, the rank and file is told that the answer lies with the legislative program of the Democratic Party. This is particularly insulting in that "honored guest" Carter has just spit on the labor movement by turning thumbs down on the "common situs" construction picketing bill and opposing a raise of the minimum wage to a measly $3.00/hour. While the UAW bureaucracy was celebrating its one-way love affair with Carter, even arch-conservative AFL-CIO chief George Meany was finding it necessary to criticize the White House.

Cowardly Local Bureaucrats

Economic hard times over the past three and a half years have cut most of the ground from under the local bureaucrats used to maneuvering between the International and the members. Before massive depression-level layoffs in 1974-75 there were dozens of local leaders like the Brotherhood Caucus of Local 1364 in Fremont which masqueraded, to one degree or another, as "oppositionists" against the International. The layoffs called their bluff. They quickly snapped to attention, and those who have gotten out of line, such as leaders of Chrysler Local 1226, have had the consequences "explained" to them in no uncertain terms.

Even occasionally critical local officials like Frank Runnels, president of Cadillac Local 22, showed no desire to upset the applecart. Runnels, who is the leading spokesman for the National Short Work Week Committee, dutifully reported out of the Resolutions Committee an endorsement of Woodcock's "reduced work time" 1976 contract hoax (a few extra holidays). The resolution did not even call for a 40-hour week and appealed to Carter and Congress to reduce the workweek, while promising "productivity gains so that annual income is not reduced."

The only electoral opposition to Fraser was totally unserious. Hank Wilson, president of the assembly unit of Local 600 at Rouge, nominated himself for president in a cheap publicity stunt, stressing that "I have no quarrel with the leadership of this great union...." Wilson called for more blacks to be on the International Executive Board. But the kind of "leaders" Wilson had in mind was revealed when he raised the incredible example of David Mundy, the black Local 600 official who is now in prison for shooting a skilled tradesman during a protest demonstration against the 1973 contract sellout!

Wilson bowed out early on in the roll call, having appropriately received no votes for his ploy. Wayne Medders, the disgruntled president of Local 1250, whose politics are to the right of the

UAW leadership and who has threatened left-wing newspaper salesmen at his plant near Cleveland, also dropped out of the vice-presidential race. The "Fraser team" was then elected by acclamation.

The only organized opposition crumbled disgracefully. The United National Caucus (UNC), whose base is in the skilled trades in Detroit, ran candidates against Woodcock at the last convention, but could not even agree to oppose Fraser, taking no public stand on the issue. However, UNC members and allies, including UNC co-chairman Jordan Sims and Local 122 president Bob Weissman, told *WV* that they supported Fraser's election. The pathetic UNC, despite occasional paper references to militant sounding demands, has based its real strategy on finding a minimalist program acceptable to disgruntled local bureaucrats. But with the relative homogenization of the local-level UAW bureaucracy, the UNC has become demoralized, disintegrating rapidly in the past few months.

Similarly, the single delegate who supported the Communist Party-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC), Norm Roth of Local 6, cast his vote for Fraser, just as he backed Woodcock in 1974. Thus Roth, who has postured as a defender of Bennie Leonard, voted for the gang that denied his case a hearing, and which systematically spits on the victims of persecution by the auto companies and the capitalist state.

What little opposition surfaced at the convention was confined to "safe" issues, ones which did not threaten the bureaucracy but allowed "oppositionists" to return to their plants to report to their frustrated constituents that at least they had tried to do "something." One was a proposal to replace the present system of election of International officers at the convention with a referendum election. In fact, elections at a convention are ultimately more democratic. In the early days of the UAW, when there were well organized caucuses with distinctive political viewpoints, this method provided that officers were chosen by delegates after their positions had been carefully tested through several days of concentrated debate. The desire to introduce a referendum reflects the pessimistic view that a convention must be a rubber-stamp affair, and ultimately despairs of building a real opposition throughout the locals. Unfortunately, the main reason the referendum was defeated was not out of commitment to union democracy, but because Solidarity House opposed the referendum. Local 906 president Joe Reilly summed up the feeling of many bureaucrats when he said, "We're a little bit too democratic already"!

Sentiment against reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO is being pushed by bureaucrats who cling to the Reutherite myth of UAW "progressivism." In fact, there is no qualitative difference between the politics of the AFL-CIO and UAW leaderships: both are contained within the spectrum of the Democratic Party's bourgeois reformism. The convention approved a motion for a special convention this September to vote on re-affiliation.

The sharpest floor fight came up over the issue of union finances, always a cheap shot for every bureaucrat with a beef. A rumor that the Constitution Committee might recommend an increase in dues sparked widespread apprehension. A delegate requested that a motion submitted to the committee to freeze dues at the current level of 2 hours per month be reported out. By the UAW's highly restrictive rule, getting such a motion on the floor requires 435 votes. A hand vote clearly showed well over that number, but vice president Pat Greathouse, who was chairing the session, declared that the motion had failed.

Booing and outbursts from the floor forced a stop in the proceedings at this point until a second, stand-up vote was taken. Despite jeering from the delegates, Greathouse again said the motion had failed and simply rode roughshod over the delegates. But the protest evidently had some effect, no proposal to increase dues was forthcoming. While class-struggle militants would oppose an increase in the union's dues, pointing out that such a measure would be a vote of confidence in the bureaucracy, none of the delegates took up the key issue, the pro-company

continued on page 8

Ukrainian Anti-Communist Ploy at UAW Convention

Jimmy Carter's anti-communist "human rights" campaign drew support from many quarters at the UAW convention. Right-wingers, mainline bureaucrats and even so-called "oppositionists" shamelessly jumped on the anti-Soviet bandwagon.

Outside the hall the "Ukrainian American Auto Workers for Human Rights" dressed up pretty maidens in national costumes to distribute a leaflet worthy of the tsarist Black Hundreds. Printed in red, white and blue, praising Carter's "great and noble stand on human rights" and denouncing "especially Soviet Russian dictator Brezhnev and his cohorts," the leaflet railed against alleged "softness" on the "reds" by past administrations in Washington:

> "It is precisely this fear of offending the Russians that has blinded some of our leaders, who have been helping the Soviet Union financially, technologically, economically and politically, despite the fact that Moscow has been doing everything to undermine our prestige throughout the world, and has proclaimed openly that it will bury us!
>
> "It is because of our economic help that the USSR, the last remaining colonial empire, that has enslaved the 48-million Ukrainian nation and some 60 million of other non-Russian nationalities, has grown and expanded in Europe and Asia and now is making encroachments in Africa."

This poisonous diatribe concluded by calling for support to a "Human Rights Resolution" proposed by UAW Local 160.

Spokesmen for "democratic" U.S. imperialism have, unfortunately, in their efforts to enlist American workers in "defending the free world against Communist totalitarianism," been able to make hay out of the very real crimes of the Stalinist regimes. Marxists, of course, denounce the Gulag of forced labor camps for political dissidents as well as the national oppression by a Great Russian chauvinist bureaucracy. However, class-conscious workers oppose these betrayals in the framework of defending the world-historic conquests which the October Revolution brought to all the peoples of the USSR.

But at the UAW convention Ukrainian national rights were placed squarely in the service of counterrevolution. Moreover, it just happens that the local which submitted the "Human

WV Photo

Ukrainian reactionary handing out leaflets outside UAW convention.

Rights Resolution" is a main base for the reformist United National Caucus (UNC) and its offshoot, the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC). And, sure enough, the main speaker on the floor of the convention for the anti-Soviet motion was UNC recording secretary and Local 160 delegate Ken Wizinsky.

The official Resolutions Committee reported out an altered version of the Local 160 motion, including references to South Africa and Chile in an attempt to appear more "evenhanded." But Wizinsky took the floor "on behalf of Ukrainians" to make sure the anti-communist thrust was clear. Bewailing the absence in the "Soviet empire" of "the rights we enjoy here," Wizinsky gushed over Carter's "dedication to human rights for all people in the world" and called for a "strong condemnation of the Soviet government."

"Ukrainian Auto Workers" spokesman Jerry Stasyh told *WV* that he had written the original motion and then reviewed it with Wizinsky and UNC co-chairman Pete Kelly, both of whom approved and supported it in Local 160. When we asked Kelly why he supported Carter's bible-thumping anti-communist crusade, the sometime "socialist" UNC leader grew infuriated and yelled, "If he says that he's for human rights throughout the world, we support that position."

So did the sole delegate of the Communist Party-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC), Norm Roth of Local 6. Roth said, "I was particularly happy to hear the President of the United States declare himself for human rights." In the pages of the *Daily World* the Stalinists regularly hit Carter's anti-Sovietism, but under red-baiting pressure Roth completely dodged the pro-imperialist purpose of the motion. The AWAC leader restricted himself to calling for "human rights at home, too."

The Ukrainian nationalists who flocked to greet the invading Nazi army and joined special SS Einsatzkommandos to murder Jews and communists also invoked the "fight for democracy." Those who today enthuse over Carter's crusade are making themselves the tools of imperialist counterrevolution. There are, of course, "socialists" who feel at home in this role. The International Socialists (I.S.), whose "third camp" politics are shaped centrally by its

WV Photo

Norm Roth, Local 6.

hatred of the USSR, has boosted and built the UNC for years. For the I.S., Wizinsky's Carter-praising, Ukrainian nationalist tirade is quite in character.

The disgusting reformists of the thoroughly degenerated Socialist Workers Party (SWP) also capitulate to bourgeois anti-Sovietism. In the 27 May *Militant*, the SWP printed without comment a letter from Wizinsky urging support for the "Human Rights Resolution" and its call for Ukrainian "self-determination." This call for an independent capitalist Ukraine could only be implemented through a fascist dictatorship and a massacre of the class-conscious workers.

The Trotskyist movement, from its inception as the Russian Left Opposition, has always combatted the bureaucratic national oppression of non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. Trotsky in 1939 called for an independent workers and peasants *Soviet* Ukraine. But he warned against any cooperation with nationalists who sought to "free" the Ukraine in league with imperialism:

> "These gentlemen, who especially love to warm their hands in the vicinity of the national question, must not be allowed within artillery range of the labor movement. Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, either fascist or democratic! Not the slightest concession to the Ukrainian nationalists, either clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist!"
>
> *Writings, 1938-39*

Trotskyists call for a working-class political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy but unconditionally defend the USSR from imperialist attack. We denounce Jimmy Carter's imperialist "human rights" crusade as an utterly hypocritical attempt to prettify the butchers of Vietnam and prepare the masses for a new imperialist war.

As for the "socialists" who jump onto Carter's anti-Soviet handwagon, their present irrelevance should not cause them to despair. Since George Meany recently received the "Eugene V. Debs Award" from the Social Democrats U.S.A., perhaps they can some day sign on as speechwriters for the aging anti-communist blowhard of the AFL-CIO. That, in any case, is where they belong. ■

Stearns, Ky...

(continued from page 1)

Diamond provide. No doubt they lose some of their taste for gunfire after meeting coal miners, many of whom are veterans and are themselves no strangers to weapons.

Company "Justice"

Blue Diamond's assault on the coal miners is not restricted to hot lead from Storm Security gangsters. The company and courts have also mounted a legal attack. Yesterday, 27 strikers were arraigned in McCreary Circuit Court as the result of a grand jury indictment charging them with first degree assault, kidnapping and first degree robbery. Three cowardly company guards claim that on the night of April 13 they were allegedly disarmed by strikers, given a tour of the county and dropped off minus their pants. When two of their heavily armed cohorts arrived to pick the redfaced thugs up, they set off a gunfight and the two were seriously injured. All 27 of the indicted UMW members pleaded innocent and will face trial in October.

A few minutes after the arraignment, union organizer Potter was arrested on the same charges. When word of Potter's arrest arrived at strike headquarters across the street from the courthouse, one miner yelled "Let's all go," and the hall was virtually cleared. After the men had stood around in the hallway grumbling for several hours, Potter was eventually released on proof of personal property in lieu of a $15,000 bond.

Last weekend McCreary County judge J.B. Johnson fined the union $4,050 for nine counts of contempt of court. The judge also ordered the UMW to post a $100,000 penal bond as a condition for permission to continue picketing. The contempt citation charged the union with violations of a temporary restraining order, including blocking entrance to the Justus Mine on several occasions with rocks, logs, trees and burning tires; interfering with company employees attempting to remove these obstructions; damage of company property resulting in loss of electricity, water and phone service inside the compound; and firing high-powered weapons into company property. The court also cited an incident on March 12 when miners allegedly roughed up five security guards and their boss, Bob Storm.

While claiming that some miners "obviously have violated this Court's orders," the judge admitted he could not determine "who did what." Unable to crucify individual strikers, Johnson found the UMW as a whole guilty of contempt. The $100,000 bond is to cover *future* damage claims which Stearns or the Storm guards may make. As for the damages, miners told *WV* that the guards, who are often drunk, frequently shoot up their own area and blame it on the strikers.

The court is also considering a motion by Stearns Mining Company which would force the union to vacate its property adjacent to the mine.

> "The Court is aware that the so-called 'Union Hall' which is leased near the picket line is a subterfuge as a staging area for mass picketing.... if it is again used as a staging area for mass picketing, storing of weapons, or any other such illegal purpose, its use will be enjoined entirely. This the Court feels it has the right to do under the Commonwealth police powers, even though same might be in conflict with the Union's property rights."
>
> —*McCreary County Record*, 24 May

Elsewhere in Johnson's ruling he warned that the "maximum sentence that a judge can impose" will be "the rule rather than the exception" in the event of future contempt citations. But the picket camp—which the union owns, not rents—is the only protection the miners have in shielding themselves

WV Photo

UMWA organizer Lee Potter (center).

from the company guards' gunfire while asserting their right to picket.

Finally, the miners were dealt a blow by the NLRB. Based on the same allegations as the circuit court contempt citations, the Board issued an unfair labor practices complaint against the UMW. Earlier in the strike, a union petition against Blue Diamond was turned down by the NLRB. Needless to say, the cops and courts have consistently turned a deaf ear to the strikers' complaints.

First of all, it is only the workers who are denied use of their guns for self-defense. Protests to the police are useless. One miner went to the courthouse seeking a warrant against the nightly company shooting sprees, but before he had uttered a word he was told he would get no help from the court.

Another striker, whose house was shot up by a former Stearns Mining Company employee, succeeded in obtaining a warrant for the latter's arrest. But before the warrant was served, the striker was attacked by this same assailant, pistol-whipped, dragged from his car and shot in the arm. Only then did he manage to shoot back in self-defense against the attacker. Yet the assailant was released on $5,000 bond while his victim was slapped with a $15,000 one! The trigger-happy attacker was reportedly offered immediate work at the Scotia Mine.

For a National UMW Walkout to Defend the Stearns Strike!

These individual cases of pro-company "justice" are typical. The arrest of Potter, the contempt citations, the $100,000 penal bond and the NLRB complaint are even more serious threats to the strike and the union. They indicate an eagerness on the part of Blue Diamond and the federal government to block union efforts to organize non-UMW mines which have been opening up, re-opening or expanding production since the 1973-74 "energy crisis."

This challenge must not go unanswered. A belated five-day national coal work stoppage in August 1974 was required to force the Duke Power Company to finally recognize the UMW after the 13-month Brookside strike at Harlan. A national strike in the coalfields today would quickly bring Blue Diamond to terms and could be a springboard for organizing non-union mines throughout the U.S. and Canada.

It is the United Mine Workers bureaucracy, not the rank and file, which fears to take such measures. *WV* asked one UMW organizer in Stearns about the possibility of a national work stoppage such as was organized around the Harlan strike. He answered that if 500 or more miners were to come here, "I don't know how the hell we would have handled them." Fearing that such a mobilization might get "out of control," the bureaucracy claims concern that someone might get hurt.

This is just an excuse. Every night militant pickets at the Justus Mine are pinned down by murderous gunfire. If a Stearns miner is killed as a result of the failure of the UMW tops to mobilize the union to win this strike, class-conscious workers will hold the bureaucracy responsible as well as the company gunslingers. The $100 per week strike benefits ($25 more than normal) and insurance cards provided by the International are valuable, but they are no substitute for solidarity strike action.

It is an outrage that miners here are being shot up with the connivance of pro-company courts and cops without the UMW calling the rest of the union out of the pits! It is because the bureaucracy including UMW president Arnold Miller and his rivals for the presidency, Harry Patrick and LeRoy Patterson, as well as the whole International Executive Board—fears a nationwide coal strike might well get "out of control" and open the union ranks up to class-struggle policies that it refuses to back up the Stearns strikers. A militant union leadership would not only call a national strike but also appeal to unionists in the steel mills, power companies and railroads to stand with the UMW by refusing to handle coal while a strike continued.

Despite the halfway measures by the International, support from rank-and-file miners has been impressive. Over $80,000 has been contributed by other locals to the Stearns relief fund. Local 1974 at Brookside contributed $3,000 and the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* was shown last week in Stearns to an audience of strikers. A UMW organizer reported that visits from miners from Illinois, West Virginia and Tennessee are regular occurrences. These militants visit the picket site and strike headquarters and then take the story of the struggle back to miners in their home districts.

For a Class-Struggle UMW

The tenacity of the Stearns strikers is inspiring. Although a court order allows only eight pickets at the main entrance to the Justus Mine, extra strikers are usually on hand at the nearby camp. Volunteers come and go all night long. At 4 a.m. this morning one militant was anxious to leave for breakfast since his assigned picket duty began in an hour. "You have to beat them away," Potter said of the eager pickets. Another miner remarked that he has long had plans to return to his home in western Kentucky but will not move until the UMW wins a contract at Stearns.

Some of the strikers have worked in union mines, and describe the difference as "about like daylight and dark." Others have worked in auto plants up north. Add to this the traditional militancy of coal miners—a response to the dangerous and oppressive nature of their work—and the solidarity of the close-knit mining towns, and the potential for a militant union organizing drive in the southern Appalachian coalfields is clear.

Expansion of coal production has drawn in younger workers, many of them Vietnam veterans, and has given the miners a sense of their power which industrial workers hard-hit by 1973-74 layoffs have lacked. This helps to explain the large number of miners wildcats and the determination with which strikes like Harlan and Stearns have been fought. With the national UMW bituminous coal contract due to expire in December, the objective possibilities for a successful nationwide coal strike are here. Such a strike could bring thousands of new members into the union and spark militant action in other industries. What is lacking is the class-struggle leadership to wage such a battle.

Today disillusionment is widespread in the UMW ranks with Miller, who came to power at the head of a reform movement, Miners for Democracy (MFD), against the corrupt and murderous regime of Tony Boyle. Miller has since dissolved the MFD, run the union in a dictatorial fashion, enforced the rotten Boyle contract, sold out demands for the right to strike over local grievances and in every other way served as a loyal lieutenant of the companies. Patterson and Patrick who, together with Miller have refused to support every wildcat for the last four years are no better.

At the time of the 1972 elections, most of the self-proclaimed socialist groups backed Miller as the lesser evil compared to Boyle. The Spartacist League, in contrast, exposed the sub-reformist content of Miller's program, which in no way broke from the class collaborationism of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, and denounced him for bringing in the federal government to run the elections:

> "The unions, despite their corrupt and reactionary leaderships, represent the workers' first step in overcoming atomization and impotence at the hands of their employers. Going to the Labor Department to 'protect' workers' rights is inviting the class enemy into the workers' organizations."
>
> "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Elections," *WV* No. 17, March 1973

None of the bureaucratic rivals who are contending for the UMW presidency has put forward a program for victory in the Stearns strike; none has taken the side of the wildcats against the coal operators and the union-busting courts; none has renounced bringing the bosses' government into the affairs of the labor movement. None of these sellout labor fakers deserves the support of militant miners. It will require an uncompromising struggle against all bureaucratic factions and cliques to bring the union onto a course of class struggle which can organize the Stearns and Harlans throughout the country and put an end to the murderous gun thugs and working conditions which have been the miners' plight. ■

UAW...

(continued from page 7)

policies on which Solidarity House expends the dues money.

The Left and the Convention

The strategy of almost all the left groups has been to find a layer of "progressive" bureaucrats to tail after. The rightward shift of the bureaucracy, and the evaporation of most of the local bureaucratic oppositionists, has thrust the left into disarray.

The International Socialists (I.S.) had a very modest presence at the convention and seemed exceedingly embarrassed. The I.S. put all its marbles on the UNC. After five years of babbling about how the UNC is the real opposition to Woodcock, Fraser & Co., I.S. supporters at a preconvention UNC meeting in Detroit were unable to win the group to publicly oppose Fraser's election!

The Stalinist groupings were also left in the lurch. After years of tailing "progressive" bureaucrats like Earlie Mays of Local 1364, they have suddenly been left without partners for their "left-center coalitions." Outside the convention the Progressive Labor Party, the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) all held impotent protest demonstrations of 100 or so supporters, who mainly occupied themselves with thumbing their noses at the delegates and empty demagogy. The RCP had boasted before hand, "We'll wipe the smile off Carter's face in L.A.!" but did nothing when the U.S. president showed up at the convention. Was this deliberate? After all, Chinese officials are reportedly pleased as punch with Carter's campaign of anti-Sovietism. And what will the RCP-OL say now that Leonard Woodcock is in charge of coordinating U.S. and Chinese policy against "Soviet social-imperialism" in Peking? Playing Charlie McCarthy for Chairman Hua is certainly a just fate for

these cynical phonies.

But despite this pathetic attempt to substitute themselves for a real base in the union, all were looking over their shoulders for future allies in the bureaucracy. Thus, Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF, which is supported by the RCP), tailed local bureaucrats who opposed re-affiliation to the AFL-CIO and supported the referendum vote proposal. But the best example of zigzagging from idiot sectarianism to gross opportunism was provided by the half-crazed August 29th Movement (ATM), which has surfaced at Fremont GM. Starting from the supportable position of opposing a dues increase, the ATM has joined "right-to-work" union busters in advocating an end to the dues checkoff, an anti-labor measure which, if instituted, would mean the end of the union shop! At the same time, the ATM lauded the totally phony campaign of Hank Wilson, whom it hailed as the "grandson of a slave."

The only serious and principled alternative present was provided by the Committee for a Militant UAW of Local 1364. The Committee distributed a leaflet which drew a clear line between class-struggle policies and those espoused by the bureaucracy and the fake oppositionists:

> "What sets off our caucus, the Committee for a Militant UAW, from all other opposition groups in the union is our position from the complete and total independence of the unions from the capitalist state. Despite all the anti-capitalist rhetoric of groups like the O.L. and the UNC, when they're not supporting one or another out-bureaucrat in the hope of pressuring him to the left, they are running to the government to settle union affairs. This is the same methodology of the bureaucrats in tying our union to the Democratic Party. Our caucus aims to build a nationwide opposition that draws a line between the union on the one hand and the employers and the state on the other."

The proceedings of this convention were far, far removed from the real problems facing auto workers. Their future lies not with the aging and class-collaborationist bureaucracy, but in the struggle to build a genuine militant leadership, programmatically grounded in the principles laid out by the Committee for a Militant UAW, which can change the UAW into a weapon of the working masses in the struggle against the capitalists. ■

Andrew Young...

(continued from page 12)

> generosity of his feelings toward the black majorities of Rhodesia and South Africa and his distaste for the heads of the white minorities have undoubtedly had their effect. Andrew Young is enjoying a favorable reception."

Reston and the Dixiecrats missed the point. If Young actually were an embarrassment to the administration he would be long gone by now. Carter certainly owes a considerable campaign debt to the man who opened doors for him to black community leaders across the country. But the "moral" president has made it clear that neither blacks nor labor will receive even the smallest concession in return for their votes, and the Congressional Black Caucus complains that Young refuses to intercede for them.

The truth is that Young is not merely tolerated, but his publicity-grabbing UN performance is an integral part of Carter's "human rights" campaign to repair the image of post-Vietnam American imperialism. Having gotten off to an anti-Soviet start reminiscent of the cold war, the new administration can use a dose of anti-apartheid rhetoric in order to claim it is not being "one-sided." If some of Young's remarks don't represent actual U.S. policy, Carter is not adverse to letting the gullible believe that "behind the scenes" Washington is moving to force "majority rule" in South Africa.

Andrew Young: glamour boy for bourgeois press, darling of "Third World" diplomats, enemy of working people.

Andrew Young is just doing his job as black front man for U.S. imperialism.

"Erasing the Moral Stain"

Belatedly the imperialist media have caught on to Young's role. The press no longer refers to Vice President Mondale's role in African policy as a check on the voluble UN ambassador but rather as reinforcement. It portrayed the cordial Vienna meeting with South African premier Vorster as a confrontation, and highlighted Mondale's self-pardoning proclamation that the "moral stain" on America had been erased by "coming clean" on South Africa. Andy Young's "unofficial" trip to the bastion of white supremacy was billed as Daniel in the lion's den.

Times correspondent Michael Kaufman wrote glowingly:

> "Like an itinerant preacher affirming the perfectability of man, Andrew Young has swept through eight African countries in 16 days, proclaiming the advent of a new age of American foreign policy toward Africa and the world."

And this time, when Young announced on his return that the Russians were "the worst racists in the world," that black people in Sweden were treated like blacks in Queens, and that Britain's colonial mentality is still "very strong," the response was different than to previous "gaffes." The *New York Times* (29 May) editorialized: "Andrew Young's almost jolly campaign to make racism a subject fit for table talk is in the highest interest of the country."

Even some of Young's statements which seemed most at odds with past U.S. policy are part of Carter's campaign for a Pax Americana in southern Africa. His remarks on "stabilizing" Cuban troops may have made senators Byrd and Talmadge see red, but stability is uppermost in the minds of the African leaders Young is wooing. Many of them sided with the pro-Western FNLA and UNITA against the Soviet-backed MPLA last year, but you don't see them opposing the Neto government today.

Due to the notorious fragility of the imperialist-created states in Africa, there is an unwritten rule in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that whoever has got a country is allowed to keep it. Otherwise everything could blow apart. That is why there was such unanimous support in the OAU for the corrupt Mobutu regime during the recent "invasion" of southern Zaire by former Katangan gendarmes. Even some of the more conservative governments wouldn't mind a few Cuban (or French, or British) troops to get a little "stability" for themselves. And no doubt the State Department was pleased to see Cuban soldiers patrolling the streets of Luanda last weekend after putting down an abortive leftist coup.

As for "majority rule" in southern Africa, the game being played by Carter's ambassador of doubletalk was typified by his arrival in Johannesburg, where he gave the black-power handshake to airport workers then turned around and extended a traditional glad hand to Afrikaner police who were standing by. Young was never exactly a radical in the civil rights movement, but at least at that time he claimed to stand for "one man, one vote." In South Africa, however, his version of "majority rule" turned out to be urging a meeting of white businessmen to recognize that it was in their own interest that "four or five million blacks be brought into the system."

So if Andrew Young manages to hoodwink the "front-line presidents" and some nationalist guerrilla leaders into believing that they can rely on the U.S. to peacefully oust the hitler-end white-supremacist government in Rhodesia and abolish apartheid in South Africa, Carter won't complain. As *New York Times* UN correspondent Joseph Lelyveld wrote on 6 February after an interview with the cynical former clergyman:

> "An invincible optimist, he [Young] contends that majority rule can be achieved in South Africa by moderate, nonviolent means and that, as a dividend for trying, the United States can pick up credits in the third world that it can cash in for support on energy issues and the Middle East."

"Roots" for South Africa?

While spreading the gospel of enlightened self-interest to the Afrikaner *laager*, "Mr. Ambassador" has been advertising himself at home as a black Horatio Alger. "Andy Young," wrote *Newsweek* (28 March) in a cover story, "is an authentic American success story a black preacher who rose through the civil rights movement, won a Congressional seat in the New South and formed an almost mystical friendship with another Georgian who marched all the way to the White House." The ostentatious "casual elegance" of Young's 42nd-floor Waldorf Towers suite seemingly at odds with the style of an administration which turns down the heat and mothballs government limousines is an essential element of this "Roots" story.

Like union bureaucrats who drive around in Cadillacs, Young's posh lifestyle is deliberate political propaganda for the supposed wonders of American capitalism. The classic justification for such high living was the cynical comment by Black Panther Party leader Elaine Brown defending her 19th-story Oakland penthouse: otherwise, she says, people will ask, "How's she going to get some for us if she can't get it for herself." Never known for getting down with the people, Young was widely despised for the way he used to show up flashing diamond cufflinks in Southern black churches where grimy civil rights workers were bleeding on the floor. Today he shows he hasn't lost touch with the masses... by introducing visitors to the butler and breakfasting with the chauffeur.

But Young's "rags to riches" success story, however phony, is as irrelevant to apartheid South Africa as his references to the "lessons" of the American civil rights movement and appeals to the capitalists' enlightened self-interest. His strange remark that "Jimmy Carter is an Afrikaner" (which the *New York Times* interpreted as "meaning that the President is as determined in supporting freedom for blacks here as the Afrikaners... have been in denying it to them"!), whatever its intent, could not be more wrong. This is not the "New South," nor even the Dixieland of Jim Crow segregation. South African capitalism is based on the superexploitation of black labor, and like the antebellum American slavocracy, the ruling class will not give up the social/economic/political content of white supremacy short of defeat in civil war.

Young points to his friendship with plutocrat Harry Oppenheimer, head of South Africa's Progressive Reform Party, as proof that at least some businessmen are for "majority rule." Oppenheimer, however, is not for full bourgeois democracy for the oppressed non-white majority but a "qualified franchise"; and his vast diamond-mining empire, the Anglo-American Corporation, is built on imported indentured contract labor paid even less than South African black workers. If he is for ending the color bar, it is only to be able to slash all wages to the starvation level.

Andrew Young's task is to present a new face for American foreign policy, to dupe black African leaders into believing they can achieve their aims by relying on U.S. power, just as Arab leaders were sucked into Kissinger's Near East "shuttle diplomacy." But the world's leading imperialist power is hardly more "progressive" than the South African apartheid regime. Those who appeal to the butchers of Indochina to liberate blacks in southern Africa are sowing the most dangerous illusions.

It is the working masses of southern Africa, led by a proletarian vanguard party and with the active solidarity of the exploited and oppressed on the continent who hold the key to smashing white supremacy in South Africa. Andrew Young will not contribute to that struggle any more than he put an end to black oppression in the U.S. with his wheeling and dealing with corporation executives. The tools of imperialist rule are the enemies of emancipation for black people. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

for a few ounces of gold per head delivered to his treasury. Such fakers are incapable of waging a revolutionary struggle against white supremacy, much less liberating Africa from imperialist domination, tribalism and poverty!

"Socialist" Regimes Massacre Leftists

The bankruptcy of fake-revolutionaries who rely on such nationalist misleaders has just been demonstrated again in Angola. On Friday, May 27, the regime of Agostinho Neto brutally suppressed a left-wing revolt in Luanda, originating from among formerly "pro-Soviet" elements within the MPLA itself. During last year's Angolan war, virtually the entire U.S. left gave political support either to the MPLA or to its nationalist rivals.

Most shameless of all were the Maoists, who openly lined up with the U.S.-supplied FNLA and UNITA who were an integral part of the South African invasion. The ever more openly social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP) claimed to be sitting on the fence, while leaning sharply to the CIA-financed FNLA. Meanwhile, "Third Worldists" of various labels sang the praises of the MPLA, some going so far as to discover the birth of a workers state in Angola!

The Spartacist League (SL) was unique in calling for military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist power play, *while warning against placing any political confidence in these nationalists.* The MPLA leaders, we wrote, no less than the FNLA and UNITA seek to construct an independent bourgeois state so that they can replace the Portuguese colonists as exploiters of the peasants and workers. For telling this basic truth, SL contingents were forcibly excluded from several Angola demonstrations, notably by the now-fractured African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and its rent-a-goon thugs from Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF).

Der Spiegel

Youth in the streets of Soweto last summer.

What do you say now, we ask YAWF and the pan-Africanists, when those in the MPLA who would have stood closest to you are devoured by the Neto government which you hailed only a year ago? Perhaps, as Stalin said of Chiang Kai-shek when the generalissimo turned on the Shanghai workers in 1927, you will now claim that the MPLA has ceased to be "anti-imperialist." Like the "Great Organizer of Defeats," your politics of revolution by "stages" are a roadblock to workers revolution and ultimately *suicidal.*

Nowhere can this be seen more clearly at present than in Ethiopia, where the self-proclaimed "socialist" military dictatorship of Colonel Mengistu is carrying out a systematic extermination of leftist students and trade unionists. A massacre on May Day weekend by troops of the Derg (junta) claimed hundreds of lives, reportedly 1,500 or more in a single week, yet the Communist Party (CP) praises Mengistu's boasts of "exterminating domestic counterrevolution"! Simultaneously these Greater Ethiopia nationalist butchers are organizing a peasant army to drown a struggle for self-determination by Eritrean guerrillas in a sea of blood and lay waste to the country like a swarm of locusts. But following the Derg's overthrow of feudalist emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, many pseudo-socialists and pan-Africanists—including some of the leftists now being massacred in Addis Ababa—gave "critical support" to these "anti-imperialists."

Permanent Revolution in Southern Africa

The experience of two decades of African independence struggles fully confirms the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which proclaims that neither the bourgeoisie nor various petty-bourgeois forces can fulfill even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Whether openly neo-colonialist, "African socialist" or "Marxist-Leninist," post-independence nationalist regimes have bowed down before the imperialists. They have been unable to achieve even capitalist development of their economies, and as the poverty deepens it is accompanied by a recrudescence of tribalism. Only the proletariat, standing at the head of the peasant masses and establishing its own class rule, can emancipate the black masses of Africa.

The need for working-class leadership is posed most sharply in South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the continent with a six-million-strong black proletariat. South Africa combines aspects of the classical colonial situation with a more complex interweaving of class oppression and caste/communal privilege. To the black Africans, the country remains little more than a slave colony where the most fundamental democratic rights are totally proscribed, where their labor is savagely exploited to reap some of the highest profit rates in the world. Blacks have "rights" only on 13 percent of the land, the arid wastes of the so-called bantustans, which are in reality not "tribal homelands" but giant holding pens for the industrial reserve army of black labor.

Yet South Africa is independent of European colonial rule and its industrially advanced economy allows it to function as a sub-imperialist power with significant holdings in several African countries. Moreover, South Africa's white settlers long ago evolved an identity distinct from the European peoples whence they came. (Afrikaans, for example, is spoken nowhere else on earth.) Unlike the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, where a colonial administrative apparatus and a thin layer of expatriate entrepreneurs and adventurers stood in the way of national independence, the non-white masses of South Africa face a relatively large and economically powerful oppressor caste.

A revolutionary program for South Africa must begin with recognition that the oppressed non-white majority has the democratic right to determine the government under which they live; that their power rests above all in their strategic role in the white-owned economy; that the guerrillaist, pacifist and parliamentarist programs of the African nationalists have proved impotent; and that they are faced with a well-armed white population with deep roots in the country and nowhere else to go. Only a proletarian strategy, which can unite the coloured (mixed race) and Indian working masses with the blacks, while appealing to white workers with a program of full democratic rights and an egalitarian social order, offers even the possibility of a way out of this situation short of colossal bloodshed.

The Spartacist League raises the slogan of "workers revolution through smashing apartheid." To conquer power the non-white proletariat must wage militant struggles to achieve essential democratic rights and rudimentary bases of political and organizational power.

We demand that political and trade-union organization rights be extended to non-whites; that all anti-communist and "anti-terrorist" legislation be abolished; that the infamous pass laws and all racialist legislation be abolished; that the contract labor system and job reservation by race be outlawed. We also call for equality of pay and working conditions and for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. But we also point out that, contrary to the nationalists and their Stalinist apologists, in the imperialist epoch these democratic tasks can be fully realized only through a proletarian revolution.

The African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress (PAC) nationalist program of guerrillaism has remained almost entirely confined to paper; on the few occasions when attempts were made to put it into practice against the entrenched military power of the apartheid system it proved an unmitigated disaster. But even if successful guerrilla war were a possibility in South Africa, it would result in the same sort of anti-working-class black bourgeois regimes that prevail elsewhere on the continent. The key task in South Africa is the forging of a Trotskyist, proletarian vanguard party to wrest hegemony of the masses from the nationalist misleaders and lead the struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government.

Proletarian revolution in South Africa is also key to emancipation of the toiling masses of all of sub-Saharan Africa. In country after country, the masses' aspirations for an end to imperialist oppression were dashed when a native ruling class installed itself in the mansions of the colonial elite. The swollen urban shanty towns sank into sullen decay while tribal, religious and ethnic conflicts emerged with ever greater fury. The failure of the nationalist regimes to stem centrifugal tendencies led to a second generation of post-independence regimes headed by former sergeants of the colonial armies. Idi Amin is only one of the more grotesque of these strutting two-bit bonapartes.

When guerrillas came to power in Angola and Mozambique, it was widely predicted that "socialist" transformations would result. Yet Gulf Oil remains in Cabinda, and now it is the MPLA apparatus and the Cuban-trained political police who regiment Luanda workers. South Africa's naked power grab in Angola was turned back, but only narrowly and due to the arrival of 15,000 Soviet-armed Cuban troops. Until the white-supremacist regime in South Africa is destroyed, Pretoria will continue to wield its economic and military power like a club over all of black Africa.

Fake-Lefts Tail Andrew Young

The task of communists is to draw these key lessons for "African liberation": to demonstrate that democratic demands (independence, universal suffrage, land to the tiller) cannot be won without a struggle for workers power; to show that the petty-bourgeois nationalists and bourgeois liberals hold out no answers to the African masses, whether suffering under the apartheid yoke or living in fear of tribalist pogroms and anti-communist bloodbaths unleashed by black bonapartist regimes. But the left groups which are building May 28 African Liberation Day marches have done just the opposite.

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At a time when the Carter administration is attempting to bolster the United States' image in Africa, these so-called revolutionaries fall into step with the proposition that the American bourgeoisie ought to be the moral arbiters of southern Africa. Behind their demands for boycotting everything South African—from shrimp to musicals and sports teams—lies a call (implicit or explicit) for government sanctions against Pretoria. This rests on the same premise as Andrew Young's sermonizing: that South African apartheid is somehow qualitatively more reactionary than U.S. imperialism.

Thus the Maoist Revolutionary

Marion Kaplan/Echave & Associates

Idi Amin

Communist Party (RCP) in the May issue of *Revolution* vociferously called on the American ruling class to live up to Jimmy Carter's moralistic pretensions. It applauded "demonstrations at banks selling gold Krugerrands..., actions against corporations and colleges with interests in and investments in the apartheid system, protests at sports and cultural events with South African participation." The tiny Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) went even further (?), demanding in a headline, "Drive the Krugerrand Out of Detroit!"

On university campuses the RCP and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, together with the SWP and its Young Socialist Alliance, have been demanding that boards of trustees divest themselves of stocks of companies with South African interests. While solidarizing with students seeking to fight against white supremacy, where this becomes a mass struggle, it is the duty of Marxists to point out that this empty gesture assumes that General Motors' investment in South Africa is "immoral" in some way that its investments in the U.S. are not. On the contrary, the U.S. bourgeoisie—from bankers to liberal politicians and university presidents—far from being a potential ally against apartheid is truly

Camerapix

Ethiopian strongman Mengistu

Latfoni/Sygma

Samora Machel

Fotolib

Agostinho Neto

the enemy of all the world's peoples, from Chile to Indochina.

In more ways than one the fake-lefts have been sucked into Jimmy Carter's "human rights" ploy to beautify U.S. imperialism. They carefully avoid any challenge to the African nationalists' programs and leadership while praising the periodic guerrilla struggles. But, as the events in Angola show, even the most left nationalists once in power are not a threat to imperialist domination. Andrew Young has praised the Cuban troops for enforcing "stability" in Angola and even flew to a conference in Mozambique against white minority rule where he embraced Machel and such guerrilla leaders as Sam Nujoma of the South West African Peoples Organization.

The SWP, in particular, has tailed after the liberals by taking up the deliberately vague slogan of "majority rule" used by both Carter/Young and the African nationalists. This ambiguous call which means vastly different things to different people—was chosen over the more precise and radical-democratic demand for a constituent assembly, raised by the Trotskyist SL. When Kissinger and Young refer to "majority rule" in Rhodesia or South Africa, they mean a limited franchise for blacks and a black figurehead as governmental leader while preserving the social, economic and political substance of white supremacy. In the mouths of African nationalists, the same term has been used to cover their selling out of demands for "one man, one vote."

At most, "majority rule" means only the ousting of white minority regimes and neither indicates the form of government (democratic or bonapartist) or the class nature of the state (bourgeois or proletarian). By demagogically using this vaguely democratic slogan, the SWP can simultaneously bloc with petty-bourgeois nationalists like Stokely Carmichael's All-African People's Revolutionary Party while tailing liberal imperialists like Andrew Young.

Maoist Running Dogs

The Maoists add a particularly obscene note to the African Liberation Day marches. While picking up remnants of pan-Africanist groups and engaging in organizational squabbles which are no more clear than the internecine clique warfare among Peking bureaucrats, the vague "tight-back," "self-reliance" and "armed people's struggle" rhetoric of groups like the RCP and Workers Viewpoint cannot hide the fact that these masters of "two-line" doubletalk *supported* the racist South African army invasion of Angola little more than a year ago!

Today the Maoists try to sweep this embarrassing bit of recent history under the rug, but so long as they march with China they cannot avoid linking arms with Western imperialism. The current issue of *Revolution* screams from the front page, "Soviet Backed Mercenaries Invade Zaire," and *Workers Viewpoint* demands "Defend Zaire's Sovereignty" from a supposed Cuban attack. Thus these slavish Peking toadies take the same position as Paris and Brussels, as well as Zairean dictator Mobutu, the CIA's "number one man in Africa."

Feeding into the anti-Soviet frenzy which is the real purpose of Carter's "human rights" campaign, the Maoists have apologized for African reactionaries from Vorster to Mobutu in the guise of fighting Russian "imperialism." In fact, the major difference between the African Liberation Day marches dominated by Workers Viewpoint and the RCP respectively is whether the "social-imperialist" USSR is equally as dangerous as the U.S. or is instead the worse of the two "superpowers."

Trotskyists understand that the Soviet Union is not imperialist but a degenerated workers state resting on the historic conquests of the October Revolution (expropriation of the bourgeoisie, collectivized economy). While calling for political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and opposing the Kremlin's opportunist, nationalist foreign policy (for example, its shameful assistance to the Ethiopian junta's massacre of left-wing students and war of extermination against Eritrean secessionists), we unconditionally defend the USSR against imperialism.

On African Liberation Day, we raise the banner not of African nationalism nor Stalinist reformism but of proletarian internationalism. This banner is the rightful property of the Trotskyist Fourth International, whose programmatic continuity and political integrity are today defended only by the International Spartacist tendency, and whose reforging is the vital task facing authentic communists throughout the world. ■

France...

(continued from page 4)

like to reduce its scope somewhat, the Socialists insist on holding the line and the PCF is proposing to add a small number of companies to the *nine* trusts originally slated to be nationalized (that is, bought by the state with handsome payments to the capitalists, so that the burden of financing them can be passed on to the working class). Several of the PCF-proposed additions are steel producers.

To underline its commitment to the maintenance of French capitalism, the Communist Party is also pushing to include the "Gaullists for Progress" as a fourth component of the Union of the Left. Moreover, the PCF has now dropped its "demand" that military service be reduced from one year to six months, and (no doubt linked to its call for "socialism under French colors") has come out in favor of France's nuclear "force de frappe" (striking force), a favorite Gaullist hobby horse. In presenting a report on defense policy to the PCF central committee, Jean Kanapa repeatedly denounced the danger of "West German imperialism" (what about French imperialism?) and called for modernizing French nuclear weaponry (*Le Monde*, 13 May).

While the PCF and PS tie the French workers directly to the bourgeoisie through the popular front, the task of a Trotskyist vanguard must be to warn the proletariat against the danger represented by the Union of the Left and to uphold the revolutionary program against the reformist schemes of the Stalinists and social democrats. But the three large ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France do nothing of the sort. In the May 24 demonstrations, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) marched in step with popular-front electoralism, by demanding dissolution of the national assembly and new elections. Lutte Ouvrière (LO) simply calls for a "united front of the working class."

In the recent elections, these pseudo-Trotskyists all gave backhanded support to the Union of the Left. In addition to voting for the popular front slates (with one or two fig-leaf exceptions) on the decisive second round, the LCR and LO formed an electoral coalition with the "critical Maoist" (pro-Gang of Four) Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (OCT), with the purpose of acting as a left pressure group on the Union of the Left. In contrast, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, demanded "Not One Vote for Any of the Candidates of the Popular Front!" (*Le Bolshevik* No. 5, March 1977).

The fake-lefts, tailing the Union of the Left, perpetuate the reformist stranglehold which frustrates the proletariat's will to resist the "austerity" assault. Only the LTF, swimming against the popular-front stream, embodies the program to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

African Liberation Day 1977

South Africa's Proletariat Is Key

African Liberation Day 1977 takes place under conditions of exceptional turmoil and prospects for great social struggles in white-ruled southern Africa. The defeat of a South African expeditionary force in Angola early last year was followed by the sharpest attack on apartheid in a generation, the June-August Soweto rebellion. Despite the murderous repression unrest continues to boil among the oppressed non-white masses in Vorster's racist hell, most recently in militant protests against staggering rent increases for the crowded shanties of the urban labor compounds.

To the north, the anachronistic colonial settler state in Rhodesia is on its last legs. Ian Smith's tiny base of white planters is inadequate to dominate the remaining 95 percent of the population, and since the collapse of Portuguese colonialism it has been caught in a vise of black states, with only a tenuous land bridge to the south. Even the United States, long a prop for white minority governments in the subcontinent, has given up Ian Smith's pariah regime for lost.

There must be no illusions about the meaning of U.S. talk of "majority rule" in southern Africa. As part of an effort to defuse Rhodesian guerrilla struggles which could provide a diplomatic opening for the Soviet Union, Kissinger began to apply pressure for a "peaceful transition" to a neo-colonial Zimbabwe, decked out with a thin layer of black leaders beholden to Washington for placing them in power. Now, adding a dose of empty anti-apartheid rhetoric, this has become part of Carter's "human rights" campaign, a propaganda offensive to repair the tattered moral pretensions of U.S. imperialism to act as world gendarme.

Such maneuvers require partners, and Kissinger/Carter have gotten plenty of cooperation from the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists who speak in the name of the African masses. Would-be "statesmen" Nkomo, Muzorewa and Mugabe of the Rhodesian nationalist groups all flocked to Geneva on the basis of Kissinger's proposal for a white-controlled "transition government." All have, at one point or another, signed agreements abandoning the democratic demand of "one man, one vote" in exchange for promises of governmental positions in such a regime. Only the intransigence of the white-supremacist Salisbury regime has prevented these sellout schemes from being implemented.

As for the so-called front-line states, Zambia's "humanist" president Kaunda was sucked into Vorster's 1974 "détente" maneuver, even jailing ZANU guerrillas and stopping raids across the border in exchange for a few million rands of South African "economic aid." Mozambique's "Marxist-Leninist" president Machel, meanwhile, continues to supply indentured contract laborers to suffer barbarous exploitation in South Africa's mines, in return

continued on page 10

South African students demand freedom for prisoners of Vorster regime.

AFP

Andrew Young: Black Front Man for U.S. Imperialism

Andrew Young with imperialist chief Carter.

Sygma

One of Jimmy Carter's most successful foreign policy gambits has been the selling of his ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, as an advocate of "Third World" concerns at the highest levels of the U.S. government. After years of "benign neglect," American blacks are now supposed to think they have a friend in the White House. And in Africa, crowds from Lagos to Johannesburg were reportedly enraptured as the former aide to the martyred Martin Luther King breezed through the continent giving the black power handshake and presenting himself as a personal testimony to a new "moral" American policy.

There was some dismay among stuffy, tight-lipped State Department officials at Foggy Bottom over the penchant of the charismatic, Hollywood-handsome glamour boy to "shoot his mouth off." Conservative Dixiecrat senators gasped at Young's reference to Cuban troops in Angola as a "stabilizing influence." And when General Singlaub lost his job last week for publicly disagreeing with Carter's Korea policy, influential liberal *New York Times* columnist and editor James Reston asked why Andy Young still had his.

But "Third World" diplomats at the UN were flattered by the unaccustomed attentions Young showered on them, and the African bourgeois press fell in love with the U.S. envoy. The anti-Soviet *Jeune Afrique* (8 April) wrote in a feature story:

> "The Africans were clearly supposed to be seduced. And in fact, when their UN missions learned of the nomination of Young they did not fail to react with enthusiasm. His past as a civil rights militant at the side of Martin Luther King is a respectable calling card. The

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 161 10 June 1977

SPANISH ELECTIONS:

No to "Reformed" Francoism!

Basque Voters Face Reign of Cop Terror

JUNE 6—Next week the first parliamentary elections in 41 years will be held in Spain. These elections, which are far from free, are the crowning jewel of the "Spanish democracy" of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez. Aimed at consolidating a "strong state" semi-bonapartist regime with a facade of parliamentary democracy, the "Suárez reforms" hope to win acceptance for the post-Franco regime from "democratic Europe," and to foster democratic illusions among the Spanish working masses who, week after week for the last year and a half, have demonstrated their hatred of the autocratic state bequeathed by the "Caudillo."

The legalization of the Socialist Party (PSOE) and especially of the Communist Party (PCE) have certainly boosted the government's desired image of democratizing the encrusted Francoist structure. At the same time, this crucial measure was strongly resisted by Falangist ultras and army hardliners, and would never have been won without the militant strikes and demonstrations by the workers. With a militant proletarian leadership, this could upset the apple cart of "reformed" Francoism, by a heavy vote for opposition workers parties. But far from exposing the anti-democratic intent of the government's plans to shore up the Francoist monarchy, the PSOE and PCE leaders have become the strongest supporters of Suárez.

Bilbao/Cambio 16

Barricades are thrown up by Basque demonstrators in Renteria as protection against cop attacks.

Skeletons in the Closet

Suárez has personally entered the campaign for the Cortes in the hopes of building an ostensibly "center" political apparatus in reality somewhere to the right of Italian Christian Democracy or the French Gaullists—which could, through a combination of tough police measures, "democratic" rhetoric and mini-reforms, contain the masses while dismantling the outlived corporatist structures of the Francoist order. He chose as his electoral vehicle the Union of the Democratic Center (UDC), founded by former Franco ministers Arcilza and Pio Cabanillas. Since the formal announcement of Suárez' candidacy, these two have been deposed; the former out of the UDC, the latter off to campaign in distant Galicia. Under Suárez, the UDC campaigns for the Cortes as what has aptly been dubbed "Euro-Francoism."

Whereas Suárez wants to hide the Francoist origins of his government, he has been challenged by the openly Franco-loyal Alianza Popular (AP). Former minister of the interior Manuel Fraga Iribarne and six other former Franco-era ministers (each with their own political party) have banded together in what is alternately called the "magnificent seven" (by the far-right) and "Seven Horsemen of the Apocalypse" (by the left). The AP has attacked the legalization of the PCE and similar concessions to present themselves as the inheritors of the "forty years of Francoist peace."

But while Fraga may have a better claim on blue-shirt traditions, no less than the AP Suárez' forces are the face of Francoism in these elections. While waxing on about democratic reforms, Suárez preserves his ties to the clerical-reactionary Opus Dei, leading industrialists and representatives of foreign investors who were the economic backbone of the Franco regime. Moreover, since breaking with Fraga and co-opting the UDC, Suárez has concentrated on lining up the local government functionaries and political bosses whose main interest is to be on the side of the government. While in the main cities the opposition vote will no doubt be high, in the countryside the fabric of Francoist rule is unbroken, as the Guardia Civil and the *caciques* (local bosses) continue to hold sway. The *New York Times* (6 June) quoted a resident of a peasant town in Badajoz remarking that after 40 years of dictatorship, "there is the fear, there is the fear."

According to the current electoral scheme, small rural areas will have up to four times the representation of comparably populated neighborhoods in urban centers such as Madrid. Thus for Suárez' schemes to receive a Cortes (parliament) majority, *caciquismo* must remain intact. There can be little talk of democracy so long as the entrenched privilege, corruption and political machinations of such a system, which for forty years has been inseparable from the police state terror of Franco, remain.

The Basque Explosion

Suárez' reforms certainly carry little weight in the Basque region (Euzkadi). The electoral period in this northern region arrived outfitted in the same colors as before: the dull grey of the armed police and the olive drab of the Guardia Civil. Repeatedly, the mass demonstrations demanding amnesty and an end to the police state of siege have been set upon by these bloody thugs of Suárez/Juan Carlos. If this ferocious repression continues, and perhaps even intensifies as the special police run amok, the "democratic" king and his "Euro-Francoist" prime minister could still find themselves with a solid Basque election boycott on their hands.

The pervasive police terror has failed to diminish the overwhelming sense of anti-government militancy and solidarity that has swept the Basque country this spring. In April, the government banned any celebration of the Basque national holiday, Aberri Eguna. The demonstrators who assembled in defiance of the ban were met with an occupation force of 5,000 Guardia Civil in the town of Vitoria (site of the 1976 slayings) who filled the central square with smoke and tear gas and then viciously set upon any civilians they found in the street. Despite the rubber bullets and water cannon of the anti-riot brigades, barricades were built and the demonstrations persisted.

During the course of only four days

continued on page 5

Letters

Leninism and Conspiracy

April 20, 1977

To the editor:

In the article "FBI Targets the Spartacist League" (*WV* No. 151, 1 April 1977), you discuss, among many other matters, the Marxist attitudes towards violence and conspiracy, or, to be more precise, conspiratorial methods. At one point you say: "According to the *Communist Manifesto*, the proletarian revolution is made by the 'immense majority.' It is not until a majority of the working people are prepared for a revolution against a capitalist government isolated and unable to rule that a proletarian revolution can occur." If this is meant literally, then one of two conclusions seems inescapable: either the Russian Revolution of October 1917 was not proletarian, and hence has no call on the loyalty of any Marxist; or else this prediction by Marx and Engels has been refuted by history. The working class of Imperial Russia was a tiny minority of the population, and while the Bolsheviks had the support of a majority of the working class in some crucial areas, it is doubtful whether this was true nationwide. The Chinese and Cuban revolutions probably did and do have majority support, but in the first place the majority was clearly not proletarian, and in the second there is considerable dispute as to whether the revolution, *at the time it took place*, was in any sense Marxist in character. On this basis, it follows that if a proletarian revolution takes place in a highly-developed capitalist state (which has not happened historically so far) it will have entirely different characteristics and probably different results from the Russian or Chinese, or Cuban—revolutions.

Your remarks on conspiracy as a revolutionary method are subject to a similar qualification. It is fairly clear to me from reading the *Workers Vanguard* over the past two or three years that your present method involves no conspiracy at all, in the sense of a dualism between the attitudes adopted in public and internally. However, this also represents a departure from previous revolutionary practice: Lenin's entire method and organization were conspiratorial. And certainly this type of method and organization was necessary in the context in which Lenin was working.

It seems to me that these considerations at the very least limit significantly the scope of the "lessons" which can be drawn by revolutionary Marxists in Western Europe or the United States from the Russian Revolution, or any revolution of similar type which has occurred up to this point. It is not clear to me what "Leninism" means in this context. If it implies the establishment of a disciplined vanguard party consisting of professional revolutionaries and organized in quasi-military fashion—and these are the terms in which Lenin appears to speak in *What is to be Done?* and other works—then it would seem that Leninist precedents are also not applicable to our present situation.

Insofar as it points up the conspiratorial methods used by the FBI and other government agencies in gathering information and in infiltrating or disrupting groups considered "subversive," your article performs a useful service, but, as I have tried to point out, it is not without certain implicit contradictions.

Steve Dunn

WV replies: Steve Dunn insists that he has found a contradiction between the Spartacist League and Lenin on the question of conspiracy. The SL, he says, is not conspiratorial, whereas Lenin's Bolsheviks were. Dunn is right about the Spartacist League in this regard but wrong about Lenin.

Lenin's party was never conspiratorial. Conspiracy was considered a cardinal revolutionary principle by a number of groups and individuals of the pre-Marxist communist movement. They included Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals, Buonarroti, the Carbonari and particularly Auguste Blanqui, whose innumerable secret societies spanned more than half a century. Later this tradition was continued by a wing of the anarchist movement that concentrated on acts of individual terrorism.

Both Marx and Lenin were frequently labeled Blanquists by their opponents and were proud of the revolutionary determination this accusation connoted. But from its very inception the Marxist movement has rejected the conspiratorial method of a handful of leaders with a secret program acting behind the backs of the masses to seize power. Thus Karl Marx wrote in June 1847 concerning the change of name of the League of the Just to the Communist League:

> "The introduction of such simple, clear names serves also to remove from our propagandist League the conspiratorial character which our enemies are so keen to attach to us."
>
> "Circular of the First Congress of the Communist League"

What was involved was not merely a change of name but the class character of the movement. Seeking to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution which the bourgeoisie feared to carry to the end, the petty-bourgeois communists had need for conspiratorial methods. Proletarian communists, however, while preserving their own organization, act as the vanguard of the working class. For this role the greatest openness concerning the aims and methods of struggle was desirable, in order to galvanize the broadest masses into action.

The Russian Marxists, from Plekhanov on, heatedly polemicized against anarchists and populists (Narodniks) on the question of conspiratorial methods. As early as 1897 Lenin attacked the former Bakuninist, P.L. Lavrov, on precisely this question:

> "Blanquist, conspiratorial traditions are tearfully strong among the former [the Narodniks], so much so that they cannot conceive of political struggle except in the form of political conspiracy. The Social Democrats, however, are not guilty of such a narrow outlook; they do not believe in conspiracies."
>
> "The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats"

Lenin went on to point out that, while under tsarist dictatorship the Social Democrats "have never dreamed of being able to form a workers' party in Russia legally...they have always thought, and continue to think that this fight must be waged not by conspirators, but by a revolutionary party based on the working class movement. They think that the fight against the autocracy must consist not in organizing conspiracies, but in educating, disciplining and organizing the proletariat."

As Lenin elaborated the theory of the vanguard party and the need for democratic centralism, one of his arguments was that "a strong revolutionary organization in an autocratic country" must operate in "utmost secrecy" (*What Is To Be Done?*). But the need for clandestinity by left-wing parties was a military tactical necessity, forced on them by the tsar's police. Again, Lenin sharply denied "the charge that we Social Democrats desire to create a conspiratorial organization."

Nevertheless, there were those who thought that all underground organizations were necessarily conspiratorial and called on the Russian Social Democrats to give up their clandestine existence. Trotsky, writing from prison after the 1905 Revolution, answered such critics with biting eloquence:

> "Those simpletons and liberal hypocrites who, during the past two years, have so often appealed to us to embrace legality are like Marie-Antoinette who recommended to the starving peasants that they should eat cake. Anyone might think that we suffer from some kind of organic revulsion from cake. Anyone might think that our lungs have been infected by some insatiable craving to breathe the air of the dungeons used for solitary confinement in the Peter and Paul Fortress! Anyone might think that we cannot or do not want to find a different employment for those endless hours which the jailer confiscates from our lives.
>
> "We are as little enamored of our underground as the drowned man is of the sea bottom. But—let us say it straight—we have no more choice in the matter than our enemy, absolutism."
>
> *1905*

In the aftermath of the Palmer Raids in 1920, when the entire self-proclaimed revolutionary left in the U.S. was driven underground by massive arrests and deportations, the question of conspiratorial methods was fought out in the American communist movement. With all the imperialist propaganda against Lenin's "putsch" and given the general ignorance of what the Bolsheviks actually stood for beyond soviet power, many revolutionaries saw the October Revolution as a victory for the "principle" of clandestine organization.

The pioneer American communists made this mistake and wrote into the party constitution the statement, "The Communist Party is an underground, illegal organization." Some time later a judge declared the CP illegal, which it welcomed. The other faction (the party had split immediately after the founding convention), the Communist Labor Party (CLP), by some quirk was declared legal. Yet the CLP took this as an insult to its revolutionary integrity and issued a statement proclaiming that it was just as illegal as the CP!

James P. Cannon was one of the CP leaders who first fought to come out from clandestinity when conditions opened up. The issue was taken to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow (1922), where Cannon talked with Trotsky, who expressed "astonishment" and "amusement" at the notion that the party had to maintain an illegal apparatus as a matter of principle. Subsequently, after Trotsky had taken the matter to Lenin, the Russian Comintern leaders intervened decisively in the American commission in favor of legalizing the party.

As Cannon pointed out 20 years later, at the time of the Minneapolis trials which eventually sent him and 17 other Trotskyist leaders to jail for their revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war:

> "We don't intend to surrender our possibilities of legal functioning at the very first blow. In spite of all they say, we are not 'conspirators.' We are a political movement and we want to work in the open. The advantages of public activity, agitation, propaganda, and organization are so superior and so much more economical than similar work carried out by illegal and underground means that a serious revolutionary party has to fight to the last ditch to maintain its legal rights."
>
> "Our Party's Answer to the Prosecution," October 1941

* * * * *

Bolshevik democratic centralism was based on deeper political factors than the need to defend against tsarist absolutism. But when Rosa Luxemburg made her famous attack on Lenin's party organization, she imagined that his concepts had been a response to the repressive Russian situation and that such a hierarchical structure and "conspiratorial" ideas would have no place in republican Europe. Yet gradually, particularly through the disastrous experience of the Spartakusbund as the left wing of the Independent Social Democrats (USPD), Luxemburg came to see the need for the organizational separation of the proletarian vanguard.

It was not Russian particularism or the necessities of underground functioning that lay at the heart of the Leninist party concept, but the relationship of the vanguard to the class. Because the communists represent the historic class interests of the international proletariat, and not the changing opinions or backward prejudices of the workers, they must be organized as the vanguard and not as the "party of the whole class." The organizational norm of this party, democratic centralism, enables the Marxists to work out their program internally through democratic discussion and debate and then as a combat organization fight for it in a disciplined manner within the class as a whole.

Democratic centralism is in no way conspiratorial and actually strengthens the integrity of the party vis-à-vis the masses. In loose social-democratic organizations party policy is often unclear. At the lowest levels party activists frequently are caught up in the prevailing mood of the class, while at the top the tremendous pressures exerted directly by the bourgeoisie are at work: "left" and right-wing party leaders present sharply contradictory lines. In Britain the parliamentary Labour Party frequently votes against decisions taken at the party's national conference, nominally its highest body. In a Bolshevik organization, in contrast, every member, having exercised his internal democratic rights in the determination of party policy, is duty-bound to fight for this stated policy.

* * * * *

It is useful to review the social-democratic objections to Leninism because many of the arguments raised by Steve Dunn are in a similar vein. His charge that the Bolshevik Revolution did not have majority support because the working class was a minority of the population is an old one. It was raised already before October by the Mensheviks and afterward by a counterrevolutionary alliance running from Kautsky through Winston Churchill to Leonard Shapiro, who all charged Lenin with taking power in a conspiratorial coup d'état.

This is flatly false. In the first place the Bolsheviks had won a solid majority in the workers soviets, and the will of the land-starved peasantry to carry out a revolution against the capitalist government was evident in the wave of peasant insurrection that swept the Russian countryside in the autumn of 1917. Already at the time of his "April Theses," Lenin had denounced the strategy of conspiracy:

> "But those who want to think and learn cannot fail to understand that Blanquism means the seizure of power by a minority, whereas the Soviets are *admittedly* the direct and immediate organization of the *majority* of the people. Work confined to a struggle for influence *within* these Soviets cannot, simply *cannot*, stray into the swamp of Blanquism."
>
> "Letters on Tactics," April 1917

As for concealing their aims, this can hardly be laid at the Bolsheviks' doorsteps. In June and again in the autumn they called for "all power to the soviets" an unambiguous slogan, which was well understood by Kerensky's provisional government and the Kornilov army even before the masses had fully grasped it. And in the early autumn, while Lenin was in hiding from the "democratic" police, the party circulated his pamphlet "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" which

discussed the question in concrete terms.

Mao's "Red Army" and Castro's "Rebel Army" certainly enjoyed popular support. However, in contrast to the Bolsheviks, the Maoists and Castroites came to power through bonapartist military methods rather than mass insurrection and were not responsible to the democratic institutions of the working masses. The Russian Communist Party at the time of Lenin was a democratic organization, and no Bolshevik oppositionist was subjected to state repression until Stalin had usurped power by a bureaucratic coup in the party. The fate of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Chiang Ching in Maoist China and the fact that Castro's personalist regime did not bother to hold the founding conference of the "ruling" Communist Party until 17 years after the Rebel Army took power should dispel any delusions in the "democratic" character of these Stalinist regimes.

Apart from the rather obvious assertion that a socialist revolution in an advanced capitalist country will be very different from the overthrow of capitalism in Russia, China and Cuba, Dunn says nothing about its concrete dynamics. Certainly it will have a greater chance to internationalize and thereby go forward toward socialism than did the isolated, backward Soviet Union. But, as in Russia, it will establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercised through organs of workers democracy.

* * * * *

Social Democracy has long spread the treacherous illusion that in advanced countries with a tradition of bourgeois democracy, the working-class majority could achieve victory over capitalism at the polls. Revolutionary Marxists expect to lead the "immense majority" to a victorious revolution, but we do not expect the revolution to be "voted in." Electoralist illusions, such as those purveyed in this country by the Socialist Workers Party, dangerously disarm the proletariat. While revolutionary communists seek to participate in bourgeois elections as a propaganda platform and *to assert our legality*, we must struggle against parliamentary majoritarian illusions, and help to prepare the workers for decisive class battles.

In reality, revolutionary situations arise not in an orderly process of voting at elections, but when the authority of the existing government is shattered by war, depression, economic austerity and fascist terror. Capitalism's "final solution" to the social anarchy it creates in times of economic crisis was demonstrated in Nazi Germany. In such cases, Trotskyists, unlike the Stalinists and Social Democrats, do not passively accept the "parliamentary verdict" engineered by a Hindenburg and a Hitler. Our commitment is to defend the democratic rights of the working people through revolutionary mass mobilization against the conspirators.

We said in "FBI Targets the Spartacist League":

> "A revolutionary conjuncture in the U.S. will be defined by the fact of *dual power*. Most probably it will pose the choice between the democratic soviets of the working class and a tottering bonapartist dictatorship headed by a militarist perhaps in the mold of General George Brown, unencumbered by the trappings of a Congress."

The choice facing the working class then would be to take power or become the victim of counterrevolutionary terror seeking to restabilize the bourgeois order. Therefore, revolutionaries, unlike parliamentary cretins and pacifists, stand with the boldness expressed by Trotsky on this alternative, which has faced workers in the past and will doubtless face them in the future: "We say in advance that we are ready to reject such an attempt with arms in hands, and crush the fascist dictatorship by a proletarian dictatorship" ("How We Defend Ourselves," 1940).

Like Lenin's Bolsheviks, communists in the advanced capitalist countries seek the greatest freedom to bring their program before the workers. It is those who seek to prevent this, who bug our offices, tap our phones, open our mail, blacklist our comrades, send in provocateurs, plant "disinformation," arrest and even murder revolutionary militants; it is the authors of disruption plans such as Operation CHAOS and COINTELPRO—in short, it is the capitalist political police and their masters who are the real conspirators.

Welfare, Minimum Wage, Anti-Discrimination

Carter/Courts Go After Unions, Minorities

"Democrats are no 'friends of labor'!" warned *Workers Vanguard* as election time rolled around last November. But it seems the labor bureaucrats weren't listening. Indeed, why should they? The labor tops' back-slapping with the political servants of the ruling class is part of a pro-capitalist strategy which is as conscious as it is despicable. On behalf of the Democrats, the labor fakers escorted the union ranks to the polls like sheep to the slaughter. They crowed over Carter's election and termed it a "victory for labor," just like the crumbs they beg from the bosses' tables and pass off as "good" contracts.

Now the cheering has stopped. The union "leaders" are squealing like stuck pigs about Carter's "betrayal" of his campaign promises. So what else is new? The injured innocence of Meany & Co. is as phony as a three-dollar bill.

Carter's determined assault on the working people and oppressed began the day he took office. In just a few short months the administration unleashed attacks on the minimum wage, the duration of unemployment compensation and its application to striking workers. A truly incredible court ruling will permit companies to finance their employees' suits against the unions.

New welfare proposals would force thousands of destitute people off the rolls and put others to work at hard labor at sub-minimal pay to keep a part of their welfare payment. Court decisions have denied disability pay to pregnant women and attempted to cut off Medicaid funds for abortions. School busing programs aimed at desegregation have been gutted and a Supreme Court ruling next fall may well provide the legal cover to wipe out minority admissions programs.

You Get What You Pay For

Immediately following the election, a Washington AFL-CIO leader was quoted as boasting:

> "'If it hadn't been for us, Carter wouldn't have a victory.' He also said that for the first time in eight years, 'we will have a friend in the White House'. "Then he added 'Unions are more responsive—and more responsible when we have a friend in the White House'."
>
> *Journal of Commerce*, 4 November 1976

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy smugly reported that more than 70 percent of the politicians it had endorsed were victors. Then they settled back in their easy chairs and waited for somebody to come along and scratch their backs.

A *New York Post* columnist put it this way:

> "They laughed when Jimmy Carter said that he was the first man in a millennium to be elected to the presidency without owing anything to anyone.
> "And nobody laughed louder than the kingpins of organized labor. [who] were sure that deep in his heart Carter felt indebted to them. How could he have won Ohio, or Pennsylvania, without the money, the pavement-pounding, the doorbell-ringing of organized labor?
> "Labor's laughter has turned to tears and cursing."
>
> Carl T. Rowan, *New York Post*, 31 March 1977

The *Wall Street Journal* (2 June) summarized the picture simply in an editorial page headline: "Labor Striking Out on Capitol Hill."

As soon as the new Congress assembled, the House defeated a construction-sites picketing bill—a simple measure which would merely have made it legal for the different craft unions working together on the same construction site to respect each other's picket lines. Then, in March, Carter refused to endorse the AFL-CIO's meager proposal to raise the current $2.30 an hour minimum wage (now 58 cents below the government poverty line) to $3.00, proposing instead an insulting 38-cent increase. The "people's president" then followed this up by predictably reneging on his earlier promise to work for repeal of section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, under which 20 states have outlawed the union shop. The repeal of the "right-to-work" clause—a key union objective for more than a generation—is crucial to any serious effort to organize the South.

But these were just the warm-ups, and in the last two weeks the government attacks have swung into high gear. On May 26 Joseph Califano announced that a new proposal to reorganize the welfare system includes a "workfare proposal" under which recipients without young children will be required to go to work or lose their welfare grants. Modeled on the "Milwaukee Plan" already in effect in that city, the system is designed to replace unionized civil-service workers with a welfare slave-army forced to work at pay rates which are not only below union scale, but often below the pathetic minimum wage.

Another part of the plan, calling for expanding the "accountable period," will spell disaster for seasonal workers. At present most families become eligible for welfare as soon as their assets and monthly income drop below a certain level; under the new proposal, income will be accounted over a six-month or one-year period. The paternalistic Carter moralizers explain that (in addition to paring down the government's budget deficit) the system will supposedly teach families how to "balance a budget"! Even a leftover from the Nixon administration, now at Brookings Institution, Richard P. Nathan, was moved to comment about this grotesque plan: "The whole stupidity of it is that you're telling somebody who's picking beans for four or five dollars an hour that they should save money."

Meanwhile, the courts—once the much-touted vanguard of liberal reform—have continued to whittle away at social gains for labor and minorities won through years of struggle. In a decision on May 31 the Supreme Court ruled 8-0 that states may refuse to pay unemployment benefits to any worker laid off because of a strike against his employer (even if the worker is not himself taking part in the labor action). The case was brought by Leonard Paul Hodory, a millwright apprentice at U.S. Steel in Youngstown, Ohio. In November 1974 Hodory was laid off when a UMW strike at a mine partly owned by U.S. Steel eventually led to a shut-down at the Youngstown plant due to reduced fuel supply. Hodory was denied unemployment compensation.

The Hodory decision followed only a week after a Manhattan federal district court had struck down a New York rule granting unemployment compensation to striking workers. "The law," said Judge Richard Owen, "is state intervention on behalf of the strikers, causes an employer to finance its own strikes, is in conflict with Federal labor law policies and is therefore unconstitutional and void." The ruling breathes righteous fire and brimstone for the constitutional "right" to exploit labor and break strikes.

The suit itself was brought by New York Telephone, Western Electric and AT&T Long Lines Division. It grew out of the seven-month 1971 CWA strike in which the phone company, under state law, was faced with having to pay for a large part of the $49 million paid out to strikers in unemployment compensation. Although a decision on whether the phone company will recover the money has not yet been made, the company was eager to get the law off the hooks before the present phone contract expires August 6. The capitalist courts complied.

On June 2 a federal judge declared

continued on page 8

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South Moluccan Kidnapping in Dutch Town

Der Spiegel

South Moluccan youth living in Holland pose before nationalist symbol.

JUNE 3 For the second time in 18 months extreme South Moluccan nationalists living in the Netherlands resorted to terrorist actions, taking a total of 167 hostages in two sieges last week. On Monday, May 23, six heavily armed South Moluccans seized the village school at Bovensmilde in northern Holland, holding 105 children and five teachers hostage. Not far away, near the village of Glimmen, seven of their comrades hijacked a train, taking 56 passengers and crewmen captive.

The terrorists' demands were that the government free 21 South Moluccans imprisoned for previous acts of terrorism and that it provide a Boeing 747 to fly all of them, plus their hostages, to an unspecified country. More generally, the kidnap hijack operation was aimed at pressuring the Dutch government into helping them gain independence for the South Moluccas, an island chain annexed by Indonesia shortly after Netherlands colonial rule in the East Indies collapsed in 1949.

This incident must certainly qualify as one of the more ludicrous, pitiful, impotent and inept terrorist acts of recent years, but an outrage nonetheless. It is *indefensible* random terror, its victims not hated oppressors but innocent children and travelers. The terrorists, moreover, appealed to Dutch imperialism—and through it to that vehicle for international imperialist intervention, the United Nations—to take action (break off diplomatic and trade relations) against its former colony. Aside from being reactionary, the South Moluccans' desperate act is also hopeless, for the Netherlands government is in no position to force Indonesia to do much of anything.

The strange double siege which is still unfolding in rural Holland is, however, significant in revealing the murderous logic of all nationalism, even the nationalism of the oppressed. For whatever else they aren't, the South Moluccans are certainly oppressed—and likely to become even more so as a result of this deadly escapade.

Unwanted Hijackers

The Dutch government lost no time in mobilizing its forces: hundreds of soldiers were quickly stationed around the train and placed on duty outside the school. At Bovensmilde, where the town's 750 South Moluccans live in a barracks-like housing project segregated from the Dutch population, police and Royal Dutch Marines immediately sealed off the community from the rest of the town. The few South Moluccans living outside this perimeter quickly fled to the police-barricaded ghetto, fearing attacks from enraged whites whose children were being held hostage.

Dutch authorities immediately announced that no discussions with the terrorists would take place until all schoolchildren had been released. They also stated that the hostages would under no circumstances be permitted to leave the country. The kidnappers allowed their initial deadline to pass without incident, and on the morning of May 27 one teacher and all the children (half of whom had apparently contracted a viral infection) were released.

By the ninth day of the siege, with their prospects steadily dimming, the terrorists had apparently softened their demands, no longer insisting that the hostages be taken with them if they left the country in a government-provided airplane (*New York Times*, 1 June). Mediators have also been agreed upon, among them the widow of South Moluccan nationalist leader Soumokil, who was killed by the Indonesian government in 1966. Reportedly the main item presently under negotiation is the destination of the kidnappers' plane.

An indication of the hopelessness of the South Moluccan cause is that not a country in the world has been found that will accept them. Diplomats from Iraq and Somalia denounced all terror (!) and adamantly refused to take the gunmen. It is also unlikely, according to the Amsterdam daily *De Telegraf* (26 May), that either Libya or Algeria would take them. In London a spokesman for South Yemen condemned the hostage incident as an "ordinary, criminal act." Noting that his government had previously granted hijackers' requests for asylum, he explained that this had not resulted in the best foreign relations, adding: "We have absolutely no desire to become the refuse dump for Western Europe."

The current hostage incident is the sequel to one in December 1975, when South Moluccan nationalists hijacked a train in northern Holland and seized the Indonesian consulate in Amsterdam. Those two sieges lasted almost three weeks, resulting in the death of four hostages. The 13 gunmen involved received prison terms ranging from six to 14 years.

Hapless Former Colonial Mercenaries

Both recent incidents have been the work of extreme nationalists among the young generation of South Moluccans who are frustrated by their situation as a racially oppressed refugee community in the Netherlands. Numbering about 40,000, the South Moluccans living in Holland are descendants of East Asian and African slaves who were taken to the islands to work on Dutch plantations. Through several centuries of colonial rule in the East Indies, the South Moluccans were used by the Dutch to fight their colonial battles. Many of them converted to Christianity to emphasize their links to the European rulers of this largely Muslim colony.

During World War II the Dutch East Indies were occupied by the Japanese. The latter strengthened nationalism in the islands by eradicating the use of Dutch and making Indonesian the national language. Dutch and Eurasians who had not managed to escape were interned in concentration camps, and the former colonial administrators and

Dagblad de Telegraaf

Train seized by South Moluccans.

officials were replaced by native Indonesians. Unlike the South Moluccans, only a small number of native Indonesians had been recruited into the Dutch colonial army, so that Japan also gave the Indonesians their first large-scale military training.

With the Japanese surrender in 1945 the Dutch were confronted with a Japanese-trained nationalist army when they attempted to restore colonial rule in Indonesia. War between the Indonesian nationalist movement and the Dutch (supported by the British) continued until December 1949, when the Netherlands pulled out of all the area except West New Guinea and turned the reins of power over to the Republic of Indonesia.

Soon after the formation of the republic, however, regional rebellions backed by the Dutch colonial army broke out. The most serious was in the South Moluccas, the historic recruiting ground for colonial mercenaries. Here the initiative came from Soumokil, an Ambonese, who in April 1950 proclaimed the "Republic of the South Moluccas." The horror stories of demobilized colonial soldiers who had returned home to spread fears of a Java-ruled, Islam-dominated, "communistic" republican Indonesia whipped up popular support for the uprising.

The first response of Sukarno's republican government in Jakarta was to discuss the rebels' grievances, but the South Moluccans refused to allow the would-be negotiators to proceed to Ambon, the capital of the East Indonesian archipelago. Meanwhile they appealed to outside imperialist powers—in particular to the Netherlands, the United States, Australia—and the UN for recognition and support. Eventually Indonesia decided on military action, and by December 1950 the rebellion was decisively crushed.

Everybody's Victims

After the defeat of the ex-colonial forces, about 12,000 of those involved in the secession effort were taken to the Netherlands by the Dutch as refugees. When they arrived they were herded into an abandoned Nazi concentration camp in Westerdork. Although they fervently expected that their former masters would soon "liberate" the Moluccas and enable them to return, the Dutch colonial empire had clearly been smashed for good. The result has been that the South Moluccans are now a deeply oppressed minority in both the Netherlands, where there is much contempt for the dark-skinned former slaves from the colonies, and in Indonesia, where the nationalist victors had no mercy for the pro-Dutch islanders.

In fact, after the nationalist victory in 1950, thousands of suspected separatists were rounded up or chased into the jungles of nearby islands. Hundreds were put to death for collaboration with the short-lived "Republic of the South Moluccas." Today, living costs in the isolated and backward (even by Indonesian standards) island group are the highest in the country; in addition, the Moluccas receive almost no government investment, and their inhabitants are ruled over as a subjugated people by Javanese bureaucrats.

To this picture must be added the notorious brutality of the dictatorship of General Suharto, which murdered more than half a million leftist and non-Muslim workers and peasants upon taking power in 1965 and still keeps tens of thousands locked up in jungle concentration camps today. The last terrorist incident in the Netherlands touched off an intense wave of repression by Indonesian officials in the Moluccas, when large numbers of suspected separatists were rounded up and detained. South Moluccans living on the islands understandably fear more government terror this time around and likely view the antics of the young nationalists in the Netherlands as doing them more harm than good.

The South Moluccan community in the Netherlands has remained extremely isolated, most of it living in camps and housing projects in rural areas. Part of this isolation is undoubtedly self-imposed by a proud people who, duped by Dutch imperialism, had previously enjoyed relatively high status in the colonies. However, their constant experience of discrimination has been a source of much frustration for the new generation of Dutch-speaking but unassimilated South Moluccan youth. Much of their anger is simply vented through street gang brawls with Dutch youth and petty vandalism. To the extent that their rebelliousness has a political character it is confined to the reactionary pro-colonialist nationalism of their parents.

No Reliance on Imperialism—Down with Indiscriminate Terror!

"Classical" anarchist individual terrorism, which seeks out symbols or

representatives of imperialist/capitalist oppression, has always been rejected by Marxists as an ineffective program, an act of despair rather than a strategy to free the exploited from their chains. But in this case, as in a number of recent incidents, we are dealing with random terrorism that takes as its victims innocent members of the population. This action, whatever its purported aim, is a crime against the working people and is wholly indefensible. Nor is indiscriminate terror a mere aberration, but a logical consequence of nationalism, which ultimately sees the entire "alien" population as the enemy, or at least fair game.

In this incident, moreover, not only is the action of the terrorists indefensible but their aims are equally reactionary. The attempt to pressure Dutch imperialism to grant "independence" for the South Moluccas has the same character as their rebellion against Indonesian nationalists in 1950. Its implementation could only result in the establishment of a client state, a military outpost of imperialism. While a utopian dream in the case of the "Republic of the South Moluccas," it was a more direct question in the case of East Timor resistance to Indonesian takeover of that former Portuguese colony in late 1975. While denouncing the Indonesian army invasion, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand opposed any appeals for intervention by Australia or any reliance on the (suddenly "progressive") Portuguese colonial army.

In no sense a part of the left or workers movement, the South Moluccan terrorists get no defense from Marxists. At the same time, we adamantly oppose further persecution of the oppressed South Moluccan populations. This people, once the servants of Dutch colonialism, has become one of its tragic victims, outcasts in both Holland and their native islands. The pathetic appeals to Dutch imperialism, and terrorism against innocent victims on the part of South Moluccan nationalist desperados, serve only to deepen their oppression in the Netherlands and Indonesia.

Marxists unconditionally fight for the independence of the colonial countries from the imperialist powers, even where the result is the murderous regime of an Amin or a Suharto. By wiping the colonial question off the agenda, the masses can more easily see the need to fight their "own" national exploiters and the imperialist system, of which the bourgeoisies of the backward countries (whether nationalist or "neo-colonial") are an integral part.

The plight of numerous minor peoples—from the Berbers and the Kurds to the Tamils, Timorese and Moluccans—smarting under the tyranny of nationalist despots will be answered only through proletarian revolution. Its leadership can come only from Trotskyist parties which, unlike the Stalinists who prop up myriad "progressive" "Third World" dictators (e.g., Sukarno or Bandaranaike), struggle to smash all regimes of capitalist oppression and to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Spanish Elections...

(continued from page 1)

last month five Basque demonstrators were killed by police bullets and over 50 were wounded. In response, a massive strike wave erupted, culminating in a 600,000-strong general strike on May 16. Moreover, on May 20 a former Franco-loyal Bilbao mayor and personal friend of Juan Carlos, Javier de Ybarra y Bergé, was kidnapped – presumably by ETA nationalists—and was held hostage to demand the release of the Basque political prisoners. As the electoral period was about to open on May 24, Basque political organizations—ranging from the left to the nationalists—announced their intentions to boycott unless the police terror is halted and the remaining political prisoners amnestied.

Bilbao/Cambio 16

Cops break up Basque demonstration.

In the hope of rescuing the elections, the government backed down and has to date released the vast majority of political prisoners. Moreover, provisions have been made for those accused of "crimes of blood"—by and large Basque separatists—to be deported into exile. Among those who have been sent abroad are five defendants from the infamous 1970 Burgos military tribunal. As we go to press, the question of how many Basque political prisoners remain, and the impact of the government's deportation scheme on the possibility of an election boycott in that region, is unclear.

Democracy and Dictatorship

It is precisely because of the raging pre-revolutionary situation in Spain that political activity is spreading to previously passive regions and sectors of the population. Strikes, which Trotsky noted in the 1930's were the elementary form of the proletariat coming to political awareness, have increased dramatically. Last year's strike activity—all of which was illegal—was greater than that of the previous ten years combined. Even the new Ford plant in Valencia, for example, with its hand-picked workforce has locked out its 7,000 workers in response to repeated labor actions. And in the countryside, Andalusian farm laborers, who had bowed before the *caciques* and Guardia Civil since the civil war, staged a protest strike against the government's economic policies earlier this spring.

The mainstay of the mass demonstrations, however, has been political. As Trotsky noted about Italy under Mussolini in 1930:

> "If the revolutionary crisis were to break out...the masses of toilers, workers as well as peasants, would certainly follow up their economic demands with democratic slogans (such as freedom of assembly, of press, of trade-union organization, democratic representation in parliament and in the municipalities).
>
> —"Problems of the Italian Revolution"

Marxists do not stand aloof from these struggles but actively champion the democratic demands of the working masses. Repeatedly we have raised calls for the abolition of the special repressive apparatuses of Francoism—the Guardia Civil, the anti-riot brigades, the armed police, the Tribunal of Public Order, the Social-Political Brigades, etc. We have demanded the immediate release of all victims of reactionary Francoist repression. The Spanish people must have the right to free assembly and expression, and an end to censorship; the working class must win full trade-union freedoms and the final abolition of the CNS.

A crucial democratic demand in Spain today is recognition of the right to national self-determination for the oppressed nationalities in Spain, notably the Basques and Catalans. And we demand an end to government prohibitions on political parties and the right of all parties to participate in the elections.

As Marxists we point out that these democratic demands will be won not by polite negotiations with the Francoist dinosaurs in their gilded staterooms but through militant working-class struggle in the streets and factories. Thus we have called for turning the sporadic "jornadas de lucha" (days of struggle) into an unlimited general strike to win the democratic freedoms which the Spanish working people are fervently fighting for; and for building through such a strike the workers councils (soviets) which could unite the power of the proletariat to topple the Francoist regime, replacing it with a workers government which alone could guarantee these rights of the exploited and oppressed.

But at the same time we are faced with an immediate threat to winning the most complete democracy for the working people, namely the attempts of the bourgeois parties and their wretched collaborators in the workers movement to "negotiate" a reform of Francoism. So long as the state apparatus remains intact, the repressive corps the same and the autocratic politicians the same—although thinly disguised now in "democratic" garb—"reformed" Francoism will only serve to prolong the "strong state" which has oppressed the overwhelming mass of the Spanish people for the last 40 years. The demand "No to 'reformed' Francoism—For a democratic constituent assembly elected on universal suffrage!" can win the support of large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie to the workers' leadership, as well as expose the treacherous negotiations of the bourgeois democrats and the reformists who would preserve much of the bonapartist apparatus out of fear of the consequences of a truly revolutionary upheaval.

The Francoist elections do not usher in a period of bourgeois democracy in Spain. Not only is the electoral mechanism patently undemocratic (e.g., the disproportionate weight of different regions), but the Cortes is based on acceptance of the monarchy, the army and the "inviolability of the Spanish state." The king retains the right to appoint up to 20 percent of both houses of the Cortes. The prime minister is appointed by the monarch and in turn appoints the council of ministers—who have the right to enact decree laws.

There remain 67 parties which are illegal and denied participation in the elections. These range from the Carlists (the rival pretenders to the crown, who fought on the side of Franco during the Civil War but today claim to be for "self-managing" socialism) to the parties of the "far-left." (Various "far-left" candidates, however, are running as individuals in the elections.) In addition, the government controls access to the media and through the banks can determine the funds available to each party for its campaign.

The elections thus do not present the Spanish people with a democratic means of expressing and enforcing their political will. A mass revolutionary party would seek to do away with this abomination of a pseudo-parliament by fighting for a fully democratic constituent assembly. If necessary, and if the mood of the masses was such that it could have a major impact, the communists would call for an active boycott of elections such as those of June 15.

However, the existing reformist leaderships have ensured that, barring sharp changes in the political situation and with the possible exception of the Basque country, the masses of the workers will vote in the Francoist elections. For a small Trotskyist propaganda group to call for abstention on principle in such a situation would be a useless exercise in self-isolation. If the revolutionaries are not strong enough to prevent these rigged elections or gut them of any meaning, then they should

continued on page 7

"La Pasionaria": Voice of Resistance or Echo of Betrayal?

On May 13 Dolores Ibarruri, the Stalinist orator known to the world as "La Pasionaria," returned to Spain after 38 years' exile in the Soviet Union. The wife of an Asturian miner who rose during the civil war to become a leader of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE), Ibarruri was named the party's president during the exile years. Her return to Spain followed by a month the PCE's legalization by Prime Minister Suárez. Ibarruri will head the party's Asturias slate in this June's parliamentary elections.

Ibarruri slipped quietly back into the country. Party members were told not to go to Madrid airport to greet her arrival, and as soon as the plane touched down she was unceremoniously whisked off to an unknown location. According to the 14 May *New York Times*, the PCE had reached what one member called "a gentleman's agreement" with Suárez not to give Ibarruri a tumultuous welcome which might "offend" the "entrenched Francoists in the bureaucracy and the military." Thus, just as during the Spanish civil war the Stalinists strove to uphold "Republican legality" (i.e., the capitalist order), today the PCE maintains the "tranquility" of the "reformed" Francoist monarchy.

But if the PCE was playing down Ibarruri's return, the foreign bourgeois press was playing it up, with the *New York Times*, for example, trumpeting the return of "the living communist legend." The same imperialist "democrats" who led the fight against sending arms to the Republic and then supported the murderous Franco reign for decades wish to clear their names with an empty gesture of journalistic "amnesty." So now they hypocritically wax nostalgic for the good old days when the fiery voice of "La Pasionaria" was broadcast from loudspeakers throughout Madrid urging resistance against the fascists. In Ibarruri's return and the PCE's legalization the liberals seek to polish up Suárez' "reform" image, badly tattered after police brutally attacked May Day demonstrations early this month and injured hundreds throughout Spain.

To those who lived through the anxious weeks and months of the siege of Madrid, and to the world proletariat which shared from afar the anguish of the fallen martyrs, the memory of that heroic battle was and remains an inspiration to struggle. Far be it from the Trotskyists to denigrate La Pasionaria's fiery cry of defiance, "*¡No pasarán!*"—"They will not pass!" Captured for history in the documentary movie "To Die in Madrid," Ibarruri's voice echoing throughout the capital urging the women of Spain to pour boiling oil on Franco's invading army will not be forgotten. But beyond the image of the eloquent La Pasionaria now being so carefully cultivated lies the other side of her role which must also be remembered—that of the vicious Stalinist hatchetman and rabid anti-communist hack who spared no occasion to slander and denounce all those who proclaimed the need for revolution to win the civil war.

Slander and Murder Against the Barcelona Workers

"It is better," Ibarruri cried, quoting Mexican peasant revolutionary Emiliano Zapata in her famous speech, "to die on your feet than live on your knees." But pass the fascists did, to drown the Spanish workers in blood while the Stalinists held open the door. With its refusals to form unified workers militias, its preaching of reliance on the bourgeois army under the "reliable" officers—many of whom soon went over to Franco, surrendering entire cities to the fascists—the PCE prepared the proletariat for defeat.

From the very moment of the army rebellion, Communist Party sabotage of the workers resistance had begun. Just the day before La Pasionaria was to make her "No pasarán" speech, on 17 July 1936 when Franco was about to rise up in Spanish Morocco, the PCE in the Popular Front was *suppressing* news of the invasion as an excuse to refuse the demands of the thousands of workers who had marched on the presidential palace demanding arms! When, nearly a year later, during the 1937 May Days, the Barcelona proletariat attempted to break the chains of the bourgeois government which kept the guns under lock and key and starved the munitions factories for supplies—it was only the small Trotskyist Sección Bolchevique-Leninista de España and the left-anarchist "Friends of Durruti" which fought to the end on the side of the workers.

At that time a revolutionary policy would have mobilized the masses of workers and peasants in an enormous social struggle against capitalist exploitation, such a revolutionary policy would have split Franco's army along class lines and left the fascist generals at the front without any soldiers. But the PCE, and its Catalan component the PSUC, true to Stalin's guarantee to his bourgeois allies that there would be no social revolution in Spain, manned the government barricades to put down the revolt.

In her autobiography written thirty years later, Ibarruri tries to play down the PCE's role in smashing the Barcelona rising:

> "During my long years in exile, many comrades have frequently asked me: Could the Communist Party have seized power in Spain? And if it could have, then why didn't it?...
>
> "If at a given moment of the war, for example, in 1937, when the Largo Caballero government was in crisis, certain conditions existed which would have permitted the seizure of power, the Communists did not do so (although many of our combatants desired it) for a basic reason: neither the national nor international situation was favorable to such a change."
>
> Dolores Ibarruri, *They Shall Not Pass* (1966)

In retrospect Ibarruri sounds mellow. This is a far cry from the frothing spleen and downright slander she unleashed at the time against the revolutionary workers and Trotskyists, which has been preserved for history in her report to the Central Committee, delivered in Madrid on 23 May 1938:

> "It has been them, the Trotskyist criminals, who have constantly fanned the flames of disunity among the anti-fascist forces. It was they who organized the counterrevolutionary putsch in May 1937, with the aim of stabbing the heroic defenders of Euzkadi [Basque region] in the back, when the enemy had launched his brutal attack against them.
>
> "It has been they who have figured in the leadership of the greater number of the fascist espionage organizations which have been discovered up to the present by the Republic authorities...
>
> "It was they who, in those few places where they were able to deceive a few workers, as for example in Gerona, incited them to conduct strikes so as to prevent the population from having refuges to protect them against aggression from the air. ...
>
> "There can be no hesitation of any kind, no sentimentality in the face of this gang of criminals. One of the results of the complete unity of the people must be to smash them once and for all."

Socias/Cambio 16

Dolores Ibarruri with Carrillo in Madrid.

Kappa Press

Dolores Ibarruri addressing Republican rally in 1938.

But the Stalinists did more than slander the Barcelona workers. A PCE functionary commanded the Republican assault guards unit which precipitated the May Days uprising by attempting to seize control of the Barcelona Telefónica from the anarchist-led workers committee. While the CNT (anarchist labor federation) refused to support the workers resistance, the centrist POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) for several days fought on the barricades together with the Barcelona workers, until its leaders took fright and ordered POUM militants to lay down their arms. The POUM leadership's treachery did not protect the POUM militants from becoming the object of a murderous witchhunt, spearheaded by the Stalinists, which eventually resulted in the assassination of POUM leader Andrès Nin, a former Trotskyist.

Today, PCE leader Santiago Carrillo wishes to wash his hands of the assassination of Nin, calling this in his book *Eurocomunismo y Estado* "an abominable and unjustifiable act." But Carrillo was head of the Stalinist youth organization at the time, and Dolores Ibarruri was a member of the PCE's political bureau. Their Pontius Pilate act conflicts with the historical record. In his book, *Yo Fui Ministro de Stalin*, the PCE minister of education in the Republican governments of Caballero and Negrin, Jesús Hernandez, reports the following reply by La Pasionaria to the question of who ordered the arrest of Nin: "We did, since there was no point in getting upset over such a minor matter... What is so important about the police detaining a handful of provocateurs and spies?"

"The Government of Victory"

Along with Ibarruri's "No pasarán" speech, she is best remembered for coining the slogan "El Gobierno de la Victoria" in reference to the Negrin government, and for her speech at the departure of the International Brigades from Spain. On both of these occasions, her fiery words masked unspeakable crimes perpetrated by the Stalinists upon the workers of Spain.

The Negrin (based on the famous "13 Points" guaranteeing protection of capitalist property, an end to land seizures and withdrawal of *all* foreign armies) came to power as a result of the PCE's decision to topple the previous regime led by the Socialist Largo Caballero. After the Barcelona revolt the Stalinists had decided that Caballero could not be relied upon to carry out the repression of the left which was now on the agenda. "On May 9, 1937," writes Ibarruri in her autobiography, "after Largo Caballero had refused to punish those who were playing into the enemy's hands" (i.e., launch a round-up of POUM and anarchist leaders) the PCE refused to participate in the government unless he resigned. Caballero acceded

continued on page 8

Spanish Elections...

(continued from page 5)

seek to use them as a forum for their propaganda.

"Platajunta" and the Elections

Throughout the pre-revolutionary situation in Spain, both the PCE and the PSOE have amply demonstrated their fundamental commitment to the politics of class collaboration. Each coalesced popular-front alliances with bourgeois forces ranging from nationalists to christian democrats (including the butcher of the 1934 Asturian miners insurrection, José María Gil Robles) to the Borbón and Carlist monarchists. For the PCE it was the Junta Democrática, for the PSOE the Platform of Democratic Convergence.

During their drive for legalization, neither party attempted to mobilize the proletariat to wrest democratic rights from the Francoist state; instead, both turned to ever-larger popular-front formations. In March 1976, the Junta Democrática and the Platform of Democratic Convergence merged to become the Coordinación Democrática better known as the "Platajunta." In this omnibus body were to be found the three major trade-union federations, the syndicalist/Maoist organizations, nationalists of all stripes, bourgeois forces, and, of course, the socialists of the crown (the Carlists). Uniting these disparate forces was the joint commitment to bourgeois class rule in post-Franco Spain and to "negotiate" for "democracy" with the Caudillo's successors. The "Platajunta" reached its political climax in January following the release of Santiago Carrillo when the "Commission of 10" was drawn in for joint discussions with Suárez over the application of Francoist "democracy."

Since then, and in particular in the wake of the legalization of 156 political associations, the Coordinación Democrática has fallen into disuse. With the exception of the indigenous Catalan popular front, the Assemblea de Catalunya, the legalized parties have pursued formally independent electoral campaigns *—but explicitly committed to the continuation of class collaboration.*

After a touch of momentary leftist bravado when the rival "historical" wing of social democracy was legalized, the PSOE has settled in to wheel and deal among the Francoists. At a recent public meeting honoring François Mitterrand and Mário Soares, PSOE leader Felipe González ostentatiously shared the platform with deposed UDC leader and former minister of foreign affairs Areilza. All the while rumors abound of a Suárez-González "center-left" coalition if the AP manages to forestall Suárez' maneuvers to gain a "center" majority in the Cortes.

From Treachery to Outright Grovelling

Most dramatic, however, has been the open prostration and grovelling of the Communist Party at the feet of the Francoists. For the past two years, since the massive demonstrations at the time of the death of Franco and the execution of the five nationalist prisoners, we have exposed the PCE's policy of holding back any and all popular struggles in search of bourgeois "respectability." The PCE has repeatedly boycotted and betrayed their own demonstrations to appease the present government.

First there was the fizzled "hot autumn" of class struggle in 1976: this came to naught when the PCE failed to mobilize even the workers it leads for its own November general strike. Then following the January murder of five Communist supporters at the Atocha street locale of the Workers Commissions (PCE dominated trade unions) by fascist gunmen, the PCE took the occasion to line up squarely behind Suárez. As hundreds of thousands of workers occupied the streets of Madrid and Barcelona the PCE attempted to sabotage the protest and went so far as to sign a joint declaration with Suárez, the PSOE and other representatives of the "Platajunta" counseling "serenity" in the face of fascist attacks. PCE leader Simón Sánchez Montero tried to give proof of the party's responsibility by crying out "¡Viva España!"—the traditional battle cry of the far-right—to a room full of startled newsmen.

The PCE again refused to mobilize the restive proletariat in support of May Day demonstrations *it had itself called.* Again, when the PCE was legalized on April 10, even though the membership had been prepared for a horn-honking motorcade and mass rally to celebrate the event, all demonstrations were canceled. As in the case of the protests after the Atocha killings, the excuse was the threat of an army coup d'état. To this danger Santiago Carrillo gave the classic reformist response: do nothing, don't upset the right. Its pattern of demobilizing the workers continues.

But the most dramatic recent betrayal came in response to the May 16 Basque general strike. In Madrid tens of thousands of workers heeded the call for solidarity with the Basque demonstrations against the government. However, this time the PCE openly refused to endorse any solidarity strikes and urged the Basques to return to work so as not to "jeopardize the elections." The CC.OO. tops called *on the Basque workers* "not to further aggravate the situation in Spain." As thousands of riot police and Guardia Civil disgorged live ammunition into crowds of demonstrators and shouted orders of "Shoot to kill!" the Workers Commissions and PCE leaders were concerned only "for the elections to unfold as freely as possible in a climate of peace" (*Le Monde*, 18 May).

Strikebreaking in the service of Suárez has not been the only example of PCE betrayal. To benefit its new "democratic" image the PCE has dropped a few "encumbrances" from the past. Gone is (of course) any reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and now even the clenched fist salute (which Carrillo claims is too "reminiscent" of the civil war). In their place the party has accepted the red-yellow monarchist flag—what Republicans call the flag of "blood and gold"—as "their own" and that of "all Spaniards."

Gone too is any opposition to the Francoist monarchy. Now the PCE central committee declares, "if the monarchy continues to advance on the track of reestablishing liberty and democracy, the communists seated in the next Cortes will be able to consider the crown as the constitutional regime" (*Rouge*, 18 April 1977)

Gone as well is the opposition to NATO and American bases in Spain, and the opposition to entry into the Common Market. Instead, Carrillo fancies himself the head of the leading pro-imperialist "Euro-communist" party—a party which went on record thanking Jimmy Carter for their legalization.

Now there is not even a vestige of opposition to Suárez and Juan Carlos from the PCE. The *New York Times* (17 May) was led to comment:

> "Curiously, one of Mr. Suárez' strongest tactical allies of the moment is Santiago Carrillo, the 62-year-old secretary general of the Communist Party. Grateful to the Prime Minister for legalizing his party, the veteran politician lashes out regularly at the Popular Alliance."

To dispel the last shred of "curiosity," Carrillo, in a public press conference, stated, "Not only am I not neutral to Suárez, I am *pro*-Suárez"!

Conditional Opposition to the PCE and PSOE

Unable to boycott and smash the Francoist elections through militant class struggles, a Trotskyist propaganda group in Spain would seek to wage a fight against "reformed" Francoism by launching its own candidates, or, if it is unable to do this, to give critical support to candidates of another working-class party. However, the candidacies of the PCE and PSOE are the direct continuation of the popular-frontist policies which paved the way for Franco's seizure of power. Marxists stand on the principle of class independence of the proletariat and, therefore, can give no electoral support to parties engaged in popular-front alliances. The disuse of the Coordinación Democrática during the election period does not change the fundamental character of the PCE and PSOE slates.

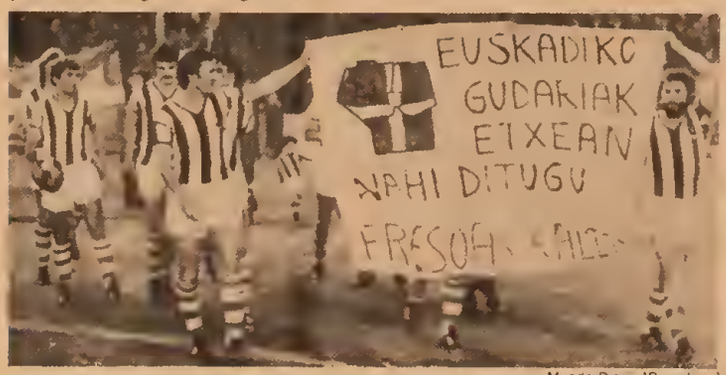
In 1975 the international Spartacist tendency refused critical support to the Portuguese Communist Party *both* for its class-collaborationist alliances and for its explicit support to the bonapartist MFA control of the state apparatus. In Portugal, as in Spain today, not only organizational independence but a campaign directed *against* the incumbent government regime must be a precondition for critical electoral support.

As a result of the popular-front coalitions (although tenuous) and the support of the PCE and PSOE to the Francoist government, Marxists must stand in conditional opposition to both these reformist parties. We call on the

continued on page 8

Leonard Freed/Magnum

Fascist rally in Bilbao.



Mundo Diario [Barcelona]

Because of the repression, sports events have become a traditional means for political expression.

Gamma

Juan Carlos

Robert Royal

Premier Suárez

"La Pasionaria"

(continued from page 6)

and was replaced by Juan Negrin Lopez. It was on the occasion of the formation of the new cabinet that Ibarruri christened the Negrín regime "the government of victory." It went on to smash all remnants of the workers rebellion, and prepare for the final surrender to Franco.

In late 1938 the International Brigades were withdrawn from Spain, a decision which grew out of Stalin's desire to arrange the Hitler/Stalin pact. Following the capitulation of the Western powers to Hitler at Munich, Stalin, seeing the futility of an agreement with the imperialist democracies, shifted his international orientation and decided to hand Spain over to Franco. It was on the International Brigades' last march out of Spain that Ibarruri made the speech now remembered so fondly by the liberals: "You can go proudly," she told the departing troops who were abandoning the Spanish proletariat to its fate. "You are history," she said, "you are legend. You are a heroic example of democracy's solidarity and universality."

Just as nearly 35 years later, the Chilean popular front prepared the way for the Pinochet coup of 11 September 1973, by counseling confidence in the "constitutionalist" officer corps, so in Spain in early 1939 the PCE's trusted Republican colonel Segismundo Casado staged a coup in Madrid to unseat the Negrín government which still favored, if weakly, armed resistance against Franco. The Communist Party which had collaborated with Casado all the way down the line was profoundly disoriented by his "betrayal." In her memoirs Ibarruri writes that "the formation of Casado's junta with the purpose of surrendering the Republic came as a surprise because of our misplaced confidence." She describes a meeting with Casado only days before his coup in which she had requested his cooperation in storing some food shipments the PCE had received from an anti-fascist women's organization abroad:

> "Casado was not only willing to aid us; he even became enthusiastic about our plans. He kept talking about how difficult it was to obtain food for the population.
>
> "Our conversation was so cordial that before I left he insisted that I see his little boy. He called one of the servants in his home to bring over the child, who was truly, like all healthy two-year-olds, a beautiful baby.
>
> "How far I was from imagining that this man had already made plans to betray the Republic and surrender the people to fascism."

Yet even at this late date the struggle was not necessarily lost. In his book *The Spanish Civil War*, Hugh Thomas writes that in the final days while Casado was negotiating the terms of surrender with Franco, Communist-led forces remained in control of Madrid and their strength during this period was such that, had the party ordered it, the PCE could have easily defeated Casado's forces and prevented the junta's consolidation. But the Central Committee, profoundly disoriented by the coup, refused to offer the generals any direction.

Learning of Casado's orders to arrest the Communists, the Central Committee Ibarruri included—managed to escape to a small air base. Standing by a waiting airplane the leadership received word that Casado was refusing at all costs to be reconciled with Negrín. The Central Committee members simply boarded the plane and flew to France, leaving the army without instructions. Thus the Communist commanders who had control of the city militarily simply waited to be defeated!

Today, while assuming a "ceremonial" position as chairman of Carrillo's "Eurocommunist" PCE, Dolores Ibarruri has continued to praise the "socialist fatherland" of Brezhnev and Stalin. Trotskyists unconditionally defend the Soviet deformed workers state against imperialist attack, something that it is increasingly questionable that Carrillo & Co. would do. But we continue to denounce the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which ordered the assassination of Nin and Trotsky and continues to suppress proletarian democracy in the USSR.

The *New York Times* reported that at La Pasionaria's first public meeting, a mass gathering in the Basque country, a small group (allegedly Trotskyist) in the audience shouted out that Dolores Ibarruri should be sent to a psychiatric institute an allusion to the Kremlin bureaucracy's practice of locking up dissidents, particularly avowed socialists, in mental hospitals. We do not believe that Dolores Ibarruri's crimes against the international proletariat are a mental aberration, nor are we willing, as she requests, to "forget these little stories" from the Spanish civil war. We seek a workers commission of inquiry to reveal the true facts about the Stalinists' vile murders of the Spanish Trotskyists, POUM and anarchist militants, beginning with Nin. And above all we demand the handing over of *that man*, Ramón Mercader, the assassin of Leon Trotsky, who to this day remains a member of the Spanish Communist Party. We will know what to do with him! ■

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181

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Spanish Elections...

(continued from page 7)

working-class ranks of these two parties to force their leaders to break from their bourgeois popular-front allies and particularly from the Suárez government as the condition to any electoral support.

Elections in Euzkadi

The June 15 elections—in addition to all their other drawbacks and limitations—are not taking place under conditions of bourgeois democracy. In response to demonstrations and mass mobilizations, the hated special police squads have unleashed a terror fully the equal of that under Franco himself. In areas where the level of official terror is so intense as to prevent anything even resembling free elections, or where parties representing a substantial proportion of working people are outlawed, the elections can take on the character of a Francoist plebiscite. Trotskyists would, in such cases, join with the masses of workers in an active boycott of the fraudulent elections. This may well be the direction of events in the Basque region and could be the case also in the Canary Islands.

There is no point to calling for boycott unless there is a real chance of success. However, in Euzkadi, under the worst police rampages seen in many years, the Basque people have held out and fought back. Town after town was overrun by police-state invasions. Peaceful demonstrations were fired upon; first with rubber bullets, then with live ammunition. But the resolve to fight has not dissipated. In the last month barricades have gone up in Vitoria, Renteria, San Sebastian and Bilbao. Strikes continue to this date.

By the admission of a leading bourgeois politician, "here in Euzkadi we are not in an electoral atmosphere. Those who vote will go to vote in a state of fear" (*New York Times*, 21 May). Although many Basque militants have

Carter/ Courts Go After Union, Minorities...

(continued from page 3)

unconstitutional a law barring employers from financing their own employees' suits against the union. An outraged Joe Rauh, the lawyer for the unions involved, bitterly remarked, "Our entire American labor policy has been based on keeping employers out of union affairs." What hypocrisy from the lawyer for Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski, the man who had made his living for years by taking the unions to court!

In the midst of these anti-labor decisions, the Supreme Court made a surprise ruling May 31 in favor of a Teamsters local representing workers at a Lubbock, Texas, shipping firm, ruling that seniority systems which perpetuate the effects of past racial discrimination are "not necessarily" illegal. At issue was a Teamsters/company hiring system in which seniority for picking assignments, hours and other working conditions was granted by unit. Thus, blacks who in the past were declared ineligible for higher-paying over-the-road jobs would have to give up their seniority and start at the bottom if they transferred into these jobs now. In the majority opinion, Justice Potter Stewart said:

> "Although a seniority system inevitably tends to perpetuate the effects of pre-act discrimination in such cases, the Congressional judgment was that Title VII should not outlaw use of existing seniority lists and thereby destroy or water down the vested seniority rights of employees simply because their employer had engaged in discrimination prior to the act."

While the ruling took the side of the union in this case, its motivation was solely to protect bourgeois interests. The capitalists, particularly in the steel and telephone industries, have lately been screaming bloody murder that the present interpretation of the 1965 Civil Rights Act has forced gigantic financial settlements in back-pay reparations to women and minorities subjected to job discrimination. The present decision is expected to put a lid on the growing number of class action suits by the affected women and blacks. Moreover, by ruling that workers must now prove *intent* to discriminate, the courts generalize a stipulation which they have used previously to gut busing programs in many cities.

Class-struggle militants must combat the effects of job discrimination against women and blacks through plant-wide seniority systems. At the same time, they must *oppose* the capitalist government, using liberal rhetoric, rewriting and outlawing union-negotiated seniority systems. Courts out of the unions! The Texas Teamster decision was not a blow for trade-union independence. Rather it was a deliberate underwriting of racist practices by the employer, practices backed up by reactionary union bureaucrats.

Despite being kicked all over Capitol Hill, the AFL-CIO tops still keep their faith in Carter and have responded to the onslaught of defeats by vowing to lobby ever harder to win the bourgeoisie's support. Like the New York City Central Labor Council which—after watching over 60,000 city workers lose their jobs during Beame's first term—now comes out and endorses his re-election, Meany's executive assistant, Thomas R. Donahue, told the *Wall Street Journal* that it's "still early in the game" and the "heaviest part of the batting order is coming up now." The AFL-CIO thinks it still has a chance to get other more minor aspects of its labor package passed because it has now appeased the southern senators threatening to filibuster against the bill by dropping the most important demand, the repeal of the right-to-work section 14B!

Were it not for the dire consequences which will be unleashed against the whole of the working people, one could almost enjoy watching these labor betrayers and their liberal "friends" getting kicked by the man they put into office.

The crying need at the present time is a working-class leadership to unite the oppressed population and the organized labor movement in a joint defense against the Carter onslaught.

All wings of the incumbent labor bureaucracy have proven their prostration before the political servants of capital. The ossified Meanyites, whose insensitivity to the oppression of blacks, national minorities and women opened the door for the government to step into the unions, cannot escape the "credit" for Carter's victory. The out-bureaucrats of the Sadlowski ilk, who built their careers on suing the unions in the bosses' courts, are similarly enmeshed in the electoral and administrative machinery of the bourgeois state. All have more than amply demonstrated that for them, labor's political role is to provide voting cattle for the parties of the bourgeoisie.

No government intervention in the unions!

No support to bourgeois politicians!

For a workers party based on the unions to lead the way forward to a workers government! ■

been released, it appears that more remain incarcerated and that major parties in the region still plan to boycott the polls.

An effective boycott of the election in Euzkadi could significantly undermine the democratic pretensions of Suárez and Juan Carlos. The treacherous appeals of the Stalinists and social democrats for peaceful elections to usher in yet another Francoist Cortes (but with their participation) must be

Flama

Felipe González

Bugallo/Cambio 16

Marcelino Camacho

fought. The working masses must be mobilized to demand a genuinely democratic constituent assembly and an end to all anti-democratic legislation and special repressive organs of the Francoist regime. Through the mobilization of the working class, as in Euzkadi, the basis for the forging of soviets and workers councils on the national and regional basis can be established. Only the democracy of soviet rule will finally bury the Francoist reign of terror and free the proletariat from two generations of brutal oppression.

No to "reformed" Francoism! Down with the Francoist monarchy! For a democratically elected constituent assembly!

No votes to the parties of the popular front! PCE and PSOE, Break with the Coordinación Democrática and the Francoist regime!

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S.F. ILWU Militants Demand:

"Shut Down West Coast Longshore!"

We reprint below a statement being circulated on the San Francisco docks, signed by 64 members of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Initiated by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the "Longshore Militant" and executive board members of Local 10, the leaflet calls for West Coast-wide strike action to stop the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) from declaring San Francisco a "low work opportunity port" (LWOP), a move which will lead to forced transfers and mass deregistration of longshoremen.

Local 10 president Cleophus Williams has been brazenly fronting for PMA, seeking to get the Local 10 membership to "voluntarily" agree to LWOP for several months. But the LWOP designation, part of Supplement 3 of the ILWU/PMA contract, is neither "voluntary" nor of benefit to the hard-pressed S.F. longshoremen. Under Harry Bridges' sellout contract, the employers have the "right" to invoke Supplement 3 and viciously slash longshore jobs in the San Francisco port.

Williams has called an "informational" Local 10 meeting for the evening of June 9, in order to persuade Bay Area longshoremen to seal their own fate by voting "yes" on a phony referendum on LWOP he has placed on the June 10 ballot in the election for International officers. As the leaflet explains, longshoremen must seek to defeat this plot, insure a big "no" vote on this job-stealing scheme, and strike all the West Coast ports with the demand for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay.

On Wednesday, May 25, at the Local LRC [Labor Relations Committee], PMA stated its intention to declare San Francisco a Low Work Opportunity Port, giving the union one week to respond. This designation results in forced transfers and mandates that dispatch be by rotation on a one-day only basis—except for steady men. For months there have been debates involving halfway measures. The only way to stop Supplement 3 is to dump the whole contract. To assure that all longshoremen have jobs, we must strike now for a shorter work shift at no loss in pay and the abolition of all steady categories in the Master Agreement.

We cannot wait until the contract expires in 1978. By then, up to 1,100 of our members will either be forcibly transferred, deprived of PGP [the contractual pay "guarantee"] or deregistered outright. In order to have a solid coastwide strike which can defeat both the employers and government strikebreaking, we must call on the entire coast which was unanimous at the Caucus in its opposition to Sup. 3 to join us immediately in this strike action.

WV Photo

Containerization has drastically cut jobs.

The International leadership have constantly tried to trick us into "voluntarily" invoking Sup. 3 and cannot be relied on to run an effective strike. To insure effective membership direction and control, there must be elected strike committees in every port representing hoards, gangs, etc., and linked up coastwide. The ILWU has the power to strangle all West Coast shipping from Vancouver all the way south to force PMA to meet our just demands, particularly when longshore is backed up by the warehouse divisinn, the Teamster Alliance and the other maritime unions. ■

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Ben Chavis of "Wilmington Ten"

Peep Hunter

PDC Protest

North Carolina Refuses Retrial for Wilmington Ten

Attorney General Griffin Bell
Washington, D.C.

With its outrageous refusal to grant a new trial to the Wilmington Ten, in spite of the retraction of admittedly bribed testimony by key prosecution witnesses, the state of North Carolina proves that it will stop at nothing to railroad these civil rights activists framed up on arson charges. For over five years the government has conspired to persecute the Wilmington Ten because they fought to integrate the public schools in the face of violent reaction.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that this racist witchhunt stop immediately, and the Wilmington Ten, who are guilty of no crime, be set free!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

Arnold Miller...

(continued from page 12)

hospital treatment cards withdrawn through collaboration between the companies and the union. In 1969-71 another wave of wildcat strikes broke out, largely around health and safety issues.

The 1969 wildcat demanded a law encompassing compensation for black lung disease, and a prominent role was played in it by the Black Lung Association, of which Miller was a leader. After the murder of Joseph Yablonski, the former Boyle henchman who had broken away to become leader of the MFD, Miller became the new MFD head, no doubt in large part because of his base among pensioners, who made up fully 40 percent of the UMW electorate at the time.

The broad support that the MFD received was not surprising. The Boyle regime had become increasingly isolated and unable to control the membership, and the program of the MFD didn't in any way go beyond straight-line trade unionism i.e., reformist class collaboration. Its essence was a series of minimal reforms that were standard practice in many American unions. MFD demands revolved around rank-and-file ratification of the contract, election of district officials, and such minimal economic benefits as establishing sick pay and upgrading the pension to a mere $200 month.

The real issue of the 1972 elections was not the elementary reforms promised by Miners for Democracy, but the independence of the trade unions from the bourgeois parties and state. Miller himself had unsuccessfully run for office in the West Virginia legislature on the Democratic Party ticket and maintained close ties with liberal politicians. But the grossest betrayal was the MFD's invitation to the bourgeois state to intervene in the UMW. For several months prior to the elections the Labor Department literally ran the union, supervising all financial transactions and editing the *United Mine Workers Journal*.

The MFD's courting of the state against the Boyle clique only presaged its support of the courts against the Mine Workers membership once it achieved power. Our article entitled "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election," published shortly after the elections, put the question squarely:

> "But Miller has no real program, and he must keep faith only with the Labor Department liberal Democrat cabal which installed him at the head of the UMW.
>
> "This is the real lesson of the UMW elections. For communists, whose fundamental aim in the labor movement is to transform the unions into a tool of the revolutionary will of the proletariat, no reform can increase the power of the working class if it is won by placing the unions under the trusteeship of the capitalist state, thus destroying the first pre-condition for their mobilization in the struggle to smash that state."
>
> WV No. 17, March 1973

The 1972 Elections: Acid Test

This was not, however, typical of the response of the American left, which virtually without exception added its voice to the chorus of cheers for Miller. Predictably enough, the CP uncritically backed Miller, and the CP-dominated TUAD sent Miller and other MFD candidates a congratulatory telegram after the elections. The SWP similarly campaigned against the "greater evil." A *Militant* headline (8 December 1972) blared: "Issues in Miners Election: Boyle 'Protects Bosses From the Men'." The workerist International Socialists (I.S.) claimed that an MFD victory would insure that the new union leaders would be forced to defend the membership:

> "The MFD has opened the door for democracy in the UMW, but not necessarily the kind of democracy that its leaders and their Labor Department allies envisioned. Instead, it will be, if the ranks have their way, the democracy of an active rank and file, continually pushing their leadership to greater militancy."
>
> *Workers' Power*, 19 January-1 February 1973

Within the Maoist movement, the main tendencies engaged in polemics over how much "criticism" it was appropriate to make before selling out to Miller. The October League excoriated the Revolutionary Union (RU now the Revolutionary Communist Party [RCP]):

> "On the question of supporting the Miller and Sadlowski campaigns, the OL takes sharp issue with RU leader Avakian's line of 'critical support.' Faced with the growing fascist assault of gangster miner-union leader Tony Boyle and USW boss I. W. Abel, it was the duty of the entire working class and its leadership to stand behind the two campaigns, which had the solid support of the rank and file."
>
> —*Call*, August 1973

United Mine Worker Journal

Mike Trbovich

The 1972 UMW elections were an acid test for the American left. Heretofore, with the partial exception of the CP, the left was generally inactive within the trade unions. However, this vote roughly coincided with the time that most of the groups, whose cadre had been accumulated from the New Left, made their first systematic implantations in the unions. While there were very few leftists in the UMW, the positions taken on the Mine Workers elections foreshadowed the character of the various groups' own trade-union work.

The axis of the American left had been the antiwar and black movements. Overwhelmingly, ostensible communists had adapted themselves to popular-frontist and black nationalist illusions, severing these struggles from a class opposition to capitalism. A "turn to the working class" did not, however, mean an end to the opportunism of the left. It only substituted workerism, glorification of the class-as-it-is, and kowtowing before simple trade-union militancy, to its previous capitulations. Ironically, the Miller leadership would have been considered on the opposite side of the battle lines in the previous period by those who now rushed to support it. Miller & Co. had no credentials in opposing racism or the war in Vietnam. In fact, as a counter to Boyle's redbaiting, the MFD leaders published photos of themselves in military uniform, reminding the membership of their "loyalty" and "patriotism."

Nor was it merely the Stalinists and social-democratic reformists who capitulated to Miller: the UMW question was particularly important for several centrist groups claiming to be Trotskyist which were breaking to the left from Pabloist and Shachtmanite revisionism. Those who broke sharply with their past went on to fuse with the Spartacist League. Others, like the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and the Class Struggle League (CSL), along with several cadre from the SWP, wrote of the need for the Transitional Program as the basis for work in the unions, but stopped short of applying it where it was crucial, as in the UMW elections.

Rejecting programmatic criteria as the key for critical support, they instead supported the MFD on the basis of the latter's temporary popularity. Denouncing the SL for its principled refusal to endorse Miller, the CSL prophesied bombastically: "The Spartacist League, unable to perceive the essence of things, is doomed" (*Class Struggle*, April 1973). Instead, it was the centrist CSL which went defunct, robbed of any reason for existence by its vacillation between revolutionary rhetoric and reformist practice.

WV Photo

Harry Patrick

The Decline of Miller

The Miners for Democracy experience has proven a complete dud. The Miller regime has acted in a fashion fundamentally identical to its predecessor, as the servant of the coal operators and the capitalist class. And just as under the Boyle regime, the rank and file has demonstrated its determination to fight for its interests, *despite* and often *against* its sellout leaders.

The UMW, under Lewis, Kennedy and Boyle, was always ruled despotically. The MFD was the first major challenge to the incumbent bureaucracy for 40 years, ever since the 1920's, when the Communist Party had considerable influence. But the illusions which thousands of miners had in the Miller administration following the ouster of Boyle have long since been dashed. The very fact that Lee Roy Patterson, a confederate of the hated Boyle, could rise to be a major contender in the elections, simply by distancing himself from the betrayals of the Miller-Patrick administration, is a crushing indictment of the policies of the current leadership.

As for Miller himself, regardless of the outcome of the elections his personal prestige, founded on a reputation of being an honest reformer, has suffered irreparable damage. The ex-New Leftists and young liberals who enlisted in the new UMW administration have deserted in droves. (Research done by Patterson shows that 29 out of 31 key aides, staffers and union officials who supported Miller in 1972 have since left.) Even Joe Rauh, the liberal kingmaker, who in fact was the real organizer of the MFD victory, has recently announced that he is supporting Patrick. For the liberal bourgeoisie as a whole, the inability of the UMW leaders to discipline their ranks has considerably soured it, for the time being at least, on new experiments with "progressive" unionism.

As to the claims of fake-leftists that the MFD victory would at least provide a "democratic" framework in which militants could fight for their policies, this stupidity has been buried under four years of Miller strikebreaking. The massive wildcats that have shaken the coalfields are an expression of the fundamental contempt of the class-collaborationist leaders for the rank and file. All of the major contenders Miller, Patrick and Patterson have supported draconian measures to quash the membership, such as the September 1975 resolution of the International Executive Board which mandated powers to itself to try members who defied the directives of the International.

This resolution, passed in the wake of a wildcat that embraced two-thirds of the union, was used to victimize militants who were active in the strike; several miners were even suspended from the union. The same resolution also sought to suppress the roving picket lines, which have been the tactic utilized to spread the strikes, by ordering that any miner prosecuted for activities on a picket line outside a mine other than his own would have no access to official UMW defense resources and funds.

The UMW bureaucrats have, in fact, led the union *backwards* in the crucial task of organizing non-union mines. U.S. coal production under UMW contract has drastically declined from 75 percent to 54 percent. Many organizing strikes have been left to go it on their own. A bitter strike in Stearns, Kentucky is now in its tenth month in an attempt to get a first contract. One strike organizer, asked by *WV* about the failure of the contenders for the UMW presidency to build solidarity for the Stearns strike, replied frankly: "Why should they come down here? There's no votes." Until they win a contract, the striking miners cannot even vote.

While the fake-left pooh-poohed the issue of government intervention during the 1972 UMW elections, the major coal miners' battles in the past period have been confrontations with the bourgeois state. These included the successful wildcat against West Virginia governor Arch Moore's gasoline rationing in 1974 and the massive wildcat strikes against court fines and injunctions in 1975 and 1976. In all cases, following its pact with the Labor Department in 1972, the UMW bureaucracy has bowed to bourgeois legality, first by enforcing Boyle's rotten contract and then by attempting to do the same with its own. (The Miller settlement in 1974 sold out the crucial demand for the local right to strike.) The obvious significance of the question of the state was brought to the fore by the miners themselves in the 1976 wildcat: they demanded a written statement from coal operators forswearing the use of the courts in disputes with the unions, as well as demanding that all fines and injunctions be dropped, there be no reprisals and an investigation be undertaken of the judges who routinely side with the companies in every strike.

Carter's newly announced energy austerity program, designed to shore up American imperialism vis-à-vis its rivals, poses anew the necessary demand for trade-union independence from the bourgeois parties and their policies. The Carter plan projects the expansion of coal production by two-thirds from the current level over the next eight years. Clearly, the militancy of the UMW ranks could be a major impediment to the administration's goal. All wings of the UMW bureaucracy have made clear their willingness to cooperate with this plan, in exchange for a few reforms like stricter mine safety legislation. But the illusion that miners can have a "common policy" with the imperialist bourgeoisie is a fatal one, leading ultimately to defeat at the hands of the capitalist courts, cops, etc.

The Left: Nothing Learned

One might expect that Miller's obvious bankruptcy and the disappearance of Miners for Democracy would force some of their left apologists to re-evaluate their earlier support to these fakers. But such is not the case.

Although few left groups are backing the unpopular Miller with enthusiasm in the June 14 UMW elections, most of the left pursued a virtually identical class-collaborationist policy in supporting "progressive" out-bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski in the February Steelworkers elections. Not a single group that backed Miller in 1972 has renounced that position, which only points to the degree to which they are mired in anti-Marxist methodology.

The out-and-out reformist groups continue to support the pitiful remnants of the Miners for Democracy, with the Communist Party in the forefront. The CP's solution to the problem of the betrayals of Miller and Patrick is simply to ignore them. In a 2 June article in the *Daily World* on the elections, Miller and Patrick are referred to exactly once, where it is merely acknowledged that they are candidates. Instead the CP campaigns against Lee Roy Patterson, the presumed "greater evil," who is denounced for, of all things, being strike-happy!

The CP warns that Patterson's call for

Lee Roy Patterson

Tony Boyle UPI

a nationwide strike this summer against disciplines for absenteeism "could play into the hands of the companies and weaken the fight for a better contract in November." Patterson's strike call is pure electoral demagogy; he is well known for his opposition to strikes. Recently it has been publicized that he has been receiving contributions from numerous Steelworkers' officials, including Ahel, who fear that under Miller or Patrick there may be a coal strike long enough to provoke substantial layoffs in steel (*Business Week*, 13 June).

The Socialist Workers Party and the International Socialists, who as usual are tailending Joe Rauh, have come out for...Harry Patrick, the author of several notorious statements like: "The contract will not be re-opened. The right-to-strike people can strike until Hell freezes over" (*Louisville Courier-Journal*, 31 August 1975). Making Patrick, Miller's second-in-command for strikebreaking, into a militant is no easy task. Even the SWP seemed bothered by Patrick's assertion that "we've got to get rid of the roving pickets." Nonetheless, the SWP claims: "All in all, Patrick's platform for defending the union and the democratic rights of miners appears to stand the closest to the original aims of the reform movement."

The I.S. and SWP both argue that Miller & Co. introduced "democracy" into the UMW, a claim which supposedly justifies left-wing support to the incumbent UMW bureaucrats despite the latter's prostration before the bosses and their state. But the institution of a few supportable reforms like membership ratification of the contract no more turned Miller into a champion of workers democracy than demanding another nickel an hour in wages makes one a communist. In fact, the Miller regime was the antithesis of workers democracy. How else can one describe a leadership which invited government intervention in the union, sided with the bosses against its striking members, suspended militant strikers, maintained the red clause, expelled the left press from its convention, etc.?

Genuine workers democracy cannot be separated from a class-struggle program. The Millers, as much as the Boyles, must suppress the UMW ranks in order to maintain discipline for their capitalist masters. The prostration of the I.S. and SWP before the "democracy" of liberal money-man Joe Rauh, the U.S. Labor Department and Arnold Miller makes them obstacles to the building of a class-struggle leadership in the unions.

In recent articles, the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) have opposed all three Mine Workers candidates. However, given how discredited Miller, Patrick and Patterson are today, this is not exactly a bold step. More significantly, the RSL and the OL have an obligation to explain why they backed Miller when he was popular in 1972. Unfortunately neither have had the elementary honesty to even mention their position of five years ago in their press. These political cowards have not changed their methodology and only await the next popular faker to sell out to again.

The Spartacist League was almost alone in 1972 in opposing support to Miller. Unlike the centrists and reformists, who argued for supporting the MFD on the basis of its popularity, the SL held that critical support within union elections must be grounded on program. Should a reformist bureaucrat break from class collaboration on key issues such as opposition to government intervention in the unions, a break from the capitalist parties, expropriation of the mines—then, and only then, is it principled to extend critical support. Should such a leader later betray the class-struggle slogans around which he mobilized support, the communists are then in a position to win away his base.

However, in the absence of a programmatic break from reformism, "critical support" is sheer opportunism and hucksterism. Miller, Patrick, et al., never betrayed their program, because this program never consisted of anything more than simple trade-union reforms combined with reformist demagogy about the need for "honest, responsive, democratic" leadership. Interestingly, Miller's 1977 campaign has been based entirely on his "record." He says not a word about his opponents.

In fact, Miller is *correct* in asserting that he was able to fulfill the major concrete programmatic demands of the 1972 MFD program: rank-and-file ratification of the contract, election of district officers, raising the pension level, introducing sick pay and other minimal economic benefits. That the introduction of these reforms is entirely compatible with the maintenance of a vicious strikebreaking regime only shows that the MFD program *never* had anything to do with class-struggle politics.

The assertion of the opportunists that "exposing" Miller by putting him in power would lead the miners to embrace a militant leadership has been proven a lie. Had the MFD been a programmatically based caucus with even a semblance of class-struggle politics, a split would have occurred in the face of the treachery of Miller/Patrick/Trbovich. There would then be today a real left alternative to Miller's reformism. Instead, in the absence of a class-struggle alternative, disappointment in Miller has mainly been expressed in a strengthening in the reactionary Patterson/Boyle wing of the bureaucracy. In a union with the most militant rank and file of any in the U.S., all three candidates are proven strikebreakers! That fact alone should make it obvious that the MFD experiment did nothing to resolve the crisis of leadership.

Despite the miners' enormous proven capacity to struggle, the question of leadership is crucial. The experience of the Miller regime is another convincing proof that the liberal reformers are no alternative to the Boyles, Fitzsimmons, Meanys and Ahels. It is a powerful vindication of the position, held uniquely by the SL, that *only* on the basis of a principled, class-struggle program can a leadership be built that can offer a way out of the hellhole of capitalist exploitation for miners and all workers. ■

Support Stearns Miners!

The bitter strike of nearly 160 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) at the Blue Diamond Coal Company's Justus Mine in Stearns, Kentucky is approaching its eleventh month. Subjected daily to massive barrages of heavy-caliber gunfire from thugs imported to break the picket line and pave the way for scabs, the strikers also face decades in prison for their courageous attempts to defend their strike. Twenty-seven miners and UMW organizer Lee Potter have been indicted and arraigned on three felony counts each—kidnapping, robbery and first degree assault—which carry a maximum sentence of *60 years*! These outrageous charges are based on the incredible grand jury testimony of the often-drunk, trigger-happy gun thugs.

The miners face enormous legal costs in their defense. According to UMW officials, the Miners Legal Defense Fund has already spent $15,000 on the cases and additional funds are urgently needed. The Partisan Defense Committee urges that donations for the embattled strikers be sent to the Miners Legal Defense Fund, 1521 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Drop the Charges! Victory to the Stearns Strike!

Philip Allen Appeal Denied

LOS ANGELES—A three-judge panel ruled May 23 against the appeal of Philip Allen. Allen was convicted on 7 October 1975 of voluntary manslaughter in the killing of a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff. The 22-year-old black college student faces a ten-year-to-life sentence on these frame-up charges.

Deputy Darden Hollis was shot with a police revolver on 1 January 1975. The story told by the cops—Allen's sole accusers—is flatly incredible on the face of it. The cops claim that Allen, being held and beaten by half a dozen six-foot policemen, finally broke from one cop's chokehold, grabbed a gun and shot Hollis dead. The tale becomes even more ludicrous when it is noted that Philip Allen is 5-ft. 3-in. tall. No paraffin test to determine if Allen had fired a gun was ever performed by the police.

The unfair and illegal conduct of the prosecutor and judge in the Allen case is instructive of the sort of "fair trial" which black youth receive in capitalist America. Trial judge Laurence Rittenband prohibited the defense counsel from questioning prospective jurors about possible racial prejudice; he allowed the defense to use only half the peremptory challenges (which allow a lawyer to dismiss a juror without an argument to the judge) to which it is legally entitled. A lie detector test which showed Allen innocent was not admitted into evidence.

The 230-page appeal brief states that the prosecution behaved belligerently and abusively toward Allen and his mother and lied to the jury in opening remarks about what evidence was to be presented. According to Allen's attorney, Peter Young, the appeal panel did not even publish an opinion in response to the appeal. Young plans to file for a re-hearing in appeals court and to file a new appeal with the California Supreme Court. At present, Allen remains out of jail on bail.

This racist frame-up must be fought. Mass support and an aggressive defense can save Philip Allen from spending perhaps the rest of his life behind bars. More than $30,000 has already been spent on court costs, attorneys' fees, investigator services and expert witnesses; a supreme court appeal and new trial would cost thousands more. The Partisan Defense Committee, which has been active in the defense of this innocent black youth, urges all those concerned with justice to send urgently needed funds to: Philip Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

WV Photo

Miller addressing Brookside miners at 1974 strike rally.

Charleston Daily Mail

Charleston cops attack miners' demonstration during August, 1975 wildcat.

Labor Department-Backed "Left" Darling

The Rise and Fall of Arnold Miller

As presidential elections approach in the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), the U.S. left and the entire workers movement has the obligation to take a position on the experience of four years of "reform" leadership in the most combative union in the country. On our part, the Spartacist League refused to support Miller or Boyle in 1972, and we oppose all three of the feuding labor fakers in the June 15 UMW elections. Not only for revolutionaries, but for all militant mine workers the lessons of the rise and fall of Arnold Miller—the dissolution of his electoral combine, the Miners for Democracy (MFD); his enforcement of one sellout contract and negotiation of another; his siding with the courts and coal operators against numerous massive wildcats; and above all the dangerous consequences of bringing the capitalist state into the affairs of the labor movement—must be a powerful demonstration of the bankruptcy of supporting one wing of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy against another.

"Miners for Democracy"—R.I.P.

In December 1972 the UMW International officers elected on the victorious Miners for Democracy slate issued a statement to the membership in which they heralded an end to the factional strife that had gripped the union: "We have been through a long, heated campaign. But the campaign is over. Now the task ahead is to unite and work together to build a union of coal miners that is, in the words of our UMWA seal, 'one and indissoluble'" (*United Mine Workers Journal*, December 1972).

The ouster of the corrupt and dictatorial Boyle regime by the MFD was cheered on by a wide spectrum of political forces. Richard Nixon's Labor Department was out to remove an ineffective union leadership unable to control the restive miners. The massive resources necessary to support the legal suits that culminated in a government order to re-run the 1969 election, in which Tony Boyle had "defeated" MFD founder Joseph Yablonski through massive vote-rigging, were provided by liberal Democrats headed by cold warrior Joseph Rauh. And almost the entire left jumped into the action. As early as 1970, MFD leader Mike Trbovich was a guest speaker at a conference of the Communist Party-led Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD). There Trbovich rubbed shoulders with veteran left-talking labor fakers like James Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers (UE).

Less than five years later, on the eve of new UMW elections, the unity touted by the MFD leaders has totally disintegrated in the face of the bickering leaders' inability to quell repeated wildcat strikes and outbursts of militancy from the rank and file. The MFD itself, which was not a programmatically based caucus but essentially an electoral vehicle, was dissolved shortly after the 1972 elections. In addition, the three principal leaders of Miners for Democracy UMW president Arnold Miller, secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick, and vice president Mike Trbovich are now bitterly at odds with each other.

Trbovich broke away in 1975, when he tried to entice the Labor Department into another "investigation" of the UMW, suggesting possible violations of federal law in Miller's record-keeping. Trbovich, the erstwhile favorite of the Communist Party (CP) who is now a staunch supporter of reactionary Boyle henchman Lee Roy Patterson, last fall expanded his denunciations of his one-time ally, accusing Miller's staff of being "socialistic, revolutionary and Communistic." Patrick, who was Miller's right hand man over the first four years of his administration, suddenly announced earlier this year that Miller had, in fact, been betraying the ideals of the reform movement all along. Patrick has split to run his own campaign for president.

The inability of Miller, Patrick and Trbovich to institute a homogeneous bureaucracy flowed from the same fundamental factor that led to the toppling of the old Boyle regime: the relentless combativity of the miners and their unwillingness to tolerate the pro-company discipline that their bureaucratic leaders have attempted to foist on them. In a period in which the bulk of the American trade-union movement has been quiescent, the mine workers have been an outstanding exception. Although, primarily because of the miners' geographical isolation, this militancy did not find a ready route to other sections of the American working class, the 2 million man-days lost to wildcats in the coal industry last year have been more than a minor problem for the fuel-hungry bourgeoisie.

The Lewis Tradition

In fact, the abuses which Miners for Democracy claimed to redress preceded the Boyle regime. Following World War II, the demand for coal underwent a sharp decline, as it was replaced by oil and gas in home heating, and by diesel fuel on the railroads. John L. Lewis embarked on a campaign to nurse the declining industry back to health at the miners' expense. Demands for job security, paid holidays and other fringe benefits were dropped and the companies were allowed a free hand in a massive program of modernization and consolidation. Negotiations were carried on in private, and open-ended contracts which remained in effect until either side decided to terminate them, were signed without strikes.

Tony Boyle, who succeeded Lewis' handpicked successor Thomas Kennedy after the latter's death, came to power in 1963. Boyle extended the despotic bureaucratism of Lewis and Kennedy. His collaboration with the bosses was notorious. The first contract he negotiated was greeted with a wave of wildcats. Right after the Farmington mine disaster, in which 78 miners were killed, Boyle congratulated the company, Consolidation Coal, for its "safety-mindedness"! In 1968 the contract even contained a provision for a $120 Christmas bonus for miners who had not engaged in a wildcat strike the previous year. Meanwhile, Boyle tightened up against dissidents in the union. The president's term was lengthened, 19 of 23 union districts were put under receivership, Boyle's relatives were put on the payroll, a special fund was set up to allow International officers to retire at full salary, etc.

The miners, however, did not passively endure the repressive Boyle regime. Even before the expansion of the industry and the recruitment of thousands of younger miners, rebellions began to break out. In 1963-64, a wildcat broke out that lasted almost a full year in some areas of West Virginia and southeast Kentucky. This strike was, in fact, spearheaded by pensioners and partially disabled working miners, thousands of whom had had their

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 162 17 June 1977

2 Dead, 147 Wounded

Chicago Cops Riot Against Puerto Ricans

CHICAGO, June 9—Last Saturday the Puerto Rican community centered in the Humboldt Park area was subjected to a classic police riot. Recalling numerous ghetto outbreaks triggered by cop terror in the mid-1960's, a force of several hundred Chicago police, completely unprovoked, descended on a Puerto Rican Day celebration June 4 with guns blazing and night sticks flying. The tragic toll: two youths killed, 147 injured and 154 jailed.

The capitalist press has sought to fabricate a story to cover up this vicious cop reprisal. The massive police deployment was just an attempt to protect picnickers in the park from a gang fight that had broken out, wrote the Chicago papers, echoing police department spokesmen. They sought in particular to discredit the militant resistance to the marauders in blue. In all, 17 police vehicles were put out of commission, many of them rolled over and torched, and the army of several hundred cops was twice driven from the area before the clashes finally died out late on Sunday night.

Saturday's events began when a small bomb went off outside the mayor's office, doing little damage and hurting no one. The bombing was promptly attributed to the Puerto Rican FALN (Armed Forces for National Liberation). A year ago, almost to the day, three Loop banks and the Chicago police headquarters itself were shaken by bombs that were also blamed on the FALN. (Similar bombings occurred in mid-June 1975 as well.) This time the cops were ready ... to go for blood in a deliberate reprisal action.

So on Saturday evening the police stationed themselves around Humboldt Park where the Puerto Rican Day parade ended. "Some people were being searched before being allowed to enter the park," according to one witness. When a disturbance broke out between two local street gangs, the cops had the excuse they were looking for to move in with an all-out attack. Within minutes after the disturbance broke out, more than 200 police, some on horses, had invaded the park, beating and clubbing their way through the crowd.

A *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter injured in the melee said he saw one officer alone fire "four or five shots" point-blank into the throng. Almost immediately after the shooting began, two young men, Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz, were killed, shot in the back by .38 calibre bullets, the type used in most police service revolvers. (Four other persons, two men and two women, later arrived in the hospital with gunshot wounds.) The anger vented by the onlookers over the murder of Osorio and Cruz forced the cops to briefly retreat.

While the crowd was throwing bricks, rocks—anything they could get their hands on—to drive the killer cops out of the area, police reinforcements arrived and a second wave surged into the park, forcing the people into the street. "We were stampeded," said one woman. According to the *Sun-Times* (5 June), "along Division [the principal street in the Humboldt area], at least 1,000 persons of all ages cheered the stone throwers with every hit." At this time also, the police cars and paddy wagons were turned over and set ablaze.

Later that night police mobilized in full riot gear. Helicopters with mounted searchlights hovered over the neighborhood while police phalanxes swept the street, causing additional arrests and injuries. Throughout the night, bloodied victims of the cop onslaught arrived at the hospitals. One woman told reporters she saw a couple who had been watching a fire at Division and Washtenaw streets when police approached and beat the husband to the ground without warning. When the wife protested, she too was kicked and hit with nightsticks. "They were talking to us like we were dogs, like we were animals," she protested.

The clashes with the police continued sporadically on Sunday, and for about an hour that afternoon there was some looting and burning of white-owned shops in the area. Meanwhile the bourgeois press ran screaming headlines about "gang warfare." The *Sun-Times* proclaimed, "Humboldt Park Riot" in bold letters and entitled a picture "Police car target of mob rage." The FALN incident was also prominently featured: "Bomb County Bldg. (Puerto Rican group takes blame)."

Press accounts uniformly tried to portray the weekend's events as the result of gang fights escalating into a general riot, forcing the cops to intervene. Eyewitnesses were equally consistent in refuting this account. One told a

continued on page 10

Chicago Sun-Times

Chicago cops assault Puerto Rican youth during police rampage in Humboldt Park area.

Wide World

Protesters attacked police vehicles after trigger happy cops killed two following Puerto Rican Day parades.

Leninism and Workers Control 6

Castro Soft-Pedals Democrats' Assassination Plots

Behind "CIA's Secret Army"

Last week the United States government agreed to a limited exchange of diplomats with Cuba for the first time since relations were broken by Washington in January 1961. This was the latest of several recent indications that the U.S. bourgeoisie is loosening its long-standing political and economic quarantine of Cuba. The travel ban has been lifted, and American tourists can now spend their money in Havana (although they still can't bring back Havana cigars). In Congress the Carter administration has given the green light to liberal efforts to end or at least modify the trade embargo.

Now Congressional delegations, journalists and businessmen are flocking to the island, bringing back reports of a new-found "openness" in the regime of Fidel Castro, whom imperialist mass murderer Henry Kissinger hypocritically denounced as an "international outlaw" little more than a year ago. George McGovern even chaperoned a South Dakota basketball team, in a visit reminiscent of the "ping-pong diplomacy" that marked the early stages of the U.S/China rapprochement. A change is in the air.

Gone, along with the diplomatic and economic quarantine on Cuba, is the news blackout by the "free but responsible" mass media, which are generally extremely attentive to what the government considers off-limits. Now that Castro is no longer taboo, the networks and big business dailies are racing to see who can get the "scoops."

So on two successive nights this week Castro and Cuba were the subject of prime-time television programs. On Thursday ABC broadcast an hour-long interview by Barbara Walters. While gamely enduring a plethora of trivial questions and insipid anti-communist jibes, Castro repeatedly referred to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's terrorist activities against Cuba. At one point Walters complained: "I sometimes feel that you feel that everything—*everything*—comes back to the CIA."

Ironically, 24 hours later, another program—a CBS News special called "The CIA's Secret Army"—provided a documentary glimpse at the ample reasons for Castro's apprehension of the spy agency and its Cuban emigré mercenaries. The program reviewed such examples as U.S. dedication to "human rights" as the Bay of Pigs invasion, terror bombings, assassination plots, economic sabotage and the CIA-gusano connection to the Watergate affair with a frankness not customary on American commercial television.

ABC

Castro with Barbara Walters from recent interview on U.S. television.

Alibiing for the Democrats

On Thursday, anxious to demonstrate to skeptical network executives that she's worth her million dollars a year (she flopped), Walters pandered to what she presumes is her audience's taste. She barraged Castro with gossip-column questions: "Do you have a house where you live?" (Yes, said Castro, and even a bed.) "Will you ever shave off that beard?" She spent fully five minutes pursuing the question of his marital status. When the Cuban leader rightly told her it was none of her business, Walters demanded to know if party leader Celia Sánchez was his companion.

After a host of similar impertinent questions, which she wouldn't dare to ask another head of state, the high-priced "human interest" journalist began insistently asking for specific numbers of Cuban troops and military advisors in Angola, Ethiopia and elsewhere. Castro finally cut her off, saying he would not work for the CIA for pay, so why should he do their job for free? To top it off, Walters did an amazingly heavy-handed job of editing the videotape, in order to always have the last word in defense of American imperialism against Castro's rather forthright espousal of his brand of Stalinist politics. The program ended with her solemn platitude that: "What we disagreed on most profoundly is the meaning of freedom."

Castro put up with this guff because the television exposure gave him an opportunity to publicly court the Carter administration. He unctuously described the U.S. commander in chief as "an idealistic man...a well-prepared man...an intelligent man...a man that draws to himself." Incredibly, Castro declared that he is "totally certain" that Carter has called off all the CIA's conspiracies against Cuba. In the unlikely event that the Cuban premier actually *believed* this statement and acted on it, it could lead to a slackening of vigilance in the defense of the first country in the Americas where capitalist rule has been overthrown. With the nationalist logic of a Stalinist bureaucrat, who despite occasional militant flourishes seeks to defend "socialism in [his] one country" through a deal with imperialism, Castro remarked: "Our relations with Ford and Kissinger were so bad that we wanted the coming of the Democratic administration in the United States."

So the Democrats were the good guys, and the Republicans wore the black hats. Walters summarized: "Castro also blames Dwight Eisenhower and Nixon for the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs operation.... John Kennedy, he insists, only inherited the plan." When asked if he thought that John and Robert Kennedy knew of the numerous CIA attempts on his life, Castro replied:

> "Actually, we don't have evidence or proof of that, and we have not wanted to try to know more about this problem. We didn't want to search because Bob is dead, John is dead. And who will gain if we start searching now...? Whose reactionary forces will we be helping with that?"

He then added, almost as if to reassure left-wing viewers that he hadn't completely taken leave of his senses, "I think it is absolutely impossible...that it could have been carried out—these kind of plans—for almost ten years, without the express or implicit authorization of the top authorities of the countries." Castro seemed to want to show that he was just as good at covering up for the authors of crimes *directed at him* as is the CIA itself. Let bygones be bygones was his repeated theme.

Campaign of Terror

Friday's CBS News program graphically depicted aspects of the long terror campaign unleashed by Kennedy, which Castro is now willing to sweep under the rug as token of his desire for a deal with Carter. In 1961 Kennedy authorized the CIA to launch a full-scale invasion of Cuba. Fourteen hundred exiles (known by their outraged former compatriots on the island as *gusanos*, or worms) had been recruited, armed and trained to restore capitalism in Cuba through imperialist invasion. On April 15 American planes bombed three Cuban airbases. Two days later CIA officer Grayston Lynch led this secret army ashore at the Bay of Pigs. But in the middle of the attack, Kennedy's nerve failed. As Bill Moyers, the program's narrator, explained, the U.S. president had run up against the limits of "deniability" and "disclaimability." Kennedy canceled the remaining bombing runs; the gusanos were cut off and soon captured by Cuban forces.

Twenty months later Kennedy ransomed his mercenaries at the cost of $53 million. He personally welcomed them back to Miami, and it was curious to watch the documentary footage as Brigade 2506 veterans cheered the man who had left them on the beach. The "brigade" ceremoniously presented its counterrevolutionary banner and the president blustered: "I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana." However unlikely their prospects of success at the time, this was not empty talk. For while the gusano mercenaries continued to

Britannica

President Kennedy pinning "National Security" medal on CIA director Allen Dulles shortly after Bay of Pigs operation.

Paris Match

CIA-trained Cuban invaders captured at the Bay of Pigs.

hear a grudge against Kennedy, they were also complicit with him in the multi-million-dollar "Operation Mongoose," the CIA conspiracy to isolate Cuba, dislocate its economy and murder Castro.

From 1961 to 1967 the CIA's hirelings launched hundreds of commando raids, burning sugarcane fields, bombing factories, murdering Cuban militiamen, contaminating Cuban exports and engaging in other forms of military and economic sabotage. Ray Cline, former deputy director of the agency, told Moyers that Operation Mongoose was the largest CIA operation in the world. Its Miami headquarters had 600 to 700 staff officers and some 2,000 Cuban mercenaries.

Bay of Pigs commander Lynch and leading gusano terrorist (as well as Watergate burglar) Rolando Martínez took the newsman on a tour of former CIA "safe houses" in Miami, showing them one lavish waterfront mansion where gunboats armed with .50 caliber machine guns routinely docked for years. They explained how the CIA provided daily passwords in sealed envelopes to get the boats past Coast Guard interceptors. They described the cooperation of "the Customs, the Coast Guard, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service... much of the Miami and South Florida establishment... 19 separate police departments" that was necessary to keep such a massive campaign under wraps.

CBS

Sam Giancana

CBS

Rolando Martinez

CBS

Armando Lopez Estrada, CORU leader.

But by November 1975 this war was no longer secret, and the Senate Intelligence Committee had to officially acknowledge at least part of the truth. It recorded eight separate CIA plots to assassinate Castro, using everything from high-powered rifles to such bizarre implements as poison cigars, a poison pen, exploding seashells and a contaminated diving suit. It documented that the spy agency had actually enlisted the services of Mafia hitmen, eager to even the score for the closure of their lucrative Havana casinos and brothels.

The Cuban prime minister told Moyers, however, that the committee reported "only part of the plans" and that he knows of at least 24 assassination plots "directly organized by the CIA in order to murder leaders of the Cuban revolution." The program barely mentioned the most successful one—the 1967 assassination of "Che" Guevara after he was captured in Bolivia.

Rapprochement

While those conspiracies were being hatched and Washington was organizing on a grand scale for his overthrow, Castro was not reluctant to attack the criminals who launched the terror. But times have changed. With the failure of numerous U.S. efforts to smash the Castro regime, with Cuba's abandonment of material support for Latin American guerrillas and with American foreign policy under pressure in Africa and the Near East, the U.S. bourgeoisie is (for now) somewhat less concerned to immediately bring about a counterrevolution to overthrow Castro's deformed workers state. The U.S. has permitted its Latin American allies one by one to re-establish diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba and codified the partial thaw by the ending of hemispheric sanctions at the Organization of American States conference in July 1975.

In addition to the considerations listed above, Carter may also be influenced in his halting movements toward rapprochement with Cuba by a desire to establish a liberal image internationally. Castro evidently thinks so and is going out of his way to praise the hypocritical anti-Soviet commander of U.S. imperialism as a "man of principles." Every class-conscious worker must, of course, struggle against all forms of imperialist sanctions against Cuba, demanding an end to the trade embargo and diplomatic recognition of the Cuban government. But Cuba's need to break out of U.S.-imposed isolation does not justify Castro's fawning Stalinist political overtures to the world's bloodiest imperialist colossus. Nor can the American ruling class be talked out of its fundamental hostility to the Cuban social system.

Stalinist Opportunism and Liberal Reformism

At another level, Castro's single-minded denunciations of the CIA, the Pentagon and the Republican Party, essentially separating them from the imperialist state as whole, feed the bourgeois liberals' argument that this Murder, Inc. operation was some unfortunate Cold War aberration and that the time is now ripe to reform and democratize the government's intelligence apparatus. One aspect of that reform is obviously to sweep up the refuse left behind by Operation Mongoose.

This is Moyers' main point about the gusano killers:

> "Now these men are an anachronism to just about everyone except themselves. All these years later, remnants of the CIA's old secret army spin out of control, on a collision course now with Washington instead of Havana."

He recounts the bloody trail left by these murderers on three continents in just a few months of last year:

> "Lisbon April 22—Cuban embassy bombed, two officials killed;
> "New York—June 5—Cuban mission bombed;
> "Merida, Mexico—July 23—one Cuban killed;
> "Buenos Aires—August 9—two Cuban officials kidnapped;
> "Panama—August 18—Cuban airliner bombed;
> "Trinidad-Tobago September 1—Guyana's consulate bombed, three injured."

Marc Hutten

Body of Che Guevera after his capture and murder in Bolivia in October 1967.

And the worst atrocity to date: the bombing of an Air Cubana plane last October which caused the death of all 73 persons aboard.

Moyers trots out two former chief technocrats of clandestine terror, Ray Cline and Richard Bissell (the man who actually planned the 1961 invasion) who attempt like aging Doctors Frankenstein to explain how their noble plans could have gone so wrong. Bissell tells Moyers: "In the year 1960, to contemplate a full-fledged communist state just off our shores in the Caribbean was indeed extremely shocking. Everyone's used to this now."

Like the various congressional investigators, Moyers, a former press secretary for Lyndon Johnson, well understands that the new Democratic administration can legitimize itself only by exorcizing the clanking ghosts inherited from earlier regimes. Even the mythical Camelot has been so compromised that the Democrats need to distance themselves from important aspects of the Kennedy period (particularly the policies on Cuba and Vietnam). Moyers' line of argument and the testimony of Bissell et al. serves as a way for liberal Democrats to simultaneously wash their hands of this blot and forgive the "mistakes" and "excesses" of the Kennedy administration.

The ritual purging of past sins is accompanied by various resolutions to prevent their future recurrence: Congressional "watchdog" committees, departmental reorganization, budget disclosure, etc. But such reforms are purely cosmetic, their real purpose to limit the CIA's "special operations" in order to make them more efficient and, above all, keep them secret. Under whatever name, in whatever department, U.S. imperialism requires a covert military arm to carry out the savage imperatives of world power while smugly maintaining the moral superiority of the "American way."

And the gusanos are neither as independent nor expendable as Moyers would have his viewers believe. While posing a minor obstacle to better relations with Cuba and periodically incurring the wrath of the Miami police department with their blood feuds, they have a special role to play in enforcing U.S. hegemony in Latin America. If some of the former employees of "the Company" are getting out of hand, since they are trained for nothing else, the obvious "reform" is to put these fanatical anti-communist terrorists back on the payroll!

If Moyers were not blinkered by his ideology and class loyalties, he might have drawn far more radical conclusions even from his own limited journalistic exposé. The gusanos are not just "disposed of." Rather, they are endlessly recycled in the service of U.S. imperialism. Kennedy hurled them at the Cuban coast, then abandoned them when U.S. culpability was exposed. They came back mad, but he simply signed them up for Operation Mongoose. As Johnson escalated the war in Indochina, he wound down direct attacks on Cuba, and the CIA dispersed its Cuban agents to "counter-insurgency" operations throughout the hemisphere. Two helped to hunt down "Che" Guevara in the mountains of Bolivia. Some eventually joined the various Latin American police death dquads and torture specialists whom they were previously advising. Most returned to Miami after 1967 when Operation Mongoose was formally terminated.

In 1971 the Nixon administration required a special unit to harass and spy on its lengthy enemies list (from Edward Kennedy to the May Day Tribe). It naturally turned to the two men who had recruited the Bay of Pigs brigade: retired CIA officer Howard Hunt and his former gusano lackey Bernard Barker. Barker told an obviously shocked interviewer about the scope of the unit, from which the Watergate burglars were to be drawn:

> Q. "How many people did you manage to recruit for Operation Diamond?"
> A. "About 120."
> Q. "Did most of these people have experience with the CIA?"
> A. "All of them. All of them were at one time or another connected with the Central Intelligence Agency, yes."
> Q. "That was almost a prerequisite?"
> A. "Yes, definitely."

When not in the direct employ of the American government, these vermin are often doing the dirty work of U.S. allies in Latin America. Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza openly supports anti-Castro emigré groups. Gusanos have been implicated as hitmen for the infamous Chilean DINA in last September's assassination of exiled Chilean leftist Orlando Letelier. When the Venezuelan government arrested several Cubans in connection with the Air Cubana bombing, it was revealed that they had protectors high up in the Caracas government and had been used as go-betweens to the Chilean junta.

The notion that these long-time CIA minions are now independent agents is as ludicrous as the notion that the CIA carries out its murderous vendettas behind the backs of the president and his advisors. It is nothing but alibiing for the imperialist liberals who were up to their necks in the assassinations business just as much as Nixon. At root is the liberal/reformist illusion in the reformability of the bourgeois state. In Castro's Stalinist version, it is the pipe-dream that by installing a "progressive" administration in the White House the warmongers at the Pentagon and mad bombers at the CIA will be reined in. To end CIA terror, to fully expose the slimy gusanos to the light of day, will require more than halfhearted Congressional investigations or occasional televised muckraking. It requires a victorious workers revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Castro Embraces Ethiopia's Idi Amin

Bloody Colonel Mengistu Slaughters Leftists

B. Campbell/Gamma

Mengistu supporters parade before Derg officers on May Day, just before Mengistu ordered the slaughter of hundreds of protesting students.

Hands Off the EPRP!

Addis Ababa under the heel of the Derg has become a giant charnel house. Outside the city, fresh-turned earth marks a mass grave. Dozens of unclaimed corpses lie heaped up in hospital corridors. Women with shawls turned inside out, a sign of mourning, search for their children. To claim the bodies, relatives must pay as much as $100, an enormous sum in desperately poor Ethiopia. Soldiers tell them the money is to replace bullets "wasted" on the victims.

By day, convoys loaded with armed peasants rumble through the city. Chanting "Ethiopia or death," they are headed north to bolster 25,000 regular troops in a last, desperate attempt to crush Eritrean independence fighters. This rag-tag "people's army" (reportedly 200,000-strong) is being trained in the appropriately named Siga Meda, the "field of meat," an open area west of the capital once used for slaughtering livestock.

Soon after sunset, neighborhood vigilante groups called *kebeles* take to the streets to hunt down "class enemies of the broad masses." They scour the slums, kicking in the doors of mud huts in search of dangerous implements like typewriters and binoculars. Suspected government opponents are often tortured and killed on the spot. Since February, the kebeles and army patrols have killed an estimated 3,000 people in Addis Ababa alone.

Colonel Mengistu Haile Meriam, who emerged as undisputed leader of the Derg—the Provisional Military Administrative Council—following a palace shoot-out in February, set the tone for the extermination campaign at a mass rally two months ago. He held up five vials of red liquid. One by one, he smashed them to the ground, vowing that the streets would run with the blood of so-called "voracious feudalists, hired fascists and running dogs." He has kept his bloody word, except that it is leftists—not feudalists and fascists—who are being slaughtered by the hundreds.

The bloodiest single massacre took place over May Day weekend. In preparation for a massive celebration of "the gains of our revolution," Mengistu loosed his soldiers on students demonstrating against the military dictatorship. Hundreds died in a deadly rain of machine gun bullets (see "May Day Massacre in Ethiopia," *WV* No. 159, 27 May). Two weeks later, the horror was repeated. In the 23 May issue of *Time* magazine, correspondent Lee Griggs reported from Addis Ababa:

> "Shooting broke out all over the capital late on Sunday afternoon and continued sporadically for twelve hours. Automatic weapons chattered incessantly, and the crump of exploding grenades punctuated the firing. Cars were banned from the streets, and roadblocks set up to restrict movement by foot. Next day the government-controlled papers announced that 'one anarchist' had been killed—although hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition had been confiscated. Local hospitals had been forbidden to give out body counts, but an orderly at Menelik whispered to me in Amharic, '*Bizualee*' (There are many). The best guess: 80 to 100 dead."

These so-called "counterrevolutionaries" and "hired fascists" in the capital are supporters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), an eclectic "Third World" Stalinist group with significant support among students and young workers. Many were in the forefront of the months-long struggle in 1974 to overthrow the feudalist regime of Emperor Haile Selassie. Although its program for a "New Democratic Revolution" left open the door to an alliance with "progressive" members of the Derg, the EPRP's repeated calls for civilian rule and its assassinations of leading miltary figures and government supporters have won it Mengistu's implacable hatred (see "Anti-Communist Terror in Ethiopia," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976).

The Derg vendetta against the EPRP as well as army sweeps against left-wing rebels in the provinces have an ethnic aspect that recalls Idi Amin's tribalist pogroms and the racial/tribal cleavages among and within the nationalist groups in Angola. *Le Monde* (26 May) notes that Mengistu "is not a semite like his predecessors, but a Galla, a black, the first ever to have governed Ethiopia." The Amharas, although only a quarter of the population, are historically the privileged elite, ruling over a kaleidoscope of other ethnic groups (of which the Gallas are by far the largest) which they conquered in the late nineteenth century. Mengistu's power base within the army is, at least in part, based on this factor: "Frequently, non-coms or lower-grade officers have replaced their Amhara superiors, often after having killed them."

This should not be surprising, for none of the bourgeois nationalist regimes of post-independence Africa have been able to overcome tribal antagonisms, any more than did the colonial rulers. However, because some of these tyrants like Mengistu hypocritically term themselves "socialists," the imperialist and pro-imperialist press has been able to use the terrible bloodbath going on in Ethiopia as a propaganda weapon against the left. A current example is the dramatic front page of *Jeune Afrique* with Mengistu's photo and the blood-dripping title, "Socialism *and* Barbarism."

Peking's and Moscow's alternating support for the military regime (a repeat of their courtship of the "anti-imperialist" emperor before his overthrow) had prevented the EPRP from falling completely into either the Chinese or Soviet orbit. Still it pays ritual tribute to the heroes of "Third World" Stalinism. On last year's May Day, the party's supporters marched behind portraits of Mao Tse-tung and "Che" Guevara.

Prensa Latina

Mengistu greets Castro during recent Africa tour.

And what does Guevara's comrade-in-arms, Fidel Castro, think of this murderous military junta? Following his recent tour of Africa, which included several days in Ethiopia, Castro was interviewed by Simon Malley, editor of the Algeria-financed *Afrique-Asie*. This was Castro's evaluation of the Derg:

> "The February 3 events have been decisive. That was when the left and the true leaders of the Revolution took control and the process was directed along revolutionary lines.
>
> "I've gotten to know Mengistu very well. He is a serene, intelligent, daring and courageous man, and I think that he has exceptional qualities as a revolutionary leader.
>
> "Even though the Ethiopian Revolution has powerful enemies, the people are ready to fight, and no true revolution can be beaten easily. We think the success and consolidation of the Ethiopian Revolution are of great importance for Africa.
>
> "Let me repeat that I think that Mengistu is a true revolutionary and that the revolution now being developed in Ethiopia is a true revolution."
>
> —*Gramma*, 22 May

Castro is playing a key role in the Soviet bloc's attempt to extend its influence in the strategic Horn of Africa by cementing an alliance with Mengistu and mediating the long-standing Ethiopia/Somalia border dispute. The *Afrique-Asie* interview reports that Castro attended a secret summit conference in Aden with the leaders of Somalia, Ethiopia and South Yemen to lobby for Moscow's proposed "anti-imperialist confederation" of the three countries. The real selling point, however, is not Castro's "Third World" diplomacy but Soviet arms.

Since last summer when several army officers were executed on charges of conspiring with the CIA, Ethiopian/U.S relations cooled rapidly. In the same period, Washington was bolstering relations with the Sudan, which supports two of the Derg's major opponents, the royalist Ethiopian Dem-

ocratic Union and the predominantly Muslim Eritrean Liberation Front. The military junta repeatedly complained that it was not receiving sufficient military equipment from the Pentagon to modernize its army, which has been steadily pushed back in Eritrea until it now holds only a handful of towns.

Twice last year the Derg's arms requests were held up for months, and it was forced to scurry across Europe, East and West, in search of alternate sources. In December a delegation went to Moscow and signed a secret agreement for the purchase of more than $100 million in arms. Since the February

Bourgeoisie holds Ethiopian regime as example of African socialism.

shoot-out, Mengistu has openly expressed his preference for Soviet patronage. In return, Jimmy Carter suddenly discovered "human rights" violations in Ethiopia (presumably these did not exist from 1945 to 1975 when the U.S. poured $600 million into the coffers of Haile Selassie and, for a time, the Derg), and cut off U.S. military aid.

In his May Day speech Mengistu bragged about ending an era of "slavery" by expelling five U.S. agencies in late April. The international Stalinist press dutifully reported his bluster. Three days later, he was in Moscow, where he signed a declaration laying the "foundations for friendship and cooperation" between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union.

Moscow has delivered tens of thousands of weapons along with dozens of tanks and armored personnel carriers. Reports from the Eritrean guerrillas and from Sudan claim that Cuban military advisors are training the peasant militias. Whatever the truth of this assertion, in an interview with Barbara Walters of ABC-TV, Castro stated that all the Cubans in Ethiopia are "accredited as diplomatic personnel," while adding: "I want to warn you that this does not imply that we are not willing to send instructors."

Once again the Stalinists are demonstrating their willingness to seal diplomatic deals in the blood of left-wing militants in other countries. Since the EPRP is extremely isolated internationally, Moscow's professional liars do not shirk from even the most nauseating slanders in their efforts to cover up for Mengistu. In the 21 May *Daily World*, Communist Party hack Tom Foley actually hails the recent massacres:

> "Part of the imperialist panic no doubt arises from the increasing effectiveness of Ethiopia's worker and peasant militias in fighting U.S.-supported counterrevolutionary bands.
> "The CIA-backed 'Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party,' which had been carrying on a terror campaign aimed at workers [it took credit for the assassination of the government-installed, strike-breaking head of the labor federation], has suffered crippling losses lately in Addis Ababa."

The vultures that hover over Revolution Square in Addis Ababa are a grisly symbol not only of the frenzied bloodlust of the Derg but also of the bottomless treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracies—the gravediggers of the world revolution. The future of humanity lies not only in the social revolution to smash bourgeois rule, from Ethiopia to the U.S., but in political revolution to overthrow the self-serving bureaucratic betrayers who rule over the deformed workers states. ■

How CIA Infiltrated Australian Labor Movement

—reprinted from Australasian Spartacist No. 43, June 1977

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is a sinister gang of professional assassins in the service of the world's foremost imperialist power. In carrying out the covert military operations dictated by U.S. foreign policy interests the CIA murdered the Congolese nationalist leader, Patrice Lumumba, in 1961; Latin American revolutionary, Che Guevara, in 1967; and made at least eight attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. These hitmen for U.S. imperialism organised or bankrolled reactionary coups in Brazil, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, Iran, Indonesia, Cambodia and Greece. They organised the 1960 Bay of Pigs invasion designed to topple the Castro government and have infiltrated and subverted trade unions throughout the world.

So when Christopher Boyce, a young [American] employee of TRW (a [California] electronics firm with CIA contacts) [who is] charged with being a Soviet spy, told a Los Angeles court in late April, "If you think what the CIA did in Chile was bad you should see what they are doing in Australia," he stirred up an understandable hue and cry.

What is the CIA doing in Australia? According to Boyce, it has infiltrated Australian unions particularly in the transport industry; furthermore, it systematically deceived Australian governments about the true nature of the ultra-secret Pine Gap "communications" base near Alice Springs.

Victor Marchetti, an ex-CIA operative whose *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* exposed numerous CIA operations, bolstered Boyce's charges with the additional information that the "satellite-tracking" station at Pine Gap can tap all overseas telephone and telex messages to and from Australia and that the CIA has filtered funds to the Liberal and Country parties. Philip Agee, another ex-CIA agent, then exposed eight CIA operatives here and linked CIA money with the virulently anti-communist National Civic Council (NCC) of B.A. Santamaria and right-wing union officials associated with it. In an interview on ABC-TV Marchetti expressed his belief that the CIA acted to "destabilise" the Whitlam Labor government, albeit in a more "sophisticated" manner than Chile.

There is every reason to believe all the concrete charges are true, but that is scarcely surprising. None but a fool could doubt that the U.S. would maintain an intelligence operation in a

Workers News

50,000 protested in Melbourne, November 1975, against Kerr's dismissal of Labor premier Whitlam.

strategic component of its world-wide counterrevolutionary military alliances—ANZUS [the 1951 Australia-New Zealand-U.S. tripartite treaty] is hardly a secret—nor that it would keep secrets from what is after all a *very junior* imperialist partner. However, whatever the CIA's "destabilising" activities in Australia, they certainly must have been a great deal more subtle than in Chile. Australia is no Chile and [current Australian prime minister Malcolm] Fraser is no Pinochet.

The Australian bourgeoisie has every reason to protect the secrecy of the CIA. Why, then, have the bourgeois media, particularly Fairfax's Sydney tabloid, the *Sun*, run a spate of sensationalist exposés of CIA activity? Fairfax rabidly supported [Gough] Whitlam's sacking and is as firmly committed to the "American Alliance" as is Fraser (or, for that matter, Whitlam). A 5 May editorial in the *Financial Review* provided some useful insights: "The Australian business community ought to be especially concerned about the commercial implications" of CIA wiretapping, and the public must be *re-assured* about these allegations which have surfaced."

In other words, even the firmest of imperialist allies have *some* conflicting interests, and besides, to allow the real "dirty tricks" of CIA/ASIO [Australian Security Intelligence Organisation] to remain hidden a small amount of exposure is necessary. Without deluding itself that the bourgeoisie has any intention of curbing its secret police, the labour movement must demand *full disclosure* of all the secret dealings of these counterrevolutionary agencies!

In fact many of the "revelations" which have come out so far, particularly those concerning the sacking of the Whitlam government in 1975, were documented well over a year ago in Paul Kelly's book, *The Unmaking of Gough*. Shortly before his sacking on 11 November 1975 Whitlam accused Doug Anthony, National/Country Party leader, of being tainted by CIA money. The ensuing flap led to the disclosure that Anthony's friend, Richard Stallings, who supervised the construction of Pine Gap, had been a CIA agent. The obvious implication was that there was more to Pine Gap than the "communications."

An alarmed CIA fired off a service-to-service cable to ASIO one day before the sacking, warning that any further disclosures would lead to rupture in the CIA's information exchange with its small-time counterpart. The following day [Australian governor-general John] Kerr, who had longstanding links with both ASIO and the CIA, dismissed Whitlam.

But various fake lefts, notably the reformist Communist Party (CPA) and the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Labour League (SLL), have seized upon these "revelations" as "proof" of their contention that Whitlam's sacking was a CIA-masterminded coup. According to the CPA, the CIA had Whitlam thrown out because he was about to lift the lid on CIA activities in Parliament on 11 November and thereby expose Pine Gap's real functions: "... tracking Soviet missiles in the event of nuclear war and *spying on Australia itself*" (*Tribune*, 4 May—emphasis added).

The SLL chimes in that the downfall of the Labor government resulted from a CIA "campaign of destabilisation... throughout its term in office" (*Workers News*, 5 May). The Fraser government was then installed to take orders from "international capitalism and the Central Intelligence Agency [four months ago it was (supposedly) the Japanese shipbuilders giving the orders] that the trade union movement must be smashed" (*Workers News*, 12 May).

There is little reason to doubt that the CIA/ASIO was at least sympathetic to, and likely involved in, Whitlam's dismissal. After 23 years out of federal office, the new ALP [Australian Labor Party] government quickly developed frictions with the established state bureaucracy—especially ASIO—which was accustomed to dealing with and loyal to a Liberal government. The

continued on page 11

Australasian Spartacist

Spartacist League banner at Hyde Park demonstration in Sydney against Kerr's dismissal of Whitlam.

Leninism and Workers Control

by Joseph Seymour

The following article is based on a talk by Comrade Seymour at a West Coast Spartacus Youth League educational in mid-March.

There is probably no question in contemporary left-wing politics where greater confusion, both substantive and terminological, reigns than over "workers control." Of the several forms of confusion, the most dangerous is a *stagist* conception of workers control as the link between day-to-day trade-union militancy and revolutionary dual power, as the *necessary, first* step toward the seizure of state power. Workers control is not a demand which communist trade unionists agitate for and seek to implement every day in every way. It is only appropriate to a qualitatively different, higher level of class struggle.

Workers control—dual power at the point of production—is an aspect, usually secondary, of a generalized revolutionary crisis. With one exception—Italy in 1969—workers control has emerged only *after*, not before, the government was overthrown and the repressive state apparatus was in disarray: Russia 1917, Germany 1918, Spain 1936, Portugal 1974-75. And in Italy's "Hot Autumn" in 1969, workers control was a subordinate aspect of a mass strike wave centered on economic demands.

There are four characteristic kinds of confusion. The most important is an attempt to exploit terminological ambiguity in the service of a reformist programmatic conception. This is the trade unionization of workers control. In the conventional sense, trade unions normally exercise some control over the conditions of production, job standards and the like. Trotsky, who was very precise in his programmatic formulations, always speaks of "workers control of production" or "of industry" to distinguish this concept from the kind of control that trade unions normally exercise.

In a recent article, "Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement" (*WV* No. 146, 25 February), we demanded "trade-union control of safety conditions in all industrial situations." This is *not* a call for generalized dual power at the industrial level. Rather it is a strong trade-union demand. Many unions in many countries have forced management to adhere to a thick rulebook specifying safety standards. This is not "workers control of production." Of course, it is in the interests of reformists and centrists to blur the distinction between this type of trade-union control of working conditions and generalized dual power at the point of production signaling a revolutionary situation.

A second source of confusion is more purely terminological. "Control" is a word which exists in many Indo-European languages with similar but not identical meanings. In European languages other than English, "to control" means to check or monitor the actions of another. For example, the functionary who checks tickets on French trains is called the *controleur de billets*. However, in English the term "control" means to administer or direct. While in other languages "workers control" is distinct from and weaker than "workers management," in English the two are usually identified. Thus English-speaking Trotskyists sometimes confuse these two qualitatively different concepts. For example, Felix Morrow in his *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain* uses "workers control" to describe what was actually workers management of nominally nationalized enterprises.

Novosti

1917 factory meeting led by Bolshevik workers.

A third area of confusion centers on workers management, which is neither identical with nor necessarily occurs under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our program is not workers management, but rather the management or administration by a workers government of a centrally directed and planned economy.

It is possible for generalized workers management or, more precisely, self-management to exist as another, distinct form of dual power. Workers control is dual power *within* the production unit; management is still trying to reassert its traditional authority. In Italy 1969 there were pitched battles of Fiat workers against Fiat foremen and company goons—that's what we mean by workers control or dual power. Workers management, by contrast, occurs when the bourgeois management abandons the productive units to the workers, while the latter are not subject to economic administration by the state. It is obvious that such an extraordinary situation can occur only when a proletarian state power has not yet consolidated its rule (Bolshevik Russia in late 1917-early 1918) or in a civil war under a weak bourgeois "popular front" government (Spain 1936-37). Workers management is then a situation of dual power *between* the productive units and the government, which may be either proletarian or bourgeois. The government's monopoly over the mechanisms of finance is invariably the Achilles heel of workers management.

A fourth point of confusion concerns "workers control" as an institution under a democratically governed workers state with a centralized planned economy. The terminological identity of this concept with "workers control" in a revolutionary, dual-power situation is codified in the Transitional Program and reflects the political language of the Russian experience. That the same term refers to two fundamentally different programmatic concepts is inherently confusing and ideally should be avoided. However, it would be ineffectual scholasticism for us to invent and use different terms.

Nevertheless, comrades must understand the difference. Workers control under socialist economic planning is an authoritative *consultative* voice at the point of production. It is absolutely not counterposed or antagonistic to the managerial hierarchy of the workers government. The notion that "workers control" has the selfsame character during a revolutionary offensive against capitalism and in a workers state is an economist or syndicalist deviation.

Workers control is not a demand made upon the employer or state; it is a *condition* of struggle. Workers control cannot be incorporated into a trade-union contract or otherwise institutionalized. By its very nature workers control posits open-ended struggle between workers and management. Comrade Douglas' document captures well the difference between strong trade unionism and workers control. Putting assembly-line speed in the contract is a strong trade-union demand; workers control means determining line speed against management's will. A union hiring hall is a strong trade-union demand; workers control is forcing management to hire more people than it wants to employ. These are real and significant differences.

Because workers control cannot be institutionalized, it is wrong to call for workers control in a particular firm or industry as a programmatic norm. In a revolutionary situation, of course, certain firms and industries are in the vanguard of workers control struggles—the Putilov metalworks in St. Petersburg in 1917, Fiat in Turin in 1969, the Lisnave shipyards in Lisbon in 1974-75. However, a call to action on a particular firm in a revolutionary period is different from a programmatic norm.

Pabloite Revisionism

The leading exponents of reformist and stagist conceptions of workers control are the European Pabloites. In Britain, the best-known left-wing advocates of workers control are two free-lancing independent Pabloites, Ken Coates and Tony Topham of the Institute for Workers' Control. The very name reveals a reformist conception. Think of the Institute for Revolutionary Dual Power in Industry! The purely social-democratic nature of the Coates/Topham project is spelled out openly:

> "The aims of the Institute for Workers' Control shall be...to assist in the formation of Workers' Control groups dedicated to the development of democratic consciousness, to the winning of support for Workers' Control in all existing organizations of Labour, to the challenging of undemocratic actions wherever they may occur, and the extension of democratic control over industry and the economy itself...."
>
> — *Bulletin of the Institute for Workers' Control*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (no date)

A far more sophisticated exponent of a reformist, stagist position on workers control than the "industrial democrat" Coates is Ernest Mandel. Labeling workers' control an "anti-capitalist structural reform," he presents it as an institutionalized aspect of trade-union bargaining:

> "Workers' control is the affirmation by the workers of a refusal to let the management dispose freely of the means of production and labour power.... It is a refusal to enter discussions with the management or the government as a whole on the division of the national income, so long as the workers have not acquired the ability to reveal the way the capitalists cook up the books when they talk of prices and profits."
>
> —"Lessons of May," *New Left Review*, November-December 1968

Mandel simply trivializes workers control as an appendage to every kind of social struggle normally occurring in capitalist society:

> "The struggle for workers' control—with which the strategy of anti-capitalist structural reforms, the struggle for a transitional programme, is largely identified—must...keep close to the preoccupations of the masses, must *constantly* arise from the *everyday* reality experienced by the workers, their wives, the students and revolutionary intellectuals." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Ibid.*

The anti-revolutionary nature of Mandel's position is clear when he attempts to inject workers control into the French May 1968 general strike. I read the following passage several times because I didn't understand it. This is because it's inherently confused and confusing, grafting a reformist, stagist concept of workers control onto a revolutionary dual power situation:

> "The general strike of May 1968...offers us an excellent example of the key importance of this problem. Ten million workers were out on strike. They occupied their factories. If they were moved by the desire to do away with many of the social injustices heaped up by the Gaullist regime in the ten years of its existence, they were obviously aiming beyond simple wage scale demands."

It is significant that Mandel does not see the strikers as having a revolutionary anti-capitalist impulse, merely wanting to eliminate "many" (sic) of the social injustices associated with the Gaullist regime. He goes on:

> "But if the workers did not feel like being satisfied with immediate demands, they also did not have any exact idea of what they did want. Had they been educated in the preceding years and months in the spirit [sic] of workers' control, they would have known what to do, elect a committee in every plant that would begin by opening the company books; calculate for themselves the various companies' real manufacturing costs and rates of profit; establish a right of veto on hiring and

firing and on any changes in the organization of the work."

—"The Debate on Workers' Control," *International Socialist Review*, May-June 1969

But for there to be "workers control of production" *there must be production*. A functioning workers control committee during a general strike would be scabbing! Workers control and a general strike are two mutually exclusive economic-military tactics, which usually arise in very different situations. As we shall see, workers control is usually an attempt to *maintain* production in the face of employer sabotage, the disruption of war or severe economic crisis.

CNT

One of the many union-run workshops established in Barcelona in 1936.

The call for workers control during the French May events would not merely have been wrong and confusionist, but dangerous and liquidationist. Under those conditions, the French ruling class would have promised considerable concessions toward workers control—open books, union veto on firing, the right to beat up foremen and all kinds of good things—if only the workers ended the general strike and defused the political crisis.

Mandel himself drew out the liquidationist consequences of his call for workers control during the French May-June 1968 events in an article published at that time:

> "It is here that the strategy of 'anticapitalist structural reforms,' transition demands, assumes all its validity. *The masses cannot seize power in the factories* and neighborhoods; that calls for a new and centralized revolutionary leadership that does not as yet exist. But the fact that the masses are not yet in a position to seize power does not at all imply the impossiblity of winning, right now, demands over and above wage increases.
>
> "The workers hold the factories and nerve centers of the nation.... They must immediately establish a de facto power that the bosses and the state cannot cancel out once 'calm' has been restored....
>
> "This de facto power consists in democratically elected committees which establish workers control over all production....
>
> "*These committees should decide which enterprises would begin operating again*, and to what end—that is, exclusively to fill the needs of the working population. They should have veto power over every investment project." [our emphasis]
>
> "From the Bankruptcy of Neocapitalism to the Struggle for the Socialist Revolution," in *Revolt in France* (1968)

The French 1968 general strike is a perfect example of when a stagist concept of workers control is dangerous. Workers control would have meant a *lowering* of the level of class struggle. It would have been equivalent to abandoning a major battle on the verge of victory and retreating into guerrilla war. The correct revolutionary demand for the French May events was the unification and centralization of the strike committees as embryonic soviets, bypassing a distinct period of workers control.

Trotsky on Germany 1931

Trotsky's 1931 article, "Workers' Control of Production," is absolutely unambiguous that workers control is not a reform, but a manifestation of dual power in a revolutionary situation:

> "Control can be imposed only by force upon the bourgeoisie, by a proletariat on the road to the moment of taking power from them, and then also ownership of the means of production. Thus the regime of workers' control, a provisional, transitional regime by its very essence, can correspond only to the period of the convulsing of the bourgeois state, the proletarian offensive, and the falling back of the bourgeoisie, that is, to a period of the proletarian revolution in the fullest sense of the word."

However, taken out of historic context and read superficially, Trotsky's article could be interpreted as positing workers control as a necessary or normal early stage of a revolutionary crisis.

Amid Trotsky's voluminous writings on revolutionary strategy and tactics, there is only one substantive article on workers control—concerning Germany in 1931. Why did Trotsky bring to the fore the demand for workers control at that particular place and time? Why did he consider factory committees rather than soviets as the most likely form of dual power? Why did he regard workers control rather than a mass strike wave or street fighting as the probable initial form of confrontation with bourgeois authority?

First, the economic conditions militated against the strike tactic. Given a sharp and worsening depression, the tasks of the workers were to prevent plant closures, lock-outs and increased unemployment.

Apart from economic conjunctural considerations, Trotsky's position on workers control was governed by the relations of the Communist Party (CP), which he considered bureaucratic centrist with a potential for revolutionary renewal, to the Social Democrats on the one hand and to the Nazis on the other. In most circumstances the strength of the workers movement against the employers is roughly in line with its strength against the state. Try having a work action in Brazil, Iran or South Korea. However, in Germany 1931 the power of the workers in the shops was far greater than in the streets. The Communists alone, a minority of the proletariat, could not overcome the Nazi stormtroopers; the CP's sectarianism and the Social Democrats' legalism prevented united military action against the fascists. However, the Nazi writ did not run into the factories so that in military terms resistance to workers control was far less than to other forms of a proletarian offensive.

The German Social Democrats associated soviets with Communist rule and would have opposed them as a united-front form. The "Third Period" Stalinists refused to work in the Social Democratic-dominated trade unions. The factory committees were the only existing common organizations of Social Democratic and Communist workers. Thus Trotsky saw in the factory committees and workers control the path of least resistance for a united proletarian offensive. His advocacy of workers control was not a universal tactical schema, but a concrete form for a united front of a deeply divided workers movement against the growing fascist threat. If one abstracts Trotsky's position from the concrete conjuncture and political alignment in Germany 1931, one is liable to project a false tactical schema involving the fetishization of workers control.

The Bolsheviks and Workers Control

The Bolshevik Revolution and Spanish civil war witnessed the most profound workers control struggles and the only experiences of widespread workers self-management. Therefore the assimilation of these two historic experiences is essential to understand our programmatic positions on the question.

Unlike the Russian revolution of 1905, 1917 was not marked by mass strikes. The workers knew that the war had severely damaged and dislocated the Russian economy, industry was on the verge of collapse due to breakdowns and shortages, and the urban population was threatened by famine. Workers control arose primarily to counter capitalist neglect and sabotage, rather than to extract economic concessions. Lenin's strong support for workers control in this period was motivated by a conservative economic purpose. In a major article, significantly entitled "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Fight It" (September 1917), he states:

> "Control, supervision and accounting are the prime prerequisites for combatting catastrophe and famine. This is indisputable and universally recognised. And it is just what *is not being done* from fear of encroaching on the supremacy of the landowners and capitalists, on their immense, fantastic and scandalous profits...." [emphasis in original]

Shortly after coming to power, the Bolshevik government issued two decrees (14 November and 13 December) designed to institutionalize the dual power already existing within Russian factories. The second decree details the powers of the control commissions:

> "The control commission of each enterprise is to establish the amount of materials, fuel, equipment, workers and technicians, etc., required for production, the actual stock in hand and labor available; to estimate the prospects of carrying on or closing down; to maintain labor discipline; to check whether buying and selling conform to state regulations; to watch over productivity, and assist in ascertaining production costs, etc.
>
> "Decisions of the control commission designed to secure the conditions for its operation *are binding on the owner*. [our emphasis]

It also stipulates that direct management remains in the owners' hands and that the control commission has no right to expropriate the enterprises on its own:

> "The owner retains his managerial rights over the administration and operation of the enterprise. The control commission does not take part in the administration of the enterprise and is not responsible for its operation.... The

continued on page 8

Helena Hermes

CGT-called march in Paris brought out 800,000 unionists in May 1968.

Informations Ouvrieres

Portuguese shipyard workers on strike in 1973.

Workers Control...

(continued from page 7)

> control commission may, through its higher authorities, raise the question of sequestration of an enterprise or any other compulsory measure with the economic state organs, but it has no right itself to seize and administer an enterprise."
>
> —reproduced in Margaret Dewar, *Labour Policy in the USSR 1917-1928* (1956)

Why did Lenin put forth a policy he later described as a "contradictory and incomplete measure"? Lenin's position on workers control is incomprehensible unless one realizes that he was opposed to the nationalization of industry in the short term. He defended this policy as late as spring 1918 against left communist opponents (Bukharin, Radek, Ossinsky). The Bolshevik government did not have available the technical/managerial apparatus capable of administering a socialized, planned economy. Lenin believed that through a combination of concessions and pressure Russia's capitalists could be made to serve the new Soviet state. Workers control commissions were projected as the lowest level of state economic administration. Secondly, Lenin considered workers control a school to train a proletarian managerial cadre, who could take over the administration of a socialized economy in a gradual, orderly and efficient way.

The Bolshevik attempt to institutionalize workers control broke down almost immediately. Capitalists hostile to soviet power abandoned their factories for counterrevolutionary intrigue. Workers, in turn hostile and distrustful toward their employers, drove them out and took over the factories. Frequently instructions from the Supreme Council of the National Economy (VSNKh) *not* to expropriate an enterprise were met with the response that it had already been done. In the months following the October Revolution, workers control gave way to workers self-management imposed from below.

The instructions of VSNKh to the individual factory committees concerning production and distribution were frequently disregarded. The factory committees sought to maximize enterprise income through unbridled competition for supplies and markets. A Bolshevik leader of the Metal Workers Union, writing in late 1917, described the situation as follows:

> "Another proprietor came, who was equally an individualist and anti-social as the former one, and the name of the new proprietor was the control committee. In the Donetz area, the metal works and mines refused to supply each other with coal and iron on credit, selling the iron to the peasants without regard for the needs of the State."
>
> —quoted in Maurice Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917* (1948)

Another Bolshevik trade unionist in November 1917 summarizes the situation thus:

> "Workers control by itself is an anarchistic attempt to achieve socialism in one enterprise, and actually leads to clashes among the workers themselves and to the refusal of fuel, metal, etc. to one another."
>
> —quoted in Paul Avrich, *The Russian Revolution and Factory Committees* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1961)

These quotes are somewhat one-sided. The recourse of the factory committees to unrestrained atomized competition did not primarily express either parochial self-centeredness or anarcho-syndicalist prejudices, though both were present. Rather the economic situation reflected the new Bolshevik government's lack of authority and organization amid the anarchic turmoil of revolution. The workers in the mass supported Lenin's government to one degree or another, but questioned its viability and permanence. It was understandable for individual factory committees to refuse to sell on credit to a government they believed would not be around long enough to pay.

The disastrous effect of workers self-management and the exigencies of the looming civil war convinced most workers of the need for centralized economic direction. The institution of "war communism" met with general support and little resistance.

The onset of full-scale civil war in mid-1918 led to wholesale nationalization and the subordination of the factory committees to centralized economic direction. However, the main reason that Lenin had earlier opposed general nationalization remained. The Bolshevik government did not have an apparatus capable of administering a nationalized, centralized industry. So it turned to the one politically loyal organization which had a hierarchy conforming to the industrial structure—the trade unions. The economy under "war communism" was administered by the trade unions, not by a separate state body. Industrial management by the trade unions, traditional workers organizations, had the further advantage of allaying syndicalist prejudices against the new soviet state power.

Trotsky with Lenin in 1920. Penguin

The threat of white terror strengthened the loyalty of the workers to Bolshevik rule and generated a spirit of self-sacrifice. Economic administration by the unions worked fairly well. A policy originally undertaken as a practical expedient was accepted as a programmatic norm for a workers state. The new Bolshevik program adopted at the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919 stipulated the trade unions would be the basic organ of economic administration. Point 5 of the section entitled "In the sphere of economics" states:

> "The organizing apparatus of socialized industry must first of all rest upon the trade unions. The latter must free themselves from the narrow guild outlook and transform themselves into large productive combinations comprising the majority, and gradually all the workers of a given branch of production."
>
> —Robert H. McNeal, ed., *Decisions and Resolutions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1974)

This programmatic statement would cause much trouble a few years later.

The overwhelming economic exigencies of the civil war suppressed any differences within the Bolshevik party over the optimal organization of a workers state, of the relations between the government administration, the trade unions and other workers organizations. Such differences exploded with the end of the civil war in early 1921 amid a mass reaction against the severe austerity and commandism of "war communism."

The Tenth Party Congress in March 1921 saw the semi-syndicalist Workers Opposition advocate the administration of the economy by *autonomous* trade unions. Trotsky, short-sightedly concerned with rehabilitating the economy as speedily as possible, advocated the total statification of the unions, liquidating them as autonomous, internally democratic bodies. Lenin, whose views prevailed, occupied a middle position. He insisted on the direct administration of the economy of the state. He also supported autonomous trade unions to represent the interests of specific groups of workers vis-à-vis the government administration hierarchy, which was capable of bureaucratic abuses as well as errors.

Only with the institution of the New Economic Policy in 1921 did the Bolshevik government acquire its own distinct organs of economic administration. This freed the unions to defend the consumerist interests of specific groups of workers. The Labor Code of 1922 stipulated that wages and working conditions be determined by collective bargaining between the unions and state employers.

The early 1920's also saw the introduction of a new form of workers control as an authoritative consultative voice designed to increase productivity. Production conferences of the entire work force elected standing control commissions to oversee that their recommendations were carried out. The Stalinist political counterrevolution eroded and eventually suppressed the control commissions, as it did the trade unions and all other independent proletarian bodies.

The Trotskyist Left Opposition in its 1927 "Platform" calls attention to the atrophying of workers control and the growing indifference of the workers toward productivity:

> "The production conferences are gradually being reduced to nothing. The majority of the practical proposals adopted by the workers are never carried out. Among many of these workers a distaste for these production conferences is nourished by the fact that the improvements which they do succeed in introducing often result in a reduction of the number of workers."

The "Platform of the Joint Opposition" called for strengthening the control commissions:

> "The functions of the control commissions of the production councils must be extended to include supervising the execution of their decisions and investigating their success in protecting the workers' interests."

The 1938 Transitional Program incorporated workers control in the consultative sense as a programmatic norm in a workers state, an integral part of proletarian democracy and rational economic planning.

Workers Management in the Spanish Civil War

While workers management in the Bolshevik revolution was a short-lived, anarchic episode, workers management was a central element in the Spanish revolution and civil war. Following the defeated military coup of July 1936 most of Spain's capitalists either fled or were driven out into the areas controlled by Franco's army. Workers management became widespread throughout Spain and dominant in Catalonia (which then accounted for 70 percent of Spanish industry), where the labor movement was dominated by the anarcho-syndicalists through their trade-union federation, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). Workers management was legalized by the Collectivization Decree of October 1936.

The anarchist masses did not look upon workers management as a temporary situation or expedient caused by the civil war, but as the realization of their ideal program. They believed the libertarian millennium had arrived. Despite this very different political attitude, the *initial* experience of workers management in Spain resembled that of Russia in 1917-18. The anarchist-managed collectives acted like competing producer cooperatives. In those collectives which inherited ample material and financial reserves, which had new equipment and enjoyed favorable market demand, the workers' incomes were relatively high. In those collectives without these advantages, the workers suffered accordingly. The situation is well described by Gaston Leval, a French anarchist and prominent CNT militant at the time:

> "Too often in Barcelona and Valencia, workers in each undertaking took over the factory, the works, or the workshop, the machines, raw materials, and taking advantage of the continuation of the money system and normal capitalist commercial relations, organised production on their own account, selling for their own benefit the produce of their labour....
>
> "There was not, therefore, true socialisation, but a workers' neo-capitalism, a self-management straddling capitalism and socialism, which we maintain would not have occured had the Revolution been able to extend itself fully under the direction of our Syndicates."
>
> —*Collectives in the Spanish Revolution* (1975)

The anarcho-syndicalist cadre, like Leval, were dismayed that the "libertarian" collectives reproduced the irrationality and inegalitarianism of the capitalist market, a situation which also impeded the war against Franco. The CNT hierarchy more-or-less successfully countered the anarchic parochialism of the collectives and imposed some centralized economic direction. In general, the anarcho-syndicalist workers regarded the enterprises as belonging to the CNT as a whole, not to the individual collectives. Through the CNT, the Spanish workers achieved miracles of economic organization. In Catalonia, which had no metal-working industry, the CNT collectives built a munitions industry from the ground up. The Spanish proletariat diplayed outstanding labor discipline, self-sacrifice and ingenuity. This is one of the factors that caused Trotsky, in arguing for the unique significance of the Bolshevik Party, to state that in their mass consciousness the Spanish proletariat stood higher, not lower, than the

Russian workers of 1917-18.

The CNT attempted, with mixed success, to combine the individual enterprises into vertically-integrated industrial syndicates (e.g., textiles, wood products). However, all the CNT collectives—individual factories, multi-enterprise industrial syndicates (like the light textile syndicate in Alcoy), transport and utilities—had to relate to the rest of the economy through capitalist commercial methods.

Were the CNT collectives economically viable? Those collectives which had a relatively self-contained production process, supplied a localized market, enjoyed a monopolistic position and a large, regular cash flow were generally "profitable." The pride of the CNT industrial collectives was the Barcelona tramways syndicate, a localized monopoly supplying an essential service for immediate cash payment. But those collectives which were part of a long chain of production, imported raw materials, sold on long-term credits or to the government (e.g., the munitions industry) were *not* economically viable without state support and cooperation. Such collectives were critically dependent upon state credit and, therefore, on parties hostile to workers management and the anarcho-syndicalist masses. One justification the anarchist leaders advanced for entering the central Popular Front government was to secure state finance for the CNT collectives.

The collectives were naturally the most resolute defenders of workers management. Despite the attitudes of the workers and given the absence of a planned, socialized economy, the collectives had an organic tendency to become competing producer cooperatives.

The CNT bureaucracy administered the collectives partly in the interests of what it considered economic rationality and partly to carry out the bidding of its Popular Front partners. The CNT did on behalf of the bourgeois Popular Front government what the Russian trade unions did on behalf of the Bolshevik government; it disciplined the anarchic, localist tendencies of the collectives in the interests of the government's economic objectives.

The "expanded economic plenum" of the CNT in January 1938 adopted a series of measures resembling "war communism." These measures, of course, grossly violated anarcho-syndicalist principles. An inspectorate was created to "put forward the expected norms which will effectively orientate the different industrial units with a view to improving their economy and administration..." (quoted in Vernon Richards, *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* [1972]). These inspectors had the right to sanction the elected factory committees. The plenum also empowered managers to dismiss workers for lateness, absence and failure to meet work norms, as well as those labeled "troublemakers" who "create dissensions between the workers and the managers or the trade union representatives."

The Popular Front government, with the Stalinists in the vanguard, recognized in the factory committees and workers management a locus of independent proletarian power capable of challenging its authority. Therefore the basic policy of the Popular Front was to liquidate workers management and statify the CNT collectives. The CNT was too powerful to achieve this end by direct administrative/military action, so the government resorted to economic sabotage. Capital equipment was requisitioned from the collectives on the pretext that they were needed for the war effort. Leval recounts an incident where the War Ministry requisitioned two modern milling machines from the Barcelona tramways syndicate. Later it was discovered the ministry had a secret cache of some 40 comparable machines.

The primary method by which the Popular Front sabotaged workers management was through its control of finances. The government literally starved the workers in the CNT collectives. Leval describes how this was done:

> "And when, in Catalonia, the Communist leader Comorera became Minister of Finance after the May Days, the means of struggle he adopted were original. It was clear that it was quite impossible to destroy the outstanding influence of the Syndicates of the C.N.T. To attempt to do so would have paralysed production overnight. So, Comorera had recourse to two complementary procedures; on the one hand he deprived the factories of raw materials or deliveries did not arrive on time, thus resulting in production delays which were knowingly criticised; on the other hand they paid for deliveries of cloth, clothing, arms, etc., with a delay which affected the workers' own budgets. As the wages were distributed under the supervision of the Syndicates, it was against the delegates of the C.N.T. and against the organism of which they were the representatives that the discontent of one section of the workers was directed."
>
> —*Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*

The turning point of the Spanish revolution, the "May Days" in Barcelona, was precipitated by a military attack by the Popular Front government on workers management. The CNT collective which ran the telephone system was especially irritating to the Popular Front because it enabled the anarchist workers to listen in on communications between the central ministries in Valencia and their Catalan counterparts. On 3 May 1937 the Stalinist commissar of public order in Catalonia, Rodríguez Sala, attempted an armed assault on the Telefónica building. The infuriated response of the Barcelona workers—a massive general strike including the erection of street barricades—was on the verge of sweeping away the government forces when the anarchist ministers, Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny, intervened to arrange a truce. This gave the central government time to send 6,000 Civil Guards to occupy Barcelona.

In the rightist reaction which followed, the POUM leader Andrés Nin and anarchist Camillo Berneri were assassinated among others, the left-centrist POUM was suppressed and the anarchists were expelled from the government (although they remained loyal to the Popular Front). The "May Days" broke the back of the vanguard of the proletariat; the liquidation of the revolutionary dual power established in July 1936, including workers management, followed apace.

The Trotskyist position toward workers management in the Spanish revolution is governed by the fact that it constituted a form of proletarian dual power in relation to an essentially bourgeois government. While criticizing and opposing anarcho-syndicalist doctrine, we would be the most resolute defenders of workers management in practice, far more so than the treacherous CNT bureaucracy. While maintaining and stepping up production for the war of the Republic against Franco, a Trotskyist leadership would have refused and resisted the Stalinist-inspired state requisitions of capital equipment on the pretext of furthering the war effort. Trotskyists would have demanded the ouster of official representatives of the Popular Front government from all bodies administering the collectives. Above all, the Trotskyists would also have explained that genuine socialization of production required the overthrow of the Popular Front (no less than the defeat of Franco's army) and the establishment of a planned economy administered by a workers government.

The contrasting experiences of Russia 1917-21 and Spain 1936-39 indicate that our attitude toward workers control and management depends above all on the class nature of the state power, and secondarily on the development of the revolution from a proletarian offensive against capitalist rule to the consolidation of a workers government administering a centralized, planned economy. ■

Bob Sherman/Camera 5

Anita Bryant and family in their nightly ritual praying at altar in their Miami Beach home.

Defend Democratic Rights for Homosexuals

Stop Anita Bryant!

Several thousand outraged demonstrators marched from New York's Greenwich Village to midtown Manhattan on June 8. The demonstrators were protesting the repeal of a Dade County, Florida law prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing and public accommodation.

An aggressive scare campaign spearheaded by has-been pop singer Anita Bryant had focused national attention on the Dade County referendum. Decrying the supposed danger of "child molestation" and citing the California drought as proof of "God's" displeasure with homosexuality, Bryant has issued an open invitation for increased persecution of homosexuals on the job, in public places, in their homes. By reversing the legal affirmation that private sexual conduct should not be grounds for harassment and discrimination, the forces of bigotry and reaction have dealt a significant setback to elementary democratic rights.

Bryant, though grotesque and easy to caricature, is no joke and should not be taken lightly. She speaks for a stratum of vicious and fanatical reactionaries who comprise the hardest core of counterrevolution in the United States. This layer of bible-thumping bigots is in the forefront of right-wing attacks on virtually every gain of the liberal activism of the 1960's: school busing programs, abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, etc.

The oppressed of society are generally painfully aware of their own special oppression; in fact the radicalism of the 1960's made a principle out of the separate organization of strata of the oppressed: blacks, women, homosexuals, for example. But it is only when consciousness of oppression transcends the subjective and partial and becomes class consciousness that an effective fight against the common enemy—the capitalist system—can be waged on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. That democratic rights and social freedoms are indivisible is, unfortunately, grasped by the reactionaries, who see the menace of "atheistic communism" lurking behind everything from pornography to abolition of capital punishment. Opponents of this repulsive right-wing offensive must be imbued with a similar breadth of purpose.

The vanguard party of the working class is the force which integrates the will to resist all forms of degradation by the capitalist system. The vanguard party must be "the tribune of the people," championing the rights and aspirations of all the working people and specially oppressed. This championship has nothing in common with the patronizing of liberal moralists, but flows from recognition of common interest. The communists, the first victims of the fascist takeover in Germany, understand that it was the working class' failure to come to power which enabled the Nazis to unleash unspeakable horrors against Jews and other ethnic minorities, homosexuals and other social "deviants," trade unionists, freethinkers, pacifists, radicals of every stripe.

The Spartacist League has nothing but contempt for the Stalinist apologists who glorify the oppressive nuclear family structure and justify the Stalinist regimes' persecution of homosexuals, perceived as a threat to the family. Nor does our approach have anything in common with the polyvanguardist opportunists who tail proponents of "life-style" radicalism. The worst of the anti-Leninist tailists is YAWF, which in its endless search for cheap popularity, in this case to please the "gay movement," has called a national demonstration around

continued on page 10

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Chicago Cops Riot Against Puerto Ricans

(continued from page 1)

reporter that "everybody was shaky because so many police were there" before the trouble even started. Nothing might have happened, he said, "if the police hadn't come in that way at the crowd that had nothing to do with the gangs."

The official contention that the violence was the work of the gangs was inadvertently given the lie by police superintendent James Rochard, who said the tone of the day "had been set by a bombing earlier." Indicating that cop harassment of the 200,000-strong Puerto Rican community in Chicago would *increase* in the wake of the violence, Mayor Bilandic said ominously, "There is a need for constant surveillance." Apparently he wants to use the incident to turn back mounting criticism of the Chicago police "red squad," whose violations of civil rights and privacy have led to a number of recent court cases against the spy unit.

An indication of the city rulers' open contempt for the Puerto Rican population was seen on Monday when several bourgeois Puerto Rican "community leaders" came to the mayor's office to discuss the situation. However, Bilandic was at a campaign breakfast with ward committeemen, being serenaded by two violinists, a piano player and a harpist. The Latino "leaders" cooled their heels for three and a half hours until the mayor showed up to talk to them, and then for only 25 minutes.

The *Chicago Sun-Times* (7 June) piously editorialized against "Humboldt Park Madness," lecturing the Puerto Rican community on its "obligations . . . to help turn youths from gangs" and denouncing those who cheered "mob attacks on police," while limply admitting a few "questions about the adequacy of police leadership" (such as "reports of indiscriminate gunfire"). In reality, the violence was started by a deliberate cop assault, without warning, against an unarmed and unprepared population, many of them picnicking with children. The crowd's effort to drive the trigger-happy cops out of the park and from the streets of their community was an elemental act of self-defense.

On the other hand, unreconstructed New Leftovers see every act of resistance to police brutality as a "mass rebellion," as the October League's *Call* (13 June) termed the Humboldt Park incident. This is a carryover from the view of SDS and various Maoists that the wave of ghetto uprisings in 1964-68 marked the first outbreak of "urban guerrilla warfare" in the U.S. In the first place, the 1960's ghetto risings had diverse origins. The 1968 outbursts were a militant expression of anger over the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. The 1967 Detroit riots, in contrast, were expressions of undirected frustration with the miserable conditions in the urban black ghettos, striking out in particular at white-owned businesses.

The events in Chicago on June 4-5 more closely resemble the 1965 Watts and Chicago riots, in both cases a response to police terror. While there was a will to struggle in self-defense, there was not a program to guide that struggle, so the masses' anger was dissipated in unorganized and undirected outbursts. They lacked the coherent purpose of a rebellion. The day following the 1965 Chicago incident, the local Spartacist committee distributed a leaflet, "Get the Cops Out!" which pinned the blame for the rioting squarely on the police and National Guard. Pointing out the futility of rioting, it called for organized self-defense patrols (see *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965).

The 1960's ghetto outbursts were quickly crushed by the police, National Guard and army. The Black Panthers were later to pay with their lives for miscalculating the consequences of a direct confrontation of a small vanguard nucleus enjoying amorphous popular sympathy with this highly organized and murderous firepower of the capitalist state. Moreover, the net result of these riots was not to lay the basis for organization of the black masses, but rather the burning down of scores of small businesses, leaving the already meagre social resources of the slum neighborhood further impoverished.

The *Call* article and editorial ("It's Right to Fight Back") draw no lessons, provide no guide to action other than "holding high the spirit of the Humboldt Park rebellion"! The OL consciously distorts events by describing the park celebration as a commemoration of Puerto Rican independence struggles; and it makes no mention of the alleged FALN bombing, which was used by the cops as an excuse to unleash its brutal attack on the Puerto Rican population. Just as directionless ghetto outbursts are a reflection of the desperation of the oppressed minority populations, so terrorist bombings of symbols of imperialist domination reflect justifiable outrage. But they do not provide a program for victory.

It is necessary to mobilize the Puerto Rican masses and to join forces with organized labor in demanding that those arrested during the Humboldt Park incident of cop terror be immediately released and charges dropped. Instead, the cops who shot the demonstrators, wounding many and killing two, must be jailed and prosecuted! And the watchword of integrated working-class defense must be raised, both in the threatened community and throughout the Chicago-area workers movement. ■

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James Earl Ray...

(continued from page 12)

in searching for the nefarious right-wing plotters.

Since King had been built up as a hero for black people in the U.S., his assassination struck a different chord. The current House investigation was the result of pressure from the Congressional Black Caucus, whose members saw a chance to get some cheap publicity. Unable to deliver even a few token pork-barrel projects to their constituents, these black Democratic hucksters can pose as the best defenders of Martin Luther King to further their vote-trading, influence-peddling careers.

Then there are King's former lieutenants. Jesse Jackson—who declared that, "The point is James Earl Ray never did act alone"—is trying to bring back memories of the "good old days" when he was leading sit-ins. This, he hopes, will morally uplift his current grubby begging for crumbs from corrupt Democratic Party bosses and Chicago corporations. Even Andrew Young, who went from being King's link with the "progressive" "New South" corporations to serving as Jimmy Carter's front man at the UN, felt obliged to express outrage at Ray's escape. One wonders why, however, upon reading his truly grotesque statements about King in the June issue of *Playboy*.

Young remarks that he thought at the time of King's murder that "he was very fortunate—really that it was a blessing," because "Martin had done all he could. He was misunderstood.... God decided Martin had had enough. It was time to go on home and claim his reward." Alex Haley, author of the black success story *Roots*, expressed exactly the same pious fatalism about Malcolm X, whose autobiography he had helped write. In both cases it was the remark of a liberal who felt that his leader had served a certain purpose but had to leave the scene before he got caught up in something more threatening to American capitalism.

But in addition to those who have their own reasons for pushing to reopen investigation of the King assassination, there are others, powerful figures, who have consistently fought to kill it. Since the creation of the House Select Committee last fall as part of a deal by reluctant House Democratic leaders to buy election support for Carter, there have been repeated attempts to close it down. In return for the ouster of the committee's chief counsel Richard Sprague this spring, the House agreed to temporarily prolong its existence, albeit with a lower budget.

The battle has been taken to the press as well. Thus, last week the *New York Times* carried an obviously planted story by Wendall Rawls, Jr. entitled "House Inquiry Reported Fruitless on Kennedy-King Assassinations." The article dismissed Lane's findings and said that the Committee, after eight months, "has come up with virtually no new information" and has "discovered that much of the so-called 'new information' on which Congress based its decision to reopen the investigations is in error." But over the weekend, stories on Ray's escape exuded the conviction of a conspiracy.

The Rawls article did catch Lane up on one of his key points, the contention that black detective Redditt's removal left King's "protection" devastated. Lane neglected to mention that 12 Memphis policemen were at Redditt's observation position at the time of the assassination. However, this is his only substantial refutation of Lane.

The FBI's Plot Against King

Whatever the validity of Lane's "unanswered questions"—and we are frankly skeptical on the various conspiracy theories about the Kennedy and King assassinations—there *was* a real

Stop Anita Bryant...

(continued from page 9)

the pro-Carter slogan, "Demonstrate for Human Rights."

Unity of the opponents of social oppression can be achieved only on a clear class program, which has no place for Stalinist conciliation of backward prejudices or for the comforting illusion of "personal liberation" within this viciously racist and sexist capitalist society.

In a disgusting editorial (*New York Times*, 9 June), "urbane" conservative columnist William Safire gave backhanded support to the Dade County repeal:

> "In the eyes of the vast majority, homosexuality is an abnormality, a mental illness, even—to use an old-fashioned word—a sin.
>
> "Most of the voters framed the issue, as I did, between tacit toleration and outright approval of homosexuality."

It is truly perverse of Safire to characterize a law prohibiting discrimination as "outright approval of homosexuality" and hypocritically caution that "the activists' demand for moral legitimacy might lash back into an invasion of their legitimate civil rights."

What is at issue is not the futile debate over "sexual preference" and the relative merits of "alternative life styles." The question is whether the state should be given a licence to interfere in private consensual sexual relations, sanctioning persecution of homosexuals by every snoop and bigot. All those concerned with the defense of elementary democratic rights must demand: Immediate abolition of all legislation which discriminates against homosexuals! ■

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conspiracy directed against Martin Luther King, Jr. And furthermore, it was carried out by the same government unit which subsequently "investigated" King's murder: a special "Destroy King" FBI squad operating out of Atlanta.

Last year the Senate Select Committee Investigating Intelligence Activities (popularly known as the Church Committee) heard testimony from Arthur Murtaugh, a former FBI agent stationed in the Atlanta Bureau, and confirmed that there had been sustained use of disruption by the federal political police in a concerted effort to "destroy" King.

In an interview with Lane (reported in *Codename "Zorro"*), Murtaugh said the Bureau's vendetta against King dated back to the early 1960's, since the time King publicly criticized the agency for failing to protect the civil rights workers against Ku Klux Klan attacks. Murtaugh stated:

> "The situation was getting quite active the Klan was shooting into houses at night, and burning churches. SF [the bureau chief] was manipulating the civil rights investigation. Dr. King called a news conference and said the FBI wasn't doing its job.
>
> "Well, I was there, and I know that the FBI wasn't doing its job—it didn't surprise me; and I don't suppose that it surprised the Bureau but that was the beginning of the vendetta against King. From that time on, the concentration of effort against King was greater than any single investigation that I saw take place at the Bureau, and I saw a lot of them in twenty years. There was a crew of people who did almost nothing for a period of seven or eight years, except investigate King and try to destroy him."

Operations against King, referred to under the code name of "Zorro," included bugging his Atlanta home and the SCLC office there, and wiring up his hotel rooms practically wherever he went. FBI "agent-journalists" planted phony stories in the newspapers to discredit him. Anonymous letters and tape recordings alleging King's sexual misconduct were sent to his wife. When King was offered the Nobel Peace Prize, the FBI sent him an anonymous note suggesting he commit suicide instead of accepting it, threatened to release more "damaging" information about him if he did not.

Ebony

Andrew Young with Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. In recent Playboy interview Young said he thought that when King was assassinated "he was very fortunate—really...it was a blessing.... Martin had done all that he could. He was misunderstood.... God decided Martin had had enough. It was time to go on home and claim his reward."

When King was shot he was in the process of planning the Poor People's March on Washington, in which thousands of demonstrators from across the country would converge on the capital and construct a tent city to dramatize their need for jobs and housing. According to Murtaugh, the FBI planted provocateurs to disrupt King's rallies in Memphis in order to prove he could not control the crowds. Thereby they hoped to get the Washington demonstration itself banned.

But Murtaugh's recounting of "dirty tricks" is doubtless the tip of the iceberg. J. Edgar Hoover's personal dedication to "getting" King was widely known, and the COINTELPRO operation issued a directive to all FBI branch offices instructing agents to do anything necessary to "prevent the rise of a black messiah." In light of this memo and the literally thousands of pages of dossiers collected by the intelligence bureau on Malcolm X, there is no telling what a thorough investigation of the government conspiracy against King might discover.

Periodically the left-liberal and radical milieus have been gripped by a conspiracy psychosis, a more specific manifestation of the liberal/reformist penchant to blame all defeats on some particularly reactionary agency or force (CIA, Pentagon, etc.), against which all right-minded "progressives" must ally. We, on the other hand, have been aggressively agnostic about the myriad conspiracy theories concerning the Kennedy assassination, and take similar unproven theories about King's murder with more than a grain of salt.

While we do not believe that every political assassination in the United States since Abraham Lincoln is the result of some kind of fiendish master plan, the accumulated questions surrounding the murder of King remain. The long history of FBI provocations against the civil rights leader are sufficient evidence to distrust its version of the killing, and in any case its files on King should be made public so that the world can see what kind of "freedom" and "human rights" are accorded dissidents in the U.S.

Finally, it is an outrage that *there has never been a real trial of James Earl Ray* - an open ventilation in court of evidence on both sides—because he pleaded guilty at the advice of a lawyer (Arthur Hanes) who is a former FBI and CIA agent, in charge of hiring and training pilots for the Bay of Pigs invasion, who also defended the KKK members accused of killing Violet Liuzzo on the Selma march! In this case the trial itself is far more important than the punishment meted out to Ray, and the Supreme Court's denial of a new trial is a travesty of justice.

The working people and black masses who are the victims of capitalist "justice" and the government's endless conspiracies must demand that the full facts be revealed about the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. We demand the truth about Malcolm X and other militants killed for their stand against the oppression perpetrated by this racist capitalist state. ■

PDC Demands Release of Pablo Riesnik

In response to the detention and subsequent disappearance of Pablo Riesnik in Buenos Aires, the Partisan Defense Committee sent the following telegram. Riesnik was a leader of the student movement in Argentina and editor of Politica Obrera *prior to its forced suspension following the Videla coup.*

Argentine Embassy
1600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Demand official statement on status and whereabouts of Pablo Riesnik, last seen 25 May in Buenos Aires when detained on the street and taken to police station. We protest continuing rightist repression in Argentina and demand immediate guarantee of Riesnik's safety and freedom.

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

CIA...

(continued from page 5)

bourgeoisie's traditional distrust of the ALP would easily reflect itself in the attitude of the CIA, already disturbed by the ALP's opposition to the Vietnam war.

But Whitlam and the ALP tops have never called for getting rid of the CIA or ASIO. It was the Chifley Labor government which set ASIO up in the first place. And if Whitlam was about to lift the lid on CIA activities on 11 November 1975, why has he kept his mouth shut for the last 19 months? If he didn't know all the details about Pine Gap, this chief executive for the bourgeois state certainly was aware that it was a base for counterrevolutionary activities directed against Southeast Asia and the Sino-Soviet deformed workers states. In his three years in office Whitlam had plenty of time to reveal all the dirty details of ANZUS, ASIO and the CIA.

Whatever the extent of the CIA's role in the political crisis, the Australian bourgeoisie did not need the CIA to spur it on to sack Whitlam, no more than it now requires "CIA orders" to crack down on the union movement. By the time Whitlam was ousted, the bourgeoisie had lost patience with a social-democratic regime which was increasingly discredited and fast losing its ability to contain the working class in the midst of a severe recession. As we emphasized at the time, Kerr's dismissal of the Labor government was an attack on the working class, not a "coup" against bourgeois democracy. While the ALP/ACTU misleaders counselled the workers to channel their rage into votes for the ALP reformists in the ensuing elections, we called for an immediate general strike to restore the Labor government.

The elaborate arguments of the CPA and SLL serve only two functions: to cover for the betrayals of the anti-working-class Whitlam government by painting it as a martyr of CIA "dirty tricks"; and to delude Australian workers into seeing foreign spies and "multinationals," not their own bosses, as their main enemy. We are not concerned with securing the "sovereignty" of the Australian bourgeoisie or protecting it from CIA "spying on Australia." For revolutionaries, the demands to send the CIA packing and to dismantle Pine Gap and all U.S. bases are raised in the spirit of international class solidarity with the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia and the anti-capitalist deformed workers states.

The independence of the labour movement from the bourgeois state and its police agents—CIA or ASIO—is a fundamental principle for revolutionaries. The NCC has long been suspected of being a major conduit for CIA funds into the union movement. Arch Bevis, the Transport Workers Union federal president, recently claimed (quoted in *Trihune*, 4 May) to have been offered money several years ago by a man claiming to be from the AFL-CIO in return for "passive industrial policies." Furthermore, a number of right-wing and "moderate" union officials, including Laurie Short, Barry Unsworth and John Ducker, have attended "education" courses sponsored by the CIA-funded "international department" of the AFL-CIO. All union ties with CIA/ASIO-funded agencies must be broken!

Workers must maintain the utmost vigilance against the pernicious activities of the bosses' secret police. But the secret police are but one arm of the bosses' state, whose power resides mainly in the army. And the bourgeoisie's most dangerous agents inside the labour movement are the pro-capitalist misleaders who claim to stand *with* the workers as they lead them to the slaughter. Even in Chile, it was not the CIA but the Chilean bourgeoisie and its army which massacred the cream of the Latin American proletariat. And, ultimately, the proletariat's worst enemies were those *within its ranks*, the Allendes and Corvalans, who betrayed it with promises of peaceful reform, whose popular-front "socialist" government maintained the "constitutionalist" army and its officer caste but refused to arm the workers.

The Bolshevik Party was infiltrated by the tsarist secret police up into its top leadership echelons. But that did not prevent it from mobilising the Russian masses to seize power and finally mete out justice to the tsar's butchers—because the Bolshevik Party was armed with a revolutionary program. And like the Russian workers, it is only through the seizure of state power guided by a Trotskyist party that the proletariat will finally deal with ASIO, the CIA and the criminal ruling class which stands behind them. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

King Assassin in Escape Attempt

James Earl Ray: The Unanswered Questions

Ray leaving court in Memphis after seeking new trial in 1974.

NY Daily News

The sensational escape of James Earl Ray, the convicted killer of Martin Luther King, Jr., and five other convicts from Brushy Mountain State Prison in Tennessee last Friday surprised the nation... and provoked an immediate outcry of "Conspiracy!"

In this country where governmental "disinformation" and "plausible denial" abound, where political assassination is no stranger, conspiracy theories are commonplace. But the official version of the King assassination has provoked far and away the most suspicion of all. A recent Gallup Poll estimated that less than 20 percent of the American population believes that James Earl Ray acted alone.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when news of the breakout flashed across their TV screens, many people smelled a plot, fully expecting Ray to turn up dead somewhere in a ditch, kidnapped and murdered to prevent him from talking. He was, after all, scheduled to appear before the House Select Committee on Assassinations, and "everybody knows" what happened to mobsters Sam Giancana and John Rosselli when they were scheduled to appear as Congressional witnesses.

Ralph Abernathy – who upon King's death in 1968 took over as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) –said "I am firmly convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that James Earl Ray has not escaped but is part of a plan...." Walter Fauntroy, news chairman of the Assassinations Committee, asked if he thought Ray's life were in danger, replied: "If there were no conspiracy, he would be in no danger. If there were a conspiracy, he would be in danger."

The kidnapping theory collapsed when Ray was recaptured on Monday morning, after 54 hours of stumbling through the tangled, snake-infested wilderness around the prison. Pursued by bloodhounds, the inept Ray was discovered hiding under a pile of leaves, and returned to the prison "in good condition." The details of the escape were plausible enough, and even the most plot-minded had to admit he had a good reason for trying to break out: if anyone seemed destined to rot in prison until he was a senile wreck it is James Earl Ray.

Conspiracy Questions

But there are some sticky questions. Since shortly after his conviction, Ray has insisted he was coerced into his original guilty plea and that there was a conspiracy to assassinate King. Yet in December the U.S. Supreme Court refused to grant a new trial. In February, the Justice Department issued a report declaring that the FBI had "thoroughly, honestly and successfully" investigated the murder of King.

But so widespread are the doubts about this case that even Attorney General Griffin Bell remarked about the report that "you could lean to either side of it. You could say that there's no evidence of a conspiracy, but you could still wonder... if there happened to be a conspiracy" (*New York Times*, 19 February). Bell indicated his interest in personally questioning Ray.

Professional conspiracy buff Mark Lane has just brought out a new book, written together with Dick Gregory, called *Codename "Zorro"* (Prentice Hall, 1977), dealing with the King assassination. According to the *New York Times* (6 June), the House Select Committee has relied heavily on Lane's research in guiding its own investigation. Rather than positing a coherent theory, the book simply brings together a series of "unanswered questions" which Lane insists is sufficient to suggest not only that Ray did not act alone, but that he didn't even pull the trigger.

This contention flies in the face of considerable evidence: that Ray admittedly purchased the murder weapon, that he had been in several cities at the same time as King, that he was in Memphis at the time of the shooting and that he had checked into the flophouse next to King's motel, from where the civil rights leader was shot—pointing the finger of guilt at Ray. Nevertheless, Lane has pointed to some significant discrepancies. Among them are:

1) Prior to the assassination, Ray was a two-bit petty criminal, so inept that once, during a burglary, he jumped into a waiting police car thinking it was the getaway cab. During another robbery Ray dropped his wallet at the scene and cut himself on the window he broke through. Yet another time, he fell out of his getaway car as it rounded a corner. How could such a bumbling failure make the contacts and get the money to elude apprehension for months after King's slaying, leading the FBI on a complicated 25,000-mile chase through three countries, obtaining a false birth certificate in Canada and traveling from there to London to Portugal and back all on his own?

2) More specifically, how did Ray, who escaped from Missouri State Penitentiary in April 1967, get the money he lived on between that time and when he was finally arrested in London? While a fugitive, he bought a new car, had plastic surgery performed on his face and traveled widely. Ray says he received money from a mysterious "Raoul," the same man he says gave him the order to buy the gun which was used to kill King.

3) On King's final visit to Memphis, in support of striking sanitation workers, his police protection was reduced to only two detectives, says Lane, of which one, a black detective named Redditt (known to be sympathetic to King), was removed from guard duty only two hours before the murder.

4) Ray's footprints and fingerprints were *not* the ones found in the flophouse bathroom where the government says the shots that killed King were fired. No ballistics tests have ever linked the actual bullets to those found in the gun bought by Ray. The only prosecution "eyewitness" to the killing was dead drunk at the time. His wife, who saw a figure not meeting Ray's description running from the building, was quickly committed, against her will, to a mental institution where she remains to this day.

Joseph Louw/PBL

Photo taken moments after Martin Luther King fatally shot.

Conspiracy Lobby

There are obviously important holes in the official version of King's murder. Yet the motives of those pushing the conspiracy theory are also suspect. In the case of the Kennedy assassination there was a gamut running from left-liberals seeking to "purify" America by exorcising that source of all evil, J. Edgar Hoover, to disreputable Louisiana D.A.'s, to out-and-out nuts spinning out endless plots and subplots, each more fantastic and intricate than the one before. The net effect of at least the saner conspiracy theories was to whitewash the Kennedy administration

continued on page 10

SUBJECT INDEX

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1977, from issue No. 139 (7 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 186 (23 December). During this time, *WV* was published weekly. This single index covers two volumes: No. 6 (7 January to 17 June) and No. 7 (24 June to 23 December).
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series, corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  The Return of Teng, #141, 21 Jan. (1,11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 141, 21 January 1977, pages 1 and 11
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Carter, Jimmy—See **Israel; U.S.: General, International Relations.**

  means that articles on Jimmy Carter can be found by going to the subject head **ISRAEL** and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **International Relations.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles dealing with Israeli domestic issues are listed under the major subject head, **ISRAEL**. Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict and other directly related countries and issues are listed under the major subject head: **NEAR EAST.**
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Wendy Yoshimura) will be found as subcategories under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases.**
- Articles on historical aspects of the Marxist movement are listed under **HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**, while reprints from writings of particular individuals are listed under **ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C:	Correction	R:	Review
L:	Letter	Sup:	Supplement
S:	Series		

ABEL, I.W.

Abel's House that Scab Labor Built, #149, 18 Mar. (12, 9)

Abortion—See **Woman Question.**

AEROSPACE WORKERS

40,000 Aircraft Workers Strike Boeing, Lockheed, #179, 28 Oct. (8)

Affirmative Action—See **Bakke Decision.**

AFL-CIO—See **Labor: General.**

AFSCME—See **Public Employees.**

ALBANIA

Albania: Last Hope for Maoists Without a Country, #139, 7 Jan. (3, 9)

Albania Denounces China, #169, 12 Aug. (2)

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU)—See also **Civil Liberties: Camp Pendleton 14 Case.**

Why the ACLU Defends Fascists, #157, 13 May (6, 7, 8, 9)

Purge of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—ACLU: Guilt by Association, #157, 13 May (7, 11)

SL Blasts ACLU Defense of Fascists, #160, 3 June (3)

American Federation of Teachers (AFT)—See **Teachers.**

American Indians—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Angola—See **Cuba.**

ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT

The Spanish Civil War and World War II by J. Burnham, #147, 4 Mar. (6, 7)

"Down with the War, Down with the Government!" by K. Liebknecht, #163, 24 June (9)

ARGENTINA—See **Chile.** See also **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Paranagua, Pilla Released!, #144, 11 Feb. (8)

Letter on "Paranagua and Pilla Defense" (L), #145, 18 Feb. (2)

A Year of Junta Terror in Argentina, #150, 25 Mar. (12, 9, 10)

Armed Forces—See **Civil Liberties: Camp Pendleton 14 Case.**

AUSTRALIA

Feminists vs. Spartacists in Australia, #148, 11 Mar. (6)

How CIA Infiltrated Australian Labor Movement, #162, 17 June (5, 11)

Cop Agent Exposed in Australia, #163, 24 June (5, 11)

Australian Secret Police Target Spartacists, #167, 22 July (4, 5, 11)

Letter to Attorney General (L), #167, 22 July (4)

Labor Routed in Australian Elections, #186, 23 Dec. (4, 5)

AUTO WORKERS

- **General**

From Sit-Down Strike to Sit-Down Dinner, #146, 25 Feb. (12)

Doug Fraser Breaks Indiana Chrysler Strike, #152, 8 Apr. (12, 10)

Doug Fraser's Record of Broken Strikes, #157, 13 May (12, 10, 11)

Carter Tub-Thumping at UAW Convention, #160, 3 June (6, 7, 8, 9)

Ukrainian Anti-Communist Ploy at UAW Convention, #160, 3 June (7)

Woodcock/Fraser Steamroller Takes UAW Local Elections, #154, 22 Apr. (12, 10, 11)

Company Guards Shoot Up Indiana UAW Picket Line, #167, 22 July (2, 10)

Heat Walkouts Sweep Auto, #168, 29 July (1, 9)

MSC Leaflet: Heat Wave, #168, 29 July (9)

- **Defense**—See **Civil Liberties: Lenard Case.**

UAW Convention Must Defend Jordan Sims, Steve Smith, #153, 15 Apr. (5, 9)

UAW Must Defend Trenton Chrysler Seven!, #175, 30 Sept. (3)

Defend the Trenton 7!, #177, 14 Oct. (5)

PDC Holds Trenton Seven Defense Forum in Detroit, #184, 2 Dec. (4)

- **Fremont GM Strike**

Fremont GM Provokes Walkout, #151, 1 Apr. (12)

Defeat at Fremont, #152, 8 Apr. (12, 8, 9)

Let's Win This Strike!, #152, 8 Apr. (8)

"Brotherhood" Bureaucrats Collect on Sellout, #174, 23 Sept. (5, 9)

BAKKE DECISION

Down with Bakke!, #177, 14 Oct. (1, 4, 5, 11)*

"Down with Bakke!" (C), #182, 18 Nov. (10)

Reformists Push "Affirmative Action" in Anti-Bakke Demos, #178, 21 Oct. (2, 10)

Militant Longshoremen on Bakke (L), #179, 28 Oct. (2)

Bakke Decision (L), #180, 4 Nov. (2)

BARKA, BEN

Who Killed Ben Barka?, #142, 28 Jan. (6, 9)

BLACK QUESTION

- **General**—See **Bakke Decision; Busing; Civil Liberties: Cases; Fascism; U.S.: General.** See also **Elections; NYC Politics; Public Employees; Socialist Workers Party; South Africa: General; Spartacist League.**

Frederick Douglas and Malcolm X: Developing a Social Conscience, #148, 11 Mar. (2)

Day of Wrath, #149, 18 Mar. (1, 7, 10, 11)

Conspirators Behind Murder of Hampton and Clark Let Off, #154, 22 Apr. (5)

Falsifying the Martyrdom of George Jackson (R), #159, 27 May (6, 7, 8)

Who Was George Jackson?, #159, 27 May (7, 8, 9)

From Soledad: The "Lumpen Vanguard" Myth (L), #164, 1 July (6, 7, 11)

Black Unemployment Skyrockets, #173, 16 Sept. (1, 10)

- **"Roots"**

Behind the "Roots" Craze, #147, 4 Mar. (12, 10, 11)*

Behind the "Roots" Craze (C), #150, 25 Mar. (10)

The American Left Views "Roots", #148, 11 Mar. (2, 10, 11)

"Roots": Romanticizing an Individual Heritage, #148, 11 Mar. (2)

Race, Class and "Roots" (L), #159, 27 May (2)

Boycott: Labor—See **South Africa.**

BRITAIN

- **General**—See **Ireland.** See also **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

London Spartacist Forum on Women's Liberation, #141, 21 Jan. (9)

British Union Tops Knife Anti-Apartheid Protest, #142, 28 Jan. (5)*

British Union Tops (C), #143, 4 Feb. (11)

Red Scare in the British Labour Party, #144, 11 Feb. (12, 11)*

Red Scare (C), #149, 18 Mar. (11)

British Union Ranks Rebel Against "Social Contract", #148, 11 Mar. (12, 10)

British Scabs Assault Philippine Seamen, #149, 18 Mar. (12, 8, 9)

Break the Liberal/Labour Coalition in Britain!, #152, 8 Apr. (1, 11)

Down with the Monarchy and the Union Jack!, #164, 1 July (3, 10)

Uproar in London over Police Attack on Pickets, #165, 8 July (3)

British Cops Protect Fascist National Front March, #170, 26 Aug. (12, 11)

Britain's Labour Bureaucrats Continue "Social Contract", #173, 16 Sept. (4, 11)

Mario Muñoz Barred from Britain, #185, 9 Dec. (10)

- **Left Organizations**—See **International Committee.** See also **Wohlforth; Workers League.**

London Meeting: Fake-Trotskyist Family Reunion, #141, 21 Jan. (3, 8)

IMG Tails Liberal/Labour Coalition in London Elections, #157, 13 May (4, 5)

British SWP, IMG Embrace Police as "Workers", #154, 22 Apr. (4)

On WSL's Labour Party Loyalism (L), #163, 24 June (2)

IMG Turns Lenin into a Menshevik, #164, 1 July (5, 10, 11)

"Far-Left Unity" Hullabaloo in Britain, #180, 4 Nov. (3)

IMG's "Socialist Unity" Conference Flops, #185, 9 Dec. (4)

Bryant, Anita—See **Homosexual Rights; Red Flag Union.**

BUSING—See also **Socialist Workers Party.**

Integrate Arlington Heights!, #144, 11 Feb. (3, 10)

L.A. Demo Protests Tokenist Busing Plan, #145, 18 Feb. (3, 9)

Busing Under Attack in L.A. Elections, #153, 15 Apr. (10)

Defend Teacher Seniority Rights! Chicago Busing Plan: Racist Tokenism, #172, 9 Sept. (2, 4)

Who Killed Busing?, #175, 30 Sept. (1, 3, 10)

CAMBODIA

Cambodia: Peasant Stalinism Run Amok, #180, 4 Nov. (6, 7, 11)

CAMPUS WORKERS

Carrillo Scabs for "Human Rights", #182, 18 Nov. (1, 4, 5)

Victory to Yale Campus Workers Strike!, #182, 18 Nov. (4, 9)

Carrillo Scabbing at Yale Heard Round the World, #184, 2 Dec. (12, 10, 11)

CANADA—See also **International Socialist Organization; South Africa.**

Canadian RMG: Beck to the Reformist Fold, #144, 11 Feb. (8)

Quebec Nationelism and the Class Struggle, #145, 18 Feb. (4, 10)

"The LSA Cen't Silence Trotskyism!", #146, 25 Feb. (3)

Letter to the LSA (L), #146, 25 Feb. (3)

GMR's "Workers Republic of Quebec": Nationalist Trap for Quebec Workers, #153, 15 Apr. (4, 10)

Canedian Mandelites Surrender to Reformism, #174, 23 Sept. (4, 5, 8)

Mass Leyoffs Threaten Cenadien Nickel Miners, #180, 4 Nov. (5, 10, 11)

Ford Canade, Cops Assault Working-Class Press, #185, 9 Dec. (5)

Militant Strikers Fend Off Cenadian Post Office, #186, 23 Dec. (5, 10)

Carrillo, Santiago—See **Campus Workers.**

Carter, Jimmy—See **Israel; U.S.: General, International Relations.** See also **Auto Workers: General; Immigration.**

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—See **FBI.** See also **Australia; Civil Liberties: Cases; U.S.: General, International Relations.**

Ceylon—See **Sri Lanka.**

Charter 77—See **Dissidents.**

Chavez, Cesar—See **Farm Workers.**

Chicago Politics—See **Civil Liberties: Lenard Case; Daley.** See also **Busing; Fascism; Iran; Police.**

CHICANO QUESTION—See also **Farm Workers.**

Gas Company Turns Off Crystal City, Texas, #176, 7 Oct. (2)

CHILE—See also **Britain: General; International Spartacist tendency; Panama.**

Behind the Corvalán-Bukovsky Deal, #139, 7 Jen. (4, 11)

Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid, #147, 4 Mar. (7)

Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid, #148, 11 Mar. (4)

Letelier Assassination: The Long Arm ot the DINA, #149, 18 Mar. (6, 7, 9)

Over $6,000 Collected tor Fernando Marcos' Eye Operation, #154, 22 Apr. (7, 9)

Mercos Campaign Success, #159, 27 May (3)

Carter's "Human Rights" Means Videla/Pinochet, #172, 9 Sept. (1, 11)

Fernando Marcos Vows to Fight On, #173, 16 Sept. (2)

Marcos to the PDC (L), #173, 16 Sept. (2)

CHINA—See also **Albania.**

Pitched Battles Explode in China, #139, 7 Jan. (1, 10)

The Return ot Teng, #141, 21 Jan. (1, 11)

Pro-Peking Spokesman Repudiates Cultural Revolution, #151, 1 Apr. (6, 7, 8)

How Maoists Were Turned into Shrubbery, #153, 15 Apr. (3)

Klonsky Gets China Franchise, Teng Back in Power, #169, 12 Aug. (1, 8, 9)

CIVIL LIBERTIES

- **General**—See **ACLU; Homosexual Rights; U.S.: General; World War II.** See also **Cuba; National Lawyers Guild.**

An Exchange: Crime, Punishment and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, #140, 14 Jan. (2, 11)

State Butchers Gilmore, #141, 21 Jan. (1, 8)

An Exchange: Vengeance and Proletarian Justice, #151, 1 Apr. (9)

Avenge Sacco and Vanzetti!, #170, 26 Aug. (9)

- **Cases**—See **Argentina; Chile; Education; South Africa: Defense.** See also **Auto Workers: Defense/Workers Democracy; Black Question: General; Britain: General; Electrical Workers; Iran; Nuclear Power; Press Workers; Puerto Rico; West Germany.**

Jersey Court Frames Carter/Artis Again, #139, 7 Jen. (5)

PDC Demands, Free Gary Tyler!, #142, 28 Jan. (10)

Britain Moves to Deport Agee, Hosenball, #146, 25 Feb. (9)

Lewis 17X Dupree Acquitted, #152, 8 Apr. (10)

Protest Conviction of Leonerd Peltier, #156, 8 May (3)

Philip Allen Appeal Denied, #161, 10 June (11)

PDC Demands Release of Pablo Riesnik, #162, 17 June (11)

Hands Off Joan Little!, #179, 28 Oct. (10)

- **Camp Pendleton 14**

No Defense of Camp Pendleton Fascists!, #147, 4 Mar. (4, 11)

PL Sectarianism Undermines Camp Pendleton 14 Defense, #147, 4 Mar. (4)

- **Lenard, Bennie**—See also **Auto Workers: General.**

Black Worker Victim of Racist Cop Beating in Chicago, #145, 18 Feb. (12)

Fascists Plaster Swastikas on Chicago UAW Hall, #147, 4 Mar. (5, 11)

UAW Local 6 Defends Bennie Lenard, #149, 18 Mar. (2, 3)

UAW Ranks Turn Out for Bennie Lenard Trial, #155, 29 Apr. (4, 11)

UAW Must Defend Bennie Lenard, #176, 7 Oct. (2, 9)

Jury Declares Bennie Lenard Innocent, #179, 28 Oct. (12, 11)*

Bennie Lenard Innocent (C), #182, 18 Nov. (10)

Bennie Lenard Innocent (C), #191, 3 Feb. 1978 (8) [See volume 8]

- **Shakur, Assata**

Free Assata Shakur!, #146, 25 Feb. (3)

All-White Jury Convicts Assata Shakur, #151, 1 Apr. (7, 11)

- **Wilmington Ten**

State's "Witnesses" Admit Bribed Testimony in Wilmington Ten Trial, #150, 25 Mar. (3)

North Carolina Refuses Retrial for Wilmington Ten, #161, 10 June (9)

- **Yoshimura, Wendy**

Stop Court Vendetta Against Wendy Yoshimura!, #140, 14 Jan. (12, 11)

All Honor to Wendy Yoshimura!, #142, 28 Jan. (12)*

All Honor (C), #143, 4 Feb. (11)

Frame-Up Victim Wendy Yoshimura Gets 15 Years, #150, 25 Mar. (2, 11)

Tania Beats the Rap, #157, 13 May (3)

Clamshell Alliance—See **Nuclear Power.**

Communications Workers of America (CWA)—See **Phone Workers.**

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY (CLP)

Back to "Lesser Evil" Democrats, #182, 18 Nov. (11)

Communist Parties: International—See specific countries. See also **Campus Workers.**

Communist Party (USA)—See **Longshoremen: General; Socialist Workers Party.** See also **Black Question: General; Panama.**

Construction Workers—See **Abel.**

COSTA RICA

Stop Brutal Repression ot Costa Rican Lettists!, #185, 9 Dec. (4)

CUBA—See also **Ethiopia; U.S.: International Relations.**

Stalinist Rule in Cuba (S), Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente, #141, 21 Jan. (6, 7, 10) [See also volume 4 (1976) and volume 8 (1978)]

Cuba in Africa, #153, 15 Apr. (6, 7)

Free *All* Political Prisoners? What About Hubert Matos?, #181, 11 Nov. (10)

Czechoslovakia—See **Dissidents.**

DALEY, RICHARD

Daley Drops Dead, #139, 7 Jan. (12, 11)

Death Penalty—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Defense—See **Civil Liberties.**

DeLeon, Daniel—See **Labor: General.**

Deportations—See **Immigration.**

Détente—See **Cuba.**

DISSIDENTS—See also **Chile; National Lawyers Guild.**

The Great Helsinki Hoax: Dissidents and Cold Warriors, #144, 11 Feb. (1, 4, 5)

Bukovsky on Parade tor Imperialist Warmongers, #148, 11 Mar. (7)

Plyushch Can't Duck Issue of Soviet Defensism, #174, 23 Sept. (2, 3, 9)*

Plyushch (C), #176, 7 Oct. (9)

Dissidents Appeal to Carter's Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade, #181, 11 Nov. (5, 11)

Dockers—See **Longshoremen.**

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

NYC Demo Protests Balaguer Terror at Santo Domingo University, #153, 15 Apr. (11)

ECOLOGY—See **Nuclear Power.** See also **West Germany.**

Chauvinist Outcry over Oil Spills, #144, 11 Feb. (5, 8)

You Can't Land the 'A' Train at JFK, #147, 4 Mar. (5)

Concorde: Let It Land!, #178, 21 Oct. (5, 11)

Economics—See **Soviet Union.**

EDUCATION—See **Busing; Campus Workers; Kent State; Kissinger.** See also **Homosexual Rights.**

Armed Cops Throw SYL Leader Ott Chicago Campus, #181, 11 Nov. (11)

Chicago U. of Illinois Arrests SYL Spokesman, #184, 2 Dec. (3)*

U. ot Illinois Arrest (C), #191, 3 Feb. 1978 (8) [See volume 8]

Egypt—See **Near East.**

Elections: International—See specitic countries.

ELECTIONS: U.S.—See also **Busing; NYC Politics.**

Coleman Young's Phony Renaissance in Detroit, #175, 30 Sept (4, 5, 10)

Hicks Out in Boston Election, #184, 2 Dec. (5)

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Demo Demands Drop Charges Against Markley/Suares, #148, 11 Mar. (4, 5)

UE Decertified at Cambion by Scab Votes, #150, 25 Mar. (4)

Markley, Suares Convicted in Labor-Spy Frame-Up, #153, 15 Apr. (5)

Energy "Crisis"—See **U.S.: General, International Relations.**

England—See **Britain.**

ETHIOPIA

Shootout at the Derg, #151, 1 Apr. (4, 8)

May Day Massacre in Ethiopia, #159, 27 May (5, 11)

Bloody Colonel Mengistu Slaughters Leftists, #162, 17 June (4, 5)

Kremlin Hands Over Ethiopian Students to Bloody Mengistu, #163, 24 June (11)

Marcy and Mengistu, #180, 4 Nov. (3, 11)

FARM WORKERS

Chavez, Fitzsimmons Sign Pact, #149, 18 Mar. (3)

Chavez: Farm Workers' George Meany, #172, 9 Sept. (4)

FASCISM —See also **ACLU; Auto Workers: General; Britain: General; Civil Liberties: Camp Pendleton 14 Case; NYC Politics; Socialist Workers Party; West Germany.**

Millionaire Dutch Nazi War Criminal Snared, #140, 14 Jan. (4, 5)

How U.S. Opened Doors to Nazi War Criminals (R), #152, 8 Apr. (6, 7, 9)

S.F. Nazi Office Smashed, #152, 8 Apr. (7)

500 Rally Against Nazi Terror in Chicago, #156, 6 May (2)

Carter's America: Klan Burns Crosses on the Fourth, #166, 15 July (1, 4)

Racist Mob Attacks Blacks in Chicago, #168, 29 July (2, 11)

"The Klan Will Not Ride in the Bay Area!", #179, 28 Oct. (3, 9)

"Genocide Is Not Debatable!", #186, 23 Dec. (3)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI) —See also **Nuclear Power; Puerto Rico; U.S.: General.**

FBI Targets the Spartacist League, #151, 1 Apr. (1, 2, 3)

What Is the ADEX File?, #151, 1 Apr. (3, 11)

Jail the FBI/CIA Criminals!, #156, 6 May (4, 11)

Feminism—See **Woman Question.**

Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley—See **American Civil Liberties Union.**

FRANCE

• **General**—See also **Barka; Near East.**

No to the Union of the Left!, #148, 11 Mar. (1, 8, 9, 11)

Strike Wave Protests Austerity Plan in France, #155, 29 Apr. (1, 4, 8, 9)

8 Million French Workers in Anti-Government Walkout, #160, 3 June (4, 11)

Ligue Trotskyste Calls for Workers Militias, #163, 24 June (6)

For Workers Defense Against Rightist Thugs in France!, #163, 24 June (7, 10)

French Cops Attack Anti-Nuke Protest, #169, 12 Aug. (7, 10)

Paris Printers Unions Give Up Closed Shop, #175, 30 Sept. (2, 10)

French Popular Front on the Rocks?, #176, 7 Oct. (1, 8, 9)*

French Popular Front (C), #182, 18 Nov. (10)

French Popular Front (C), #191, 3 Feb. 1978 (8) [See volume 8]

• **Left Organizations**—See also **Spain; Varga.**

Three-Ring Circus at French LCR Congress, #146, 25 Feb. (4, 5)

When the OCI Said No to the Popular Front, #148, 11 Mar. (9)

LCR Ducks Soviet Defense, #148, 11 Mar. (9)

French "Far Left" Reshuffles, #159, 27 May (4, 5)

Trotsky Had Pierre Frank's Number (L), #159, 27 May (5)

Freedom Socialist Party—See **Red Flag Union.**

Gay Rights—See **Homosexual Rights.**

Guardian—See **China; South Africa: General.**

Haiti—See **Immigration.**

Healy, Gerry—See **Britain: Left Organizations; International Committee; Workers League.** See also **Socialist Workers Party; Wohlforth.**

Hearst, Patricia—See **Civil Liberties: Yoshimura Case.**

Helsinki Accords—See **Dissidents.**

HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT —See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Labor: History; Soviet Union.** See also **France: Left Organizations; Labor: General; Spain.**

Lenin vs. Luxemburg on the National Question (R), #150, 25 Mar. (6, 7, 8, 9)

"Leninism and Conspiracy", by Steve Dunn (L), #161, 10 June (2, 3)

Heroic Soviet Spies (S) (R)

Part 1, #165, 8 July (6, 7, 11)

Part 2, #166, 15 July (6, 7, 8, 9)

Ignace Reiss: "Free Humanity of Capitalism and the USSR of Stalinism!", #166, 15 July (8)

Lenin and the Vanguard Party (S)

Part I—Kautskyism and the Origins of Russian Social Democracy, #173, 16 Sept. (6, 7, 8)

Part II—Bolshevism vs. Menshevism: The 1903 Split, #175, 30 Sept. (6, 7, 8, 9)

Part III—The 1905 Revolution, #177, 14 Oct. (6, 7, 8)

Part IV—Party, Fraction and "Freedom of Criticism", #178, 21 Oct. (6, 7, 8)

Part V—The Struggle Against the Boycotters, #182, 18 Nov. (6, 7, 8) [See also volume 8 (1978)]

Speech to 1973 Spartacus-BL Conference, In Defense of Democratic Centralism, #178, 21 Oct. (7, 11)

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!, #181, 11 Nov. (1, 2, 3, 8, 9)

Trotskyists at Vorkuta (Reprint), #181, 11 Nov. (6, 7, 9)

HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS —See **Red Flag Union; Workers Vanguard.**

Defend Democratic Rights for Homosexuals, Stop Anita Bryant!, #162, 17 June (9, 10)

Stop Anita Bryant's Bigotry Crusade!, #164, 1 July (12, 8)

Stop Anita Bryant!, #165, 8 July (1, 8)

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!, #169, 12 Aug. (12)

Anti-Communist Gay Rights Demos Flop, #170, 26 Aug. (5, 10)

Supreme Court Says Homosexuals Can't Teach, #181, 11 Nov. (4, 8)

"Human Rights" Crusade—See **U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Homosexual Rights; Socialist Workers Party.**

IMMIGRATION —See **Longshoremen: Defense; U.S.: General.**

No Deportation of Haitian Refugees!, #143, 4 Feb. (8, 10)

Foreign Workers Face Mass Deportations, #174, 23 Sept. (12, 11)

Imperialism—See **U.S.: International Relations.**

INDIA

Indira Gandhi Nods to Right Wing, #141, 21 Jan. (4, 5, 10)

Gandhi Toppled, #151, 1 Apr. (1, 10, 11)

International Association of Machinist and Aerospace Workers (IAM)—See **Aerospace Workers.**

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE (IC) — See **Workers League.** See also **Britain: Left Organizations; Socialist Workers Party; Wohlforth.**

Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi, #158, 20 May (5, 11)

More from Healy, Messenger of Qaddafi, #174, 23 Sept. (3, 9)

Healyite Slander Mill Grinds On, #176, 7 Oct. (4)

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—See **Longshoremen.**

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)—See **Longshoremen: ILA Strike.**

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION (ISO) —See **International Socialists.**

ISO Hides from Spartacist League, #155, 29 Apr. (5, 9)

Excerpts from TLC Leaflet: No to "Third Camp" Gangsterism!, #155, 29 Apr. (5)

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

I.S. Fractures, #150, 25 Mar. (4, 10)

INTERNATIONAL SPARTACIST TENDENCY (iSt) —See also **History of the Marxist Movement; Varga.**

Reforge the Fourth International!, #143, 4 Feb. (4, 9)

Chilean OTR Fuses with Spartacist Tendency, #172, 9 Sept. (12, 10, 11)

Letter & Reply: Shocked (L), #173, 16 Sept. (2)

IRAN —See also **Police.**

Defend the Iranian 18!, #146, 25 Feb. (10)

20 Iranian Students Savagely Beaten, Arrested by Chicago Cops: Avenge Victims of Butcher Shah!, #181, 11 Nov. (12, 10, 11)

Militant Protesters Explode Carter-Shah Gala, #182, 18 Nov. (1)

IRELAND

Workers Must Crush Sectarian Terror, #156, 6 May (6, 7, 8, 9, 10)

Reactionary Orange Nationalist Strike Fizzles, #157, 13 May (1, 2, 3)

Behind the Murder of Seamus Costello, #184, 2 Dec. (6, 7, 9)

ISRAEL —See **Near East.** See also **Nuclear Power.**

Crisis in the Zionist Bunker, #153, 15 Apr. (1, 8)

Begin-Carter Rift Over West Bank, #171, 2 Sept. (1, 8, 9)

Israeli Torture Exposed, #171, 2 Sept. (6, 7)

On Deir Yassin by L. Glaser (L), #171, 2 Sept. (2)

Begin's Israel: Wage Slashing and Terror Bombing, #182, 18 Nov. (12, 10)

The Israeli Working Class and Zionist Terror; Interview with Israel Shahak, #182, 18 Nov. (2, 8, 9, 11)

Japanese Americans—See **World War II.**

Kennedy, John F.—See **U.S.: General.**

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

Remember Kent State Massacre!, #157, 13 May (5)

Drop the Charges!, #166, 15 July (12, 10)

Protests Continue at Kent State, #168, 29 July (12, 10, 11)

Akron Beacon Journal Witchhunts SYL, #168, 29 July (10)*

Akron Beacon Witchhunt (C), #169, 12 Aug. (9)

King, Martin Luther—See **U.S.: General.**

KISSINGER, HENRY

"Keep Kissinger Off Campus", #152, 8 Apr. (2)

100 at Teach-In to Keep Kissinger Off Columbia Campus, #154, 22 Apr. (9)

Ku Klux Klan—See **Fascism.**

LABOR

- **General**—See specific occupations; **U.S.: General.** See also **National Lawyers Guild.**

The American Working Class: Explosion Brewing at the Base, #144, 11 Feb. (6, 9)

Protectionist Drive Threatens Trade War, #158, 20 May (6, 7)

Leninism and Workers Control, #162, 17 June (6, 7, 8, 9)

"Protectionism and Inter-Imperialist Rivalry" (L), #163, 24 June (2)

"Dictatorship of the Proletariat: Leninism vs. DeLeonism" (L), #165, 8 July (2)

No to Forced Retirement, #175, 30 Sept. (5)

- **History**—See **Auto Workers: General; Civil Liberties: General; Mine Workers.**

"Trotskyists Soft on Lewis?" (L), #145, 18 Feb. (2)

On A.J. Muste (L), #152, 8 Apr. (2, 3)

Bureaucratic Oppositions in Steel, #155, 29 Apr. (6, 7, 10)

Herreshoff/*WV*: Round Three (L), #160, 3 June (2)

Trotskyism and the Minneapolis Teamsters: *Teamster Bureaucracy* (R), #174, 23 Sept. (6, 7, 8)

Lebanon—See **Near East.**

Lenin, V.I.—See **History of the Marxist Movement.** See also **Britain: Left Organizations.**

Letelier, Orlando—See **Chile.**

Libya—See **International Committee.**

LIRQI—See **Varga.**

LONGSHOREMEN

- **General**—See also **Bakke Decision.**

CP Spokesman in ILWU Retires: Requiem for a Class Collaborator, #140, 14 Jan. (8, 10, 11)

Implement Labor Boycott of South Africa!, #142, 28 Jan. (5, 10)

ILWU Elections Show Ranks' Discontent, #145, 18 Feb. (12, 11)

Militants Oppose Dues Hike at ILWU Warehouse Convention, #147, 4 Mar. (3, 9)

Bay Area Longshoremen Face Forced Transfers, #150, 25 Mar. (5)

Fight for Jobs!, #156, 6 May (12, 10, 11)

Stop Bureaucrats' Scheme to Gut S.F. Longshore!, #159, 27 May (3, 10)

S.F. Longshoremen Face Forced Transfers, #160, 3 June (4)

"Shut Down West Coast Longshore!", #161, 10 June (9)*

Shut Down Longshore (C), #166, 15 July (10)

Massive Job Cuts Threaten S.F. Longshore, #164, 1 July (9)

Bay Area Dockers: Don't Handle Diverted Cargo, #166, 15 July (3, 10)

Maoists Campaign with Wallaceites: CP Fake Opposition Loses in ILWU Local 6, #171, 2 Sept. (2, 3)

ILWU Militants Demand: Expel Union Scabherder, #179, 28 Oct. (9)

Hawaii Sugar Strike Pact Does Not Protect Jobs, #185, 9 Dec. (3, 11)

- **Defense**

Immigration Agents Raid ILWU Warehouses, #141, 21 Jan. (5)

Court Frees Killer of ILWU Striker, #153, 15 Apr. (11)

Militant Caucus Protests Exclusion of Soviet Delegation, #156, 6 May (11)

Court Sentences ILWU Militants, #144, 11 Feb. (3, 9)

- **ILA Strike**

ILA's Gleason Calls Off Token Strike, #154, 22 Apr. (12, 11)

Shut the Docks Down Tight!, #176, 7 Oct. (12, 11)

Longshoremen Under Attack (reprint from *Beacon*), #176, 7 Oct. (11)

New Orleans Dock Wildcat 100% Solid, #177, 14 Oct. (12, 9)

For a Joint ILA/ILWU Strike!, #177, 14 Oct. (12)

Dump the Contract—Strike for Jobs!, #177, 14 Oct. (9)

ILA-ILWU Tops Banish Pickets to Rowboats, #178, 21 Oct. (3)

ILA Bureaucrats Crack New Orleans General Dock Strike, #178, 21 Oct. (3)

Maoism—See **Albania; China; Soviet Union;** specific organizations. See also **United Secretariat; West Germany.**

MARXIST EDUCATION COLLECTIVE (MEC)—See also **Red Flag Union.**

Why the MEC is Afraid of the Spartacist League, #145, 18 Feb. (4)

"World Revolution" Without a Trotskyist Vanguard?, #147, 4 Mar. (8)

MEC Lies and Whispers, #152, 8 Apr. (4, 10)

MINE WORKERS

- **General**—See also **Canada.**

Blood and Coal: *Harlan County, USA* (R), #144, 11 Feb. (7, 8)

Harlan County, USA (L), #146, 25 Feb. (2)

The Rise and Fall of Arnold Miller, #161, 10 June (12, 10, 11)

- **Elections**

Backstabbing, Strikebreaking in UMW Elections, #158, 20 May (12, 10, 11)

Plurality for Miller, No Victory for Miners, #163, 24 June (12, 11)

Workers League Supports Redbaiter Patterson in UMW Elections, #163, 24 June (11)

- **Stearns Strike**

Miners Resist Coal Operators' Gun Thugs, #158, 20 May (12, 10)

Class Warfare in Stearns, Ky., #160, 3 June (1, 8)

Support Stearns Miners!, #161, 10 June (11)

Solidarity with Stearns Miners!, #165, 8 July (9)

Militant Coal Miners Rally for Stearns Strike, #166, 15 July (12, 11)

Stearns Explodes, #178, 21 Oct. (12, 10)

Company Judge Throws the Book at Stearns Miners, #180, 4 Nov. (12, 10)

Stearns Strike in Danger, #184, 2 Dec. (2, 3)

- **Strikes/Wildcats**—See also **Steel Workers: General.**

Miners Strike Against Miller, #164, 1 July (12, 8)

Mass UMWA Wildcats Against Medical Cutbacks, #169, 12 Aug. (4, 5)

Mine Sellout, #170, 26 Aug. (1, 9)

UMWA in Fight for Its Life, #184, 2 Dec. (1, 8, 9)

Feds Invade the Coal Fields, #171, 2 Sept. (3)

Press, Miller, Coal Bosses Witchhunt Miners Group, #184, 2 Dec. (2, 11)

Victory to the Miners Strike!, #185, 9 Dec. (1, 5)

Iron Miners Determined to Hold Out, #185, 9 Dec. (2)

Miller Selling Out Miners' Right to Strike, #186, 23 Dec. (12, 9)*

Miller Selling Out (C), #191, 3 Feb. 1978 (8) [See volume 8]

Morocco—See **Barka.**

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (NLG)—See also **Labor: General.**

Sino-Soviet Clinch in the Lawyers Guild, #148, 11 Mar. (3, 10)

PDC Resolution on Soviet Dissidents, #148, 11 Mar. (3)

What's Wrong with the National Lawyers Guild, #154, 22 Apr. (6)

Open Letter to NLG Membership from Partisan Defense Committee, #154, 22 Apr. (6, 7)

PDC Labor Motion to NLG, #154, 22 Apr. (7)

National Question—See **Canada; History of the Marxist Movement; Ireland; Sri Lanka.**

Nazism—See **Fascism.**

NEAR EAST—See **Israel; U.S.: International Relations.**

Pax Americana in the Near East?, #140, 14 Jan. (3, 4, 10)

Egypt Explodes, #142, 28 Jan. (1, 11)

Daoud Release Provokes Hypocritical Outcry, #142, 28 Jan. (6, 7, 11)*

Daoud Release (C), #149, 18 Mar. (11)

Egypt Jails Hundreds of Leftists, #145, 18 Feb. (7, 10)

Blood and Deals in Near East, #150, 25 Mar. (1, 11)

"Anti-Arab Racism", by Israel Shahak (L), #158, 20 May (2)

Butcher of Deir Yassin Takes Israeli Elections, #159, 27 May (1, 10, 11)

War Danger Behind Cairo Peace Talks, #186, 23 Dec. (1, 8, 9)

NETHERLANDS

South Moluccan Kidnapping in Dutch Town, #161, 10 June (4, 5)

NEW YORK CITY POLITICS—See also **Black Question: General; Ecology; Police; Public Employees.**

Fear and Violence in NYC, #147, 4 Mar. (2, 8)

Get Con Ed, Not the Ghettos!, #167, 22 July (1, 8, 9)

"Fear City" Elections in NYC, #173, 16 Sept. (3, 9)

Nixon, Richard—See **U.S.: General.**

NUCLEAR POWER—See **France: General; West Germany.** See also **U.S.: International Relations.**

Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement, #146, 25 Feb. (6, 7, 8)

FBI Drops Inquiry in Karen Silkwood Death, #146, 25 Feb. (7, 9)

Nuclear Power (L), #146, 25 Feb. (2)

Crazy Terrorists Make Atom Bombs, #156, 6 May (1, 5)

Free Seabrook Protesters!, #157, 13 May (3)

Let Clams Stew? (L), #160, 3 June (2)

Nuclear Power, Safety and Socialism (L), #177, 14 Oct. (2, 3, 11)

October League (OL)—See **Albania; China; Steel Workers: Election.** See also **National Lawyers Guild.**

PAKISTAN

Riots in Pakistan Shake Bhutto Government, #155, 29 Apr. (3, 11)

Islamic Army Coup in Pakistan, #167, 22 July (3, 10)

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—See **Near East; U.S.: International Relations.**

PANAMA

U.S. Out of the Canal Zone Now!, #170, 26 Aug. (3)

U.S. Fake Lefts Accept Imperialist Canal Swindle, #173, 16 Sept. (12, 11)

Partisan Defense Committee—See **Chile; Civil Liberties: Cases.** See also **National Lawyers Guild; U.S.: International Relations; West Germany.**

Philippines—See **Farm Workers.**

PHONE WORKERS

Convention Report: CWA Tops Defend Bell Monopoly Profits, Ignore Job Threat, #165, 8 July (12, 10)

Phone Contract Stinks! Vote It Down!, #169, 12 Aug. (4)
Militant Detroit CWA Operators Forced Back to Work, #170, 26 Aug. (5, 10)

POLAND
Polish Regime Victimizes Workers Defense Committee!, #145, 18 Feb. (5)

POLICE —See also **Britain: Left Organizations.**
Chicago Red Squad: Fingermen for Iranian SAVAK, #154, 22 Apr. (4, 5, 11)
Chicago Cops Riot Against Puerto Ricans, #162, 17 June (1, 10)
L.A. Killer Cops Rampage, #176, 7 Oct. (3)
Convicted Killer Cops at Large in Houston, #182, 18 Nov. (3)
Jail Kill-Crazy NYC Cop!, #184, 2 Dec. (8)
Put Away NYC Killer Cop!, #185, 9 Dec. (3)

PORTUGAL
Economic Crisis in Portugal, #168, 29 July (4, 5, 11)

Potomac Socialist Organization (PSO)—See **Red Flag Union.**

PRESS WORKERS —See also **France: General.**
Hoopla Over Murdoch Press Grab in NYC, #142, 28 Jan. (4, 9)
Six *Post* Pressmen Get Jail Sentence, #160, 3 June (3)
Drop All Charges Against *Washington Post* Pressmen!, #154, 22 Apr. (8)

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP) — See **Civil Liberties: Camp Pendleton 14 Case.**
PL: Zigging and Zagging on the Reformist Road, #141, 21 Jan. (8)

Protectionism—See **Labor: General; Steel Workers.**

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES
Gotbaum Loots NYC Workers Pension Funds, #149, 18 Mar. (5)
Victory to Atlanta Sanitation Workers Strike!, #152, 8 Apr. (4)
Maynard Jackson Breaks Atlanta Sanitation Strike, #155, 29 Apr. (12, 9)
AFSCME Sabotages Atlanta Sanitation Strike, #158, 20 May (2)
For a Militant L.A. County Workers Strike!, #166, 15 July (5, 10)

PUERTO RICO
Stop Grand Jury Witchhunt of Puerto Rican Militants!, #139, 7 Jan. (2, 11)
Grand Jury Witchhunts Puerto Rican Nationalists, #148, 11 Mar. (6, 10)
Stop the Witchhunt Against Puerto Rican Nationalists!, #177, 14 Oct. (10)

Racial Discrimination—See **Bakke; Black Question; Busing; Civil Liberties: Cases; Fascism; South Africa.**

RED FLAG UNION (RFU)
Red Flag Union at the Moment of Decision, #160, 3 June (5)
Lifestylers Attack Trotskyism at RFU Conference, #163, 24 June (4, 5)
Letter from the RFU (L), #165, 8 July (8)
The Gay Liberation Movement and the Left, #168, 29 July (3, 5)
Closet Rule Frame-Up, #169, 12 Aug. (5)
Spartacist League, Red Flag Union Fuse, #171, 2 Sept. (12, 11)
Fusion Declaration, #171, 2 Sept. (12, 11)
From the Gay Left to Trotskyism (Sup), #172, 9 Sept. (5, 7)
Homosexual Oppression and the Communist Program (Sup), #172, 9 Sept. (6, 7)
RFU Rejects Pabloists, Shachtmanites: Who Lost Out...and Why (Sup), #172, 9 Sept. (8, 7)
Letter to the PSO (L) (Sup), #172, 9 Sept. (6)

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (RCP) —See also **Albania; Iran; Longshoremen: General; National Lawyers Guild.**
Avakian & Co. on PL's Road to Oblivion, #176, 7 Oct. (3, 10)

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST COMMITTEE (RMC) —See **Socialist Workers Party.**
RMC Seeks "Fusion" with SWP, #164, 1 July (4, 11)
RMC: State Department Socialists?, #186, 23 Dec. (6, 7, 10, 11)

Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL)—See **Red Flag Union.**

RHODESIA
Smash Rhodesia's Racist Rule!, #146, 25 Feb. (1, 10)

Russia—See **Soviet Union.**

Sanitation Workers—See **Public Employees.**

Schools—See **Busing; Education; Teachers.**

Seamen—See **Britain: General; Ecology; Longshoremen: ILA Strike.**

SHIPYARD WORKERS
2,000 Pickets Shut Down General Dynamics, #167, 22 July (5)

Socialist Labor Party—See **Labor: General.**

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY —See **United Secretariat.** See also **Red Flag Union; Revolutionary Marxist Committee; Steel Workers; Woman Question.**
SL Challenges Male-Exclusionist SWP Meeting, #139, 7 Jan. (2)
Joe Hansen Is an Honest Revisionist, #141, 21 Jan. (2)
SWP Embraces Landrum-Griffin (L), #146, 25 Feb. (2)
SWP Tails Carter's "Human Rights" Hoax, #165, 8 July (8)
Alibis of a Social Democrat (S)
Part 1, #168, 29 July (6, 7, 8)*
Part 1 (C), #169, 12 Aug. (9)
Part 2, #170, 26 Aug. (6, 7, 8)
SWP Calls on Soviet Union to Disarm, #169, 12 Aug. (7, 11)
SWP Double Talk on "Rights" for Nazis in Skokie, #170, 26 Aug. (4, 9)
YSAer Joins SL: The Reformist Logic of SWP Black Nationalism, #173, 16 Sept. (5, 8)
CP Nails SWP, #176, 7 Oct. (4, 5, 9)

SOUTH AFRICA —See also **Longshoremen: General.**
• **General**—See also **Britain: General; West Germany.**
Black Unions the Key! Implement International Labor Boycott January 17!, #140, 14 Jan. (1, 10)
S.F. Demo Against South African Transport, #142, 28 Jan. (12, 10)
Boycott "Ipi Tombi"?, #143, 4 Feb. (2, 3)
Stung by SL Criticism of "Ipi Tombi" Boycott: *Guardian* Advocates Political Censorship, #146, 25 Feb. (5, 9)
Avenge Sharpeville and Soweto!, #151, 1 Apr. (5, 8)
South Africa's Proletariat Is Key, #160, 3 June (12, 10, 11)
Soweto Bleeds, #164, 1 July (2)
South Africa: Vorster Lashes Out, #179, 28 Oct. (1, 10)
Letter to the Toronto *Globe and Mail*: "Middle Class Blacks Aren't Real Africa, Editor Writes" (L), #179, 28 Oct. (2)
Imperialist Chief Carter Scolds South African Ally, #180, 4 Nov. (1, 8)
• **Defense**
SASO Nine Railroaded in South African Court, #139, 7 Jan. (5)
Free Victims of Apartheid Show Trials!, #168, 29 July (1, 11)
Anti-Apartheid Leader Murdered in Prison, #174, 23 Sept. (1, 10, 11)
Vorster Regime Backs Biko Murder, #185, 9 Dec. (12, 11)

South Molucca—See **Netherlands.**

SOVIET UNION —See **Dissidents; History of the Marxist Movement.** See also **Chile; Ethiopia; National Lawyers Guild; Socialist Workers Party; West Germany.**
How Maoists "Restore Capitalism" in the Soviet Union (S) (R)
Part 2, Are Profits in Command in Brezhnev's Russia?, #140, 14 Jan. (6, 7, 8, 9)
[Part 1, see volume 5 (1976)]
Trotskyism vs. "State Capitalism": From Kautsky to Mao (S)
Part 1, #143, 4 Feb. (6, 7, 8, 9)
Part 2, #145, 18 Feb. (6, 7, 11)

SPAIN —See **Archivas of the Marxist Movement.** See also **Campus Workers.**
Spanish Workers Will Avenge Their Dead!, #143, 4 Feb. (1, 10)
LCR Begs State Crush Fascists, Fake-Trotskyists Embrace Francoist "Democracy", #143, 4 Feb. (1, 11)
The Infamous Barcelona Communiqué, #143, 4 Feb. (11)*
Barcelona Communiqué (C), #149, 18 Mar. (11)
Spain: Powder Keg of Revolution, #148, 11 Mar. (4, 11)*
Powder Keg (C), #149, 18 Mar. (11)
Bloody May Day, #156, 6 May (1, 4, 5)
No to "Reformed" Francoism!, #161, 10 June (1, 5, 7, 8, 9)
"La Pasionaria": Voice of Resistance or Echo of Betrayal?, #161, 10 June (6, 8)*
"La Pasionaria" (C), #176, 7 Oct. (9)
Suárez' Sham Democracy, #164, 1 July (1)
"Far Left" in the Spanish Elections, #167, 22 July (6, 7, 10)

SPARTACIST LEAGUE —See **FBI; History of the Marxist Movement; International Spartacist tendency; Red Flag Union.** See also **Labor: General; Socialist Workers Party; Workers League.**
SL Holds Active Workers Conference, #144, 11 Feb. (6, 10)
Forging a Black Trotskyist Cadre, #166, 15 July (2, 3, 10)

Spartacus Youth League—See **Spartacist League.** See also **Education; Kent State; Kissinger.**

SRI LANKA
Bandaranaike Breaks Island-Wide Strikes in Sri Lanka, #143, 4 Feb. (5, 9)
Behind Bandaranaike Rout in Sri Lanka Elections, #171, 2 Sept. (4, 5, 10)
RWP Election Statement: Vote for Meryl Fernando!, #171, 2 Sept. (5)
The National Question in Sri Lanka, #176, 7 Oct. (6, 7, 10)

Stalinism—See specific countries and organizations.

State Capitalism—See **International Socialist Organization; International Socialists; Revolutionary Marxist Committee.**

STEEL WORKERS
• **General**—See **Abel; Labor: History.** See also **Socialist Workers Party.**
U.S. Steel Orders Union Leafletters Arrested in Gary, #141, 21 Jan. (12, 10)
Break Abel's ENA through Strike Action!, #153, 15 Apr. (12, 11)
Steel Ranks Against Abel's Contract, #156, 6 May (12, 5)
Sadlowski Local Strike Talk Goes Nowhere, #167, 22 July (12, 11)
20,000 USWA Iron Miners Out: Shut Down Steel—Smash ENA!, #169, 12 Aug. (1, 9)

Crisis in Steel, #175, 30 Sept. (12, 10, 11)
No to Steel Protectionism!, #177, 14 Oct. (3, 10)
Steel for Peace?, #177, 14 Oct. (10)
Protectionism at USWA District 31 Conference: Balanoff Plays Footsie with McBride, #179, 28 Oct. (4, 11)

• **Election**
Will the Real Ed Sadlowski Please Stand Up?!, #139, 7 Jan. (1, 10)
Keep Bosses' Courts Out of the Steelworkers!, #140, 14 Jan. (5)
Sadlowski/McBride: Where's the Money Coming From?, #141, 21 Jan. (12)
Should Revolutionists "Walk with Sadlowski"? (L), #142, 28 Jan. (2, 3)
Neither Sadlowski Nor McBride!, #143, 4 Feb. (12, 8)
How the *New York Times* Defends Union Independence, #144, 11 Feb. (2)
SWP's Traveling Con Man for Sadlowski, #144, 11 Feb. (2, 10)
Maoist OL Somersaults over Sadlowski, #144, 11 Feb. (2, 10)*
Maoist OL (C), #148, 11 Mar. (11)
Sadlowski Loses, #145, 18 Feb. (1, 9)

Students—See **Busing; Education; Kent State.**

TEACHERS—See **Busing.** See also **Homosexual Rights.**
CIA Social Democrats Feted at AFT Convention, #170, 26 Aug. (2, 10)
80 Teachers Jailed in Franklin, Mass. Strike, #176, 7 Oct. (12, 10)
For Mass Picketing in Oakland Teachers Strike!, #182, 18 Nov. (5, 9)

Teamsters—See **Truck Drivers.**

Telephone Workers—See **Phone Workers.**

Terrorism—See **Ireland; Near East; Netherlands; Nuclear Power; West Germany.**

TEXTILE WORKERS
Unionize J.P. Stevens!, #146, 25 Feb. (12)
Hot Cargo J.P. Stevens Goods!, #148, 11 Mar. (5, 11)
Cowardly Legalism Disarms J.P. Stevens Workers, #154, 22 Apr. (2, 3)
Textile/Garment Unions Demonstrate for Chauvinist Import Curbs, #154, 22 Apr. (3)

"Tokyo Rose"—See **World War II.**

TRANSIT WORKERS
For a Strike Against NYC Subway Cutbacks!, #145, 18 Feb. (8)*
NYC Cutbacks (C), #148, 11 Mar. (11)
Chicago Motorman Scapegoated in Wake of "L" Disaster, #152, 8 Apr. (5)
Bitter Philadelphia Transit Strike in Sixth Week, #156, 6 May (3, 11)
Stop Transit Cutbacks in NYC!, #171, 2 Sept. (3)

TRUCK DRIVERS—See **Farm Workers; Labor: History.**
Detroit Teamster Bureaucrats Frame Dissident, #149, 18 Mar. (8)
Oppose Teamster Expulsion of Camarata, Ferdnance!, #152, 8 Apr. (3)
Hands Off the Teamsters, #158, 20 May (3, 9)
TDU: Putting Uncle Sam in the Driver's Seat, #176, 7 Oct (5, 10)

Turkey—See **Spain.**

UGANDA
Hands Off Uganda!, #147, 4 Mar. (1, 9)

Unemployment—See **Black Question: General; Labor: General;** specific occupations.

United Auto Workers (UAW)—See **Auto Workers.**

United Farm Workers (UFW)—See **Farm Workers.**

United Federation of Teachers—See **Teachers.**

United Mine Workers (UMW)—See **Mine Workers.**

UNITED SECRETARIAT (USec)—See **Britain: Left Organizations; Canada; France: Left Organizations.** See also **Cuba; Red Flag Union; Spain.**
Scandinavian USec in the Camp of Maoist Anti-Sovietism, #144, 11 Feb. (4)
Mandel's Unwanted Children, #180, 4 Nov. (4, 5, 9)*
Unwanted Children (C), #182, 18 Nov. (10)
USec: Toward the 2¼ International, #185, 9 Dec. (6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11)

UNITED STATES
• **General**—See **Busing; Fascism.** See also **Homosexual Rights; Immigration; Labor: General; Nuclear Power; Vietnam.**
Carter's Team: Jim Crow, Dr. Strangelove, Daddy Warbucks, #142, 28 Jan. (1, 8, 9)
Expropriate the Energy Trusts!, #145, 18 Feb. (1, 10)
Carter Plans Apartheid-Style Pass for "Aliens", #150, 25 Mar. (2, 3)
Who Killed Cock Robin?, #153, 15 Apr. (2, 9)
Nixon on the Loose, #159, 27 May (12, 9)
Carter/Courts Go After Unions, Minorities, #161, 10 June (3, 8)
James Earl Ray: The Unanswered Questions, #162, 17 June (12, 10, 11)*
James Earl Ray (C), #166, 15 July (10)
Carter to Black Critics: Shut Up!, #169, 12 Aug. (3, 11)
Who Really Killed Cock Robin? (L), #180, 4 Nov. (2)
• **International Relations**—See **Chile; Dissidents; Israel; Panama; South Africa: General.** See also **Labor: General.**
"Human Rights" Crusade Fuels U.S. War Machine, #154, 22 Apr. (1, 8, 9)
Imperialist Aims Behind Carter's "Energy Crisis", #158, 20 May (1, 8, 9)
Andrew Young: Black Front Man for U.S. Imperialism, #160, 3 June (12, 9)
PDC Telegram on Human Rights, #154, 22 Apr. (1)
Behind "CIA's Secret Army", #162, 17 June (2, 3)
Imperialists Howl over "Human Rights": The Main Enemy Is at Home, #163, 24 June (1, 3, 8, 9, 10)
Behind "Human Rights" Campaign: Imperialist Carter Ups Weapons Budget 50%, #169, 12 Aug. (6, 10)
Jimmy Carter: Smiling on the PLO?, #179, 28 Oct. (5, 11)

United Steelworkers of America (USWA)—See **Steel Workers.**

VARGA, MICHEL
OCI Slanders, But Varga Still Dubious Figure, #165, 8 July (4, 10)
Draft Conclusions on the Varga Affair Submitted by the iSt, #165, 8 July (5)
Conclusions of the Committee of Inquiry into the Varga Affair, #165, 8 July (5, 11)

VIETNAM
Liberal Peaceniks Fuel Reactionary Anti-Vietnam Campaign, #141, 21 Jan. (9, 11)

WEST GERMANY—See also **History of the Marxist Movement.**
Trotskyist Faction Expelled by Spartacusbund, #142, 28 Jan. (3, 9, 10)
Pitched Battle over Nuclear Power Plant in Germany, #146, 25 Feb. (1, 11)
Anti-Nuclear Hysteria and Police Repression in West Germany, #149, 18 Mar. (4, 5)
No Tears for West Germany's Top Cop, #155, 29 Apr. (2)
PDC Protests Witchhunt Conviction of West German Anarchists, #157, 13 May (11)
Thugs for Eco-Faddism: German Stalinists Assault TLD, #159, 27 May (2, 9)
West Germany Gets the Bomb, #170, 26 Aug. (1, 9)
Bonn Harbors Escaped SS War Criminal, #172, 9 Sept. (3, 9)
Germany/USSR (L), #173, 16 Sept. (2)
The German Kill, #178, 21 Oct. (1, 10)
"Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt in West Germany, #178, 21 Oct. (1, 4, 9, 10)
West Germany Unleashes Police State Measures, #179, 28 Oct. (6, 7, 10)

WOHLFORTH, TIM
Confessions of a Rubber Stamp, #145, 18 Feb. (3)

WOMAN QUESTION—See **Australia; Britain: General.** See also **Socialist Workers Party.**
Women's Liberation through Proletarian Revolution!, #148, 11 Mar. (6)
International Women's Day—A Proletarian Celebration, #149, 18 Mar. (2, 9)*
International Women's Day (C), #150, 25 Mar. (10)
"Consistent Feminists" Redbait SWP, #156, 6 May (2)
Prostitution (L), #180, 4 Nov. (2)
Oppose Abortion Fund Cut-Off in Massachusetts, #182, 18 Nov. (3, 9)
Ruling-Class Feminist Hustle in Houston, #186, 23 Dec. (2, 11)

Workers Control—See **Labor: General.**

WORKERS LEAGUE—See also **International Committee; Mine Workers: Elections.**
WL/SL Exchange on Workers Democracy: Look Who's Calling Us Comrade (L), #143, 4 Feb. (3, 10)
Cleveland WLer Attacks Spartacist, #144, 11 Feb. (11)
WL Exclusionism Wrecks Own Meeting, #147, 4 Mar. (3)
Healy's "Yellow Brick Road" to Revolution, #155, 29 Apr. (5)
Life in the Healyite Snake Pit (L), #184, 2 Dec. (4)

WORKERS VANGUARD
WV Style Change—"Gay": Language and Politics, #168, 29 July (3)
Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive, #172, 9 Sept. (9)
WV Subscription Drive, Week 1, #174, 23 Sept. (2)
WV Subscription Drive, Week 2, #175, 30 Sept. (11)
WV Subscription Drive, Week 3, #176, 7 Oct. (8)
WV Subscription Drive, Week 4, #177, 14 Oct. (11)
Sub Drive Smashing Success!, #178, 21 Oct. (5)

Workers World Party—See **Ethiopia.**

World Politics—See specific countries; **U.S.: International Relations.**

WORLD WAR II—See **Archives of the Marxist Movement; Soviet Union.**
The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S Concentration Camps, #139, 7 Jan. (6, 7, 8, 9)*
Agony of Japanese Americans (C), #148, 11 Mar. (11)
In Defense of "Tokyo Rose", #139, 7 Jan. (7, 8)
"Tokyo Rose" Pardoned, #143, 4 Feb. (5)

Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)—See **Socialist Workers Party.**

ZAIRE—See **Cuba.**
Zaire: The Phony War, #158, 20 May (1, 4, 5)